THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE,

From the EARLIEST TIMES, till it became a ROMAN PROVINCE.


ADRIATICI
MARIS PARS
ITALIAE
Brundisium
Tarentum
Sinus
Tarentinus
PARS
Hydrus
Hydruntum
Sason
Lissus
Dyrrachium
Taulantis
Lynceſtis
Apollonia
Aulon
Amantia
Oricum
Chaonia
Cerauniorum Montes
Caſſiope
Corcyra
Ambracia
Paci Inſ
Leucadia
Leucas
Echinades
Ithaca
Cephalenia
Zacynthus
Strophades
IONIUM MARE
Strongyle
Heraclia Inſ
Pelorum Prom
Scylla
Rhegium
Fretum Siculum
Leucopetra Pro
Tyndarium
SICILIAE PARS
Agennum Promont
Tauromenium
Catana
Adranum
Aetna M
Xiphonia
Hibla Galeotis
Syracuſa
Ortigia Inſ
Elorus Flu
Aceræ
Acrillæ
Nectum
Elorum
Pachynus Flu
Pachynum Promont
Pæonia
Deſuretæ
Oreſtis
DO
MA
Acarnania
Achelous Flu
Pyla
Pyl
Strophades
Cor
Mes
Lor
Alg
Pi
Mo
Ar
Ph
Ch
Ith
Ce
Zac
Ely
Ac
Ne
El
Pa
Pachynum Promont
36
37
30
35
34

A MAP OF ANCIENT GREECE

MARE

ÆGÆUM

MARE CRETICUM

Mare Mytoum

Sporades

Cyclades

Icarium Mare

Rhodos

Peloponnesus

Mygdonis

Pieria

Olympus

Thessalia

Magnesia

Locris

Phocis

Megaris

Attica

Boeotia

Eubœa

Achaia Propria

Argolis

Laconia

Messenia

Elis

Arcadia

Troas

Mysia Minor

Olympeni

Asia

Mœcia Delii

Phrygia Maior

Lydia

Meonia

Pentadem Itæ

Ionia

Caria

Doris

Crete

Lappa

Cydonia

Cisamus

Lissus

Phœnicis portus

Psychium

Metallum

Gortyna

Cnossus

Lasæa

Lebena

Hierapytna

Heraclium

Samonium prom

Dionysiades

Carpathus

Casus

Cythæum

Hyrtacin

Lamon

Minoa

Lyctus

Lasceuci

Erytræa

Thera

Therasia

Anaphe

Libenthus

Astypalæa

Nisyrus

Telos

Chalcia

Cos

Calymnus

Amargos

Ios

Siphnus

Prepesinthus

Melus

Cimolus

Antiparus

Seriphus

Paros

Naxus

Donusa

Myconus

Delus

Rhenea

Tenos

Andrus

Icaria

Samos

Patmos

Leros

Lemnos

Imbrus

Tenedos

Sigeum

Troas

Alexandria

Cimeus M

Lectum

Assos

Antissa

Methymna

Mytilene

Eresus

Pegæ

Mysom

Acrones

Canæ prom

Nagrasa

Thyatira

Malia prom

Chios

Erythræa

Clazomene

Smyrna

Lebedus

Teos

Colophon

Metropolis

Cnustis

Magnesia

Ephesus

Mycale

Miletus

Latmus

Bargile

Myndus

Halicarnassus

Hydissa

Mylassa

Pedasus

Ceramus

Cnidus

Syme

Physcus

Pystus

Phœnix

Thera

Elæus

Priene

Samos

Icaria

Myrtoum

Sicinus

Hiera

Automate

Cythera Insula

Malea prom

Epidaurus Limera

Cythera

Aegilia

Cranæ

Cranæ prom

Taenarus

Gythium

Messene

Pheræ

Corone

Sinus Messenius

Sinus Laconicus

Cyparissus

Lacedæmon Sparta

Onia

Tegea

Argos

Mantinea

Megalopolis

Nauplia

Trozene

Calauria

Epidaurus

Mycenæ

Nemea

Corinthus

Achaia Propria

Sicyon

Bellbina

Aegina

Palygos

Helene

Eleusis

Athenæ

Marathon

Megara

Creusa

Crissa

Delphi

Sinus Crisseus

Parnassus Mons

Thermopylæ

Thebæ

Aulis

Eretria

Carystus

Chalcis

Istiæa

Oreus

Sciathus

Peparethus

Scopelus

Alonesus

Sinus Thermaicus

Thessalonica

Pella

Berrhœa

Thermæ

Pydna

Sinus Strymonicus

Strymon flu

Strymonicus Sinus

Thasus

Philippi

Neapolis

Amphipolis

Abydus

Scepsis

Ilium

Dardanus

Hellespontus

Sestus

Lampsacus

Apollonia lacus

Olympeni

Anœra

Nacolea

Mideum

Coryaum

Cadi

Gipeltini

Lydia Minor

Hermus flu

Iulio Gordus

Armonia

Philadelphia

Eres eli

Tripolis

Antiochia

Bibana

Nysa

Trallis

Tripozapolis

Laodicea

Alabanda

Heraclea

Harpesa

Bargasa

Apollonia

Stratonica

Alinda

Hydissa

Mylassa

Phœnix N.

Myndus

Halicarnassus

Pystus

Thera

Physcus

Ceramus

Doris

Cnidus

Syme

Ialysus

Rhodos

Lyndus

Atabyrius M

Camirus

Chalcia

Nisyrus

Telos

Nysyros

Cos

Calymnus

Amargos

Ios

Siphnus

Prepesinthus

Melus

Cimolus

Antiparus

Seriphus

Paros

Naxus

Donusa

Myconus

Delus

Rhenea

Tenos

Andrus

Icaria

Samos

Patmos

Leros

Lemnos

Imbrus

Tenedos

Sigeum

Troas

Alexandria

Cimeus M

Lectum

Assos

Antissa

Methymna

Mytilene

Eresus

Pegæ

Mysom

Acrones

Canæ prom

Nagrasa

Thyatira

Malia prom

Chios

Erythræa

Clazomene

Smyrna

Lebedus

Teos

Colophon

Metropolis

Cnustis

Magnesia

Ephesus

Mycale

Miletus

Latmus

Bargile

Myndus

Halicarnassus

Hydissa

Mylassa

Pedasus

Ceramus

Cnidus

Syme

Physcus

Pystus

Phœnix

Thera

Elæus

Priene

Samos

Icaria

Myrtoum

Sicinus

Hiera

Automate

Cythera Insula

Malea prom

Epidaurus Limera

Cythera

Aegilia

Cranæ

Cranæ prom

Taenarus

Gythium

Messene

Pheræ

Corone

Sinus Messenius

Sinus Laconicus

Cyparissus

Lacedæmon Sparta

Onia

Tegea

Argos

Mantinea

Megalopolis

Nauplia

Trozene

Calauria

Epidaurus

Mycenæ

Nemea

Corinthus

Achaia Propria

Sicyon

Bellbina

Aegina

Palygos

Helene

Eleusis

Athenæ

Marathon

Megara

Creusa

Crissa

Delphi

Sinus Crisseus

Parnassus Mons

Thermopylæ

Thebæ

Aulis

Eretria

Carystus

Chalcis

Istiæa

Oreus

Sciathus

Peparethus

Scopelus

Alonesus

Sinus Thermaicus

Thessalonica

Pella

Berrhœa

Thermæ

Pydna

Sinus Strymonicus

Strymon flu

Strymonicus Sinus

Thasus

Philippi

Neapolis

Amphipolis

Abydus

Scepsis

Ilium

Dardanus

Hellespontus

Sestus

Lampsacus

Apollonia lacus

Olympeni

Anœra

Nacolea

Mideum

Coryaum

Cadi

Gipeltini

Lydia Minor

Hermus flu

Iulio Gordus

Armonia

Philadelphia

Eres eli

Tripolis

Antiochia

Bibana

Nysa

Trallis

Tripozapolis

Laodicea

Alabanda

Heraclea

Harpesa

Bargasa

Apollonia

Stratonica

Alinda

THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE,

From the EARLIEST TIMES, till it became a ROMAN PROVINCE.

By WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

Hail Nature's utmoſt boaſt, unrivalled Greece!
*My * faireſt reign! where every power benign,*
Conſpir'd to blow the flower of human kind,
And laviſh'd all that genius can inſpire!
——— Hence a race of men
As gods, by conſcious future times ador'd;
In whom each virtue wore a ſmiling air,
Each ſcience ſhed o'er life a friendly light;
Each art was nature!

THOMSON.

* 'Tis the Goddeſs of Liberty that ſpeaks.

THE SECOND EDITION.

EDINBURGH:
Printed for CHARLES ELLIOT, *Edinburgh*;
AND
THOMAS CADELL, *London*.
MDCCLXXVIII.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

To his ROYAL HIGHNESS

The PRINCE of WALES.

SIR,

IT is the Importance of the Subject of this Book, not the Merit of the Compoſition, that emboldens me to lay it, with the moſt reſpectful Humility, at your ROYAL HIGHNESS's feet.

The *Hiſtory of Ancient Greece* undoubtedly deſerves a Princely Patronage. Of what Prince then can it with ſo much Propriety claim the Patronage as of your ROYAL HIGHNESS, born as You are to be the Sovereign of a People, who, by their Love of the Sciences and of the Fine Arts, but chiefly by their generous manly independent Spirit, bear a more ſtriking Reſemblance to the ancient Inhabitants of Greece, than any other People, ſo far as I know, now on Earth?

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS too is now at that Age, when the intereſting Scenes diſplayed in this Hiſtory are

apt to make the moſt lively Impreſſion on the Mind. When therefore you ſhall contemplate the immortal Heroes of Greece, ſacrificing their Paſſions to their Reaſon, purſuing the Suggeſtions of Honour in oppoſition to the Allurements of Pleaſure, and courting Danger in the Service of their Country; their Patriotiſm, their Virtue, their Magnanimity, will awaken their Kindred-feelings in your ROYAL HIGHNESS's Breaſt, and inſpire You with the nobleſt Emulation.

THAT your ROYAL HIGHNESS's Life may be long, glorious, and happy, is the fervent Prayer of,

SIR,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS's

Moſt humble,

Moſt obedient, and

Moſt devoted Servant,

WILL. ROBERTSON.

PREFACE.

ANCIENT GREECE ſeems to have been peculiarly choſen by Heaven as the ſcene, on which mankind were deſtined to diſplay, in the utmoſt perfection, all the ſuperior faculties that diſtinguiſh them ſo highly above the other animals on this earth. For it is an incontrovertible fact, that, with the exception of a few general notions of ſome particular branches of knowledge derived to them from Egypt and the Eaſt, the ancient inhabitants of that country not only invented, but carried to the higheſt pitch of improvement, almoſt every art, every ſcience, every acquirement, in ſhort, depending either on the powers of imagination, or on the more exalted faculty of underſtanding. The moderns, indeed, have attained to many diſcoveries, which, for the moſt part, were to thoſe ancient Greeks unknown. But, on an accurate inveſtigation, we ſhall perceive, that ſome of the moſt important of theſe diſcoveries have been the reſult of mere accident; that others have been produced ſolely by the repeated experience of many ages; and that the far greater part of them are of ſuch a nature, that the pure force of genius alone never could have found them out.

In all the Polite Arts, however, which the Ancient Greeks appear either to have ſtudied or practiſed; and in every matter of ſcience, without exception, they are univerſally acknowled-

ged to have excelled. Hence their works in the more ſublime parts of philoſophy; in geometry; in poetry, eloquence, and every other ſpecies of compoſition; in ſculpture; and in architecture; always have been, and in all probability ever will be, the moſt perfect models produced by the ingenuity of man. Of this truth the writings of Ariſtotle and Plato, of Euclid, of Homer, of Sophocles and Euripides, of Demoſthenes, of Thucydides and Xenophon, together with the remains of Grecian ſculpture and architecture ſtill to be ſeen, afford full and ſatisfactory evidence: And the moſt approved performances on the ſame ſubjects in modern times, are, generally ſpeaking, valuable only in proportion to the acquaintance of their authors with thoſe precious relics of antiquity.

But the merit of this wonderful people, as philoſophers, fine writers, and artiſts, was, perhaps, their leaſt praiſe. If we view them in the more active and important ſtations of public life; in the characters of legiſlators, ſtateſmen, generals, we ſhall find greater reaſon ſtill to admire their virtue and capacity. What other nation in the world can boaſt of ſuch legiſlators as Lycurgus and Solon; of ſuch ſtateſmen as Ariſtides, Themiſtocles, Pericles; of ſuch generals as Cimon, Epaminondas, Ageſilaus; not to mention a multitude beſides, equally celebrated for the ſame talents?

The country of Greece, though of leſs extent than that of England, was inhabited by a great variety of different ſtates, perfectly independent of one another, remarkably oppoſite in their manners

manners and diſpoſitions, but all actuated by the moſt ardent ſpirit of valour and liberty. As theſe ſtates were pretty nearly of equal force, it became abſolutely neceſſary for them to be extremely attentive to keep the balance of power properly poiſed, and to prevent any one ſtate from acquiring ſuch an increaſe of ſtrength as might enable it to enſlave the reſt. We ſhall ſee, accordingly, that this was the grand object of all their wars and negotiations; that they put in practice, upon every occaſion, the wiſeſt and moſt refined policy, for preventing the too great aggrandiſement of each other; and that they never heſitated to ſacrifice friendſhip, reſentment, and every other ſecondary conſideration, to what they accounted the higheſt of all concerns, the maintaining of the general independency of their country.

The ſame ſpirit of liberty enabled them to oppoſe the ambitious attempts of two of the moſt powerful monarchs that ever filled the Perſian throne, Darius and Xerxes, with a bravery ſo romantically heroic, as to have no parallel in the hiſtorical annals of any other people, and which, were it not atteſted paſt all poſſibility of doubt, almoſt exceeds the bounds of probability. But, not ſatisfied with defeating the utmoſt efforts of thoſe Perſians to ſubdue them at home, the Greeks, eager for revenge, reſolved to puſh their advantage, and to attack the invaders in their own dominions. This deſign they carried into execution, firſt under Cimon, and afterwards under Ageſilaus, beſides ſeveral intermediate attempts, and that with a ſucceſs that

plainly

plainly ſhewed them capable, had they proceeded with unanimity and perſeverance, of effecting the grand revolution reſerved to immortalize the name of Alexander, that of totally ſubverting the Perſian empire. The Perſians finding themſelves unable to vanquiſh the Greeks by open force, took a more effectual method to overcome them, in conſequence, as we are told, of the advice of one of the moſt extraordinary men that Greece ever produced, we mean Alcibiades, by fomenting the natural jealouſy entertained by the ſtates of one another; keeping them, by that means, in continual war; and, in the mean time, artfully aſſiſting them, as circumſtances required, with liberal ſupplies of money to work out their mutual deſtruction. But the Perſians were not deſtined to reap the fruits of their pernicious politics, which eventually occaſioned their own ruin. For Philip king of Macedon, one of the diſtricts of Greece, profited by thoſe diſſenſions of the other Greeks to make them ſubject to his authority; and at laſt his ſon, the Great Alexander, in proſecution of the plan laid down by his father, ranged them under the Macedonian banners, ſubdued, with their aſſiſtance, the powerful empire of Perſia, and marched victorious from one corner of the vaſt continent of Aſia to the other.

But as, on the one hand, thoſe Greeks practiſed, in the greateſt perfection, every virtue, whether public or private; and carried to the higheſt degree of improvement, of which, perhaps, they are capable, the powers of genius and underſtanding; ſo, on the other hand, they gave

gave way, almoſt in the ſame proportion, to every folly and vice, whether moral or political. Hence we ſhall have an opportunity of contemplating the admirable effects reſulting from the former courſe of life, and the miſerable conſequences inevitably occaſioned by the latter; a contraſt, which, of all others, forms, if we miſtake not, the moſt curious and inſtructive part of Hiſtory.

The Hiſtory of Ancient Greece likewiſe preſents us, more, perhaps, than that of any other nation, with the moſt lively picture of the advantages and diſadvantages ariſing from each of the various ſyſtems of government that have prevailed in the world, monarchy, ariſtocracy, democracy, with all the different modifications and combinations of theſe, that the policy of mankind hath ever deviſed.

From all theſe conſiderations, it muſt be apparent, that whoever aſpires at ſuperior diſtinction, either as a philoſopher, or as a man of taſte, in a military or in a political capacity, can by no other means more effectually accompliſh his purpoſe than by a careful ſtudy of the Greek authors, and by an attentive peruſal of their Hiſtory. It is, however, in the admirable originals alone, which, beſides being ſet off with all the ornaments of the fineſt language ever ſpoken by men, are compoſed with the juſteſt taſte and the moſt ſolid judgement, that this Hiſtory can be ſtudied to the utmoſt advantage. But as very few are capable of ſtudying it in that manner, every attempt to bring it into our own language, and by that means to put

it

it in the power of all our countrymen, who chuſe to become acquainted with ſo amuſing, ſo intereſting, and ſo inſtructive a piece of hiſtory, to peruſe it with eaſe; and by exciting the curioſity of young ſtudents, to inſpire them, if poſſible, with a deſire of ſtudying it at greater length in thoſe beautiful originals, is undoubtedly commendable, and cannot fail of being favourably received by the public.

The former publications on this ſubject in the Engliſh language being on a different ſcale, as well as on a different plan from the preſent, the author is happily freed from the very diſagreeable taſk of attempting any compariſon. Mr Stanyan's Hiſtory of Ancient Greece, in two volumes *octavo*, ſtops at the death of Philip king of Macedon: and that publiſhed, likewiſe in two volumes *octavo*, ſome months after the death of Dr Goldſmith, under the name of that ingenious gentleman, comes down only to the death of Alexander the Great. The detail of Grecian Affairs contained in Mr Rollin's Ancient Hiſtory is ſtill more voluminous and more diffuſe.

Many apologies are due to the Public for delaying ſo long to publiſh this edition. But the delay was unavoidable. Indiſpenſable buſineſs, extremely different from that of publication, prevented the Author, till lately, from preparing the ſecond edition for the preſs, with that care and attention which he had promiſed to beſtow on it, and which the very favourable reception given by the Public to the former edition ſeemed to him to require. At length, how-

ever, he has found leiſure to accompliſh his deſign: and he flatters himſelf, that the improvements in this edition ſhall amply compenſate for the involuntary delay in its publication.

The book, before being at this time put to the preſs, underwent a very great number of alterations. Beſides many corrections of a more minute kind, ſeveral paſſages were entirely ſtruck out; ſome of the moſt conſpicuous characters were in a great meaſure new-written; large additions were thrown in; and bottom-notes were inſerted, pointing out the principal cotemporary events of the Roman Hiſtory, and containing various particulars that could not ſo properly enter into the body of the work.

It were equally tedious and unneceſſary to enumerate the ſeveral additions. They will be beſt perceived in the peruſal. We cannot, however, omit to mention one conſiderable addition, which we judged to be highly proper, namely, a circumſtantial deſcription of the country of Ancient Greece. This, we hope, ſhall not only enable the young reader to comprehend the hiſtorical detail more clearly; but ſhall likewiſe be uſeful to him when ſtudying the Greek and Latin claſſics.

The Author is ſenſible, that, from a ſolicitude to render the book as accurate and as comprehenſive as poſſible, he has been induced to make this edition much more different from the former than two editions of the ſame book ought regularly to be. But he reſts his excuſe entirely on his intention, and on the manner in which that intention is executed.

After all, however, he is apprehenſive that many inaccuracies may ſtill be diſcovered in his work. But he is perſuaded, that thoſe by whom ſuch inaccuracies are moſt likely to be perceived, will be the beſt diſpoſed to excuſe them.

Edinburgh, L. Parliament-houſe,
April 1778.

CHRO-

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IN-

INTRODUCTION.

THE continent of Ancient Greece comprehended that country which at preſent conſtitutes the ſouthern part of Turkey in Europe. It was bounded on the eaſt by the Ægean ſea, now called the *Archipelago*; on the ſouth by the Cretan ſea; on the weſt by the Ionian ſea, or Adriatic gulf; and on the north by Illyria and Thrace. Its length, from north to ſouth, was about 350 miles; and its breadth, at a medium, might be reckoned about 250 miles. It is ſituated nearly in the middle of the northern temperate zone.

Greece may be properly diſtinguiſhed into ſix principal diviſions. Of theſe the moſt northern was *Macedonia:* immediately ſouth of Macedonia, lay *Theſſaly: Epirus* ſtretched along the coaſt of the Ionian ſea, and was the moſt weſtern diviſion: *Achaia*, or *Greece* properly ſo called, occupied the middle ſpace: and the moſt ſouthern diviſion was *Peloponneſus*, known at preſent by the name of the *Morea*, which, as the ancient name imports, formed a peninſula, communicating with Achaia by the iſthmus of Corinth, a neck of land about ſix miles broad: the *Iſlands* made the ſixth diviſion.

The climate of Greece was peculiarly excellent. Equally exempted from the rigorous cold which afflicts the inhabitants nearer to the poles, and from the ſultry heat by which thoſe within the torrid zone are oppreſſed, it abounded with every influence propitious to the human race. The air was ſweet, healthful, and uniformly temperate; invigorating without chilneſs, and ſoft without effeminacy.

The ſoil correſponded with the climate. It produced, in extraordinary plenty, not only all the neceſſaries, but likewiſe many of the luxuries of life.

The mildneſs, purity, and happy temperature of this climate, muſt, without all queſtion, have had a power-

ful effect upon thoſe who were there born and educated. In fact no country on earth ever exhibited the human form adorned with ſuch exquiſite beauty, nor the human mind animated with feelings at once ſo juſt, ſo delicate, and ſo acute.

The hiſtory of no people can be diſtinctly underſtood, unleſs the geography of their country be known. This obſervation applies to the hiſtory now under conſideration more ſtrongly perhaps than to the hiſtory of any other nation. For the territory of Greece having been parceled out, among many ſeparate ſtates, their diſputes and their tranſactions with each other, as well as their various military expeditions, form, without a particular knowledge of the geography of the country, a maſs of unintelligible confuſion.

In another view likewiſe an acquaintance with the geography of ancient Greece is of ſingular utility. It is, if we may uſe the expreſſion, the key both to the Greek and to the Roman poets, whoſe works abound with conſtant alluſions to the rivers, the mountains, &c. of ancient Greece.—For theſe reaſons we here lay before the reader a particular deſcription of that country.

GREECE, as before obſerved, was diſtinguiſhed into ſix principal diviſions, viz. Macedonia, Theſſaly, Epirus, Achaia or Greece properly ſo called, Peloponneſus, and the Iſlands.

The Romans diſtributed all the country into two provinces, Macedonia, and Achaia; the former comprehending Macedonia, Epirus, Theſſaly; the latter, Achaia, Peloponneſus, and the Iſlands.—In our deſcription we ſhall adopt the more ancient diviſion.

MACEDONIA was bounded on the north by the Scardian mountains, by which it was ſeparated from Illyrium and Mæſia, and by the river Strymon, its boundary with Thrace; — on the eaſt by the Ægean ſea or Archipelago; — on the ſouth by Theſſaly and Epirus; —and on the weſt by the Ionian ſea, or Adriatic gulf. According to Pliny it was more anciently occupied by 150 different tribes.

The

The moſt conſiderable rivers in Macedonia, were Aliacmon, Erigon, Axius, Chabris, and Strymon, which all diſcharge themſelves into the Archipelago; Panyaſus, Apſus, Laus which waſhes Apollonia, and Celidnus on the confines of Epirus: Theſe run into the Adriatic gulf.

The moſt noted mountain in Macedonia was Athos, which ſtretches out into the Archipelago in the form of a peninſula; through which Xerxes, with a folly which in any other man ſhould have been juſtly deemed madneſs, is ſaid to have ordered a paſſage to be dug for the fleet with which he invaded Greece.

The towns of chief note in Macedonia were Dyrrachium, anciently Epidamnus, a maritime town on the Adriatic gulf; Pella, on the river Axius, famous for being the place where Philip, and his ſon Alexander the Great, drew their firſt breath; Theſſalonica, whither Cicero was baniſhed by the intrigues of the factious Clodius; Stagira, on the river Strymon, in the neighbourhood of Mount Athos, famous by being the birth-place of the Prince of Philoſophers Ariſtotle, thence called the *Stagirite*; Amphipolis, anciently poſſeſſed by an Athenian colony, and remarkable by the diſputes which it occaſioned between Philip and the Athenians.

The diſtrict of Macedonia called *Pieria*, is celebrated in ancient fable as having been the birth-place of the Muſes, thence often denominated *Pierides*.

THESSALY lies immediately ſouth of Macedonia, and north of Achaia, having the Archipelago on the eaſt, and Mount Pindus, which divides it from Epirus, on the weſt. It was anciently famous for its excellent cavalry.

Peneus was the chief river in Theſſaly. It runs between the mountains Oſſa and Olympus, and meandring along in gentle windings through a country delightfully variegated by groves and meadows, it forms the capital ornament of the delicious

Vale of *Tempe*, deſcribed with rapture even by poets,

whoſe eyes were accuſtomed to the proſpect of ſome of the fineſt countries in the world.

The moſt noted mountains of Theſſaly are Olympus, Pelium, and Oſſa, ſo famous in fable by the war of the giants.

Between Theſſaly and Phocis, at the bottom of Mount Oeta, lies the deſile of Thermopylæ, a paſs about 90 foot broad, which formed in a manner the portal of the ſouthern diſtricts of Greece, and is on that account frequently mentioned in hiſtory. But it is chiefly renowned by the heroic ſtand made there againſt the Perſian army by Leonidas and his Spartans.

Theſſaly was more anciently accounted a diſtrict of Macedonia, and was called *Æmonia*. It was likewiſe ſucceſſively known by the names of Pelaſgicum, Hellas, Driopis, Argis, and Theſſalia, derived from the names of different kings to whom it was ſubject. At length the name of Theſſaly prevailed. Homer calls the inhabitants of this country Myrmidones, Hellenes, Achæi.

It was divided among the following tribes, the Theſſalians, the Eſtiotæ, the Pelaſgi, the Magneſii, and the Phthiotæ.

The diſtrict of the Theſſalians contained the towns of Hypata, Soſthenes, Cypera: That of the Eſtiotæ, thoſe of Gomphi, Phæſtus, Tricca, and Etinium: That of the Pelaſgi, Pytheum and Atrax: That of the Magneſii, Jolcus, Herminium, Caſtanea, Melibœa, and Methone, at the ſiege of which King Philip loſt one of his eyes: That of the Phthiotæ, Phthia, where Achilles was born, Theſſalian Thebes, Echinus, Lariſſa, Demetrias, where the Macedonian kings for ſome time kept their court, and where in later times the Etolians held their public aſſemblies; and laſtly Pegaſæ, where Argo, the famous ſhip in which Jaſon and his followers ſailed in queſt of the golden fleece, was built.

Epirus was ſeparated from Macedonia and Theſſaly by the river Celidnus and Mount Pindus, and from Achaia by the river Achelous.

The mountains Acroceraunia and Pindus are the moſt

moſt remarkable in Epirus. The latter is compoſed of a very extenſive ridge of hills, which ſeparate, as above obſerved, Epirus from Macedonia and Theſſaly, and ſtretch from the Acroceraunian mountains to Mount Oeta, which latter may be conſidered as the termination of Pindus.

Acheron and Cocytus were the moſt conſiderable rivers in Epirus. From theſe rivers, and the adjacent country, Homer, according to Pauſanias, formed his deſcription of the infernal regions.

Epirus contained the following towns: Dodona, in the diſtrict of the Moloſſi, famous for the temple and oracle of Dodonean Jove, where the reſponſes were ſaid to be delivered from the adjacent grove by black pigeons. What ridiculous impoſition on the prepoſterous curioſity of mankind! This oracle was known in the days of Homer and Heſiod; and, according to Strabo, ceaſed in his time. —— Buthrotum, in the diſtrict of the Theſprotians, where King Pyrrhus kept his court. In the neighbourhood of this city Cicero had a large eſtate, on which he ſometimes reſided. —— Ambracia, near the bay of the ſame name, the royal reſidence of the Æacidæ. —— Actium, off the promontory of which, now called *Cape Figalo*, happened the important naval engagement between Octavius Cæſar and Mark Anthony, which decided the fate of the Roman empire in favour of the former. —— Nicopolis, oppoſite to Actium, on the other ſide of the bay, built by Octavius Cæſar, in memory, as the name imports, of his victory juſt mentioned.

Achaia, or Greece properly ſo called, was bounded on the north by the mountains Oeta and Othrys, by which it was ſeparated from Theſſaly; on the eaſt, by the Ægean ſea or Archipelago; on the weſt, by the river Achelous, which divided it from Epirus; and on the ſouth, by the iſthmus of Corinth, a neck of land about ſix miles long, terminated by the bay of Corinth, now called *Lepanto*, on the weſt, and by the Saronic bay on the eaſt.

The

The moſt remarkable mountains of Achaia were, Callidromus, on the border towards Theſſaly, overhanging the paſs of Thermopylæ. Over this mountain the traitor Ephialtes conducted a detachment of Xerxes's army, while the paſs was heroically defended againſt the main body of the tyrant's army by a handful of brave Greeks, commanded by the gallant Leonidas.——Oeta, where Hercules burnt himſelf.——Othrys, the country of the Lapithæ.——Parnaſſus and Helicon, in the diſtrict of Phocis: the former terminated in two tops, the one called *Nyſſa*, conſecrated to Apollo; the other *Cyrrha*, conſecrated to Bacchus. This mountain overhangs Delphi, and in fable was reputed the reſidence of the Muſes.——Helicon ſtood in the neighbourhood of Parnaſſus, and was likewiſe, according to the poets, very much frequented by the Muſes. On this mountain, and within the grove of the Muſes, were the celebrated fountains Hypocrene and Aganippe. Here too ſtood the tomb of Orpheus, about which, according to the ancient fabuliſts, the nightingale delighted to build her neſt.——On the declivity of Helicon were the towns of Theſpia, Nyſſa, and Aſcra, where Heſiod was born.——Cithæron in Bœotia, conſecrated to Bacchus. Certain Bacchanalian revels were celebrated there.——Hymettus in Attica, famed for its delicious honey, and beautiful marble, which was peculiarly adapted for ſtatuary.

The only river of note in Achaia was Cephiſſus, divided into two branches; the one called *Aſopus*, which ſeparated the territory of Thebes from that of Megara; the other, *Iſmenus*, which ran near to Bœotian Thebes.

Achaia contained eight diſtricts; Ætolia, Doris, Locris, Ozolæa, Phocis, Megaris, Attica, and Bœotia.

Chalcis, Olenus, and Calydon, were the chief towns of Ætolia. In the neighbourhood of the latter was the Calydonian foreſt, famous for the chace of the Calydonian boar, which was killed by Meleager.

Doris contained the towns of Boium, Citinium, and Pindus.

In Ozolian Locris ſtood the town of Naupactus, now called

called *Lepanto*, famous in modern times by the important naval engagement between the Spaniards, Venetians, &c. commanded by Don John of Auſtria, and the Turks, in which the latter were defeated with great ſlaughter. —— In Epicnemidian Locris were the towns Cnemides, Opus, and Thronium.

The moſt remarkable towns in Phocis were Anticyra, Cyrrha, Pythia, and Delphi at the bottom of Mount Parnaſſus, where the council of the Amphyctions held their deliberations, but chiefly celebrated for the temple and oracle of Apollo.

In Megaris were the towns of Megara and Eleuſis. The former gave its name to the country, and was the birth-place of Euclid the philoſopher, who was ſo paſſionate an admirer of the converſation of Socrates, that, at the hazard of his life, on account of the war then ſubſiſting between the Athenians and his countrymen, he ſtole into Athens dreſſed like a woman, to liſten to that wiſeſt of philoſophers. Eleuſis was conſecrated to Ceres, and was famous by the celebration of certain religious rites in honour of that goddeſs, the moſt ſecret and ſolemn of the multitude of religious ceremonies obſerved among the Pagan idolaters.

In Attica ſtood Athens and Marathon. Athens was the moſt diſtinguiſhed city of all antiquity; —a name that in every breaſt animated with the love of literature, and of the fine arts, kindles the warmeſt ſenſations of gratitude, admiration, and reſpect. The brighteſt emanations of genius, the moſt profound and ingenious exertions of the human mind, diſplayed themſelves in this propitious ſpot. Marathon was famous for the victory obtained by the Greeks, commanded by the Athenian Miltiades, over the numerous army of Darius.

Bœotia contained ſeveral famous towns. Thebes, ſituated between the rivers Aſopus and Iſmenus. The honour of founding this city is by ſome aſcribed to Amphion; by others, to Phenician Cadmus, at the head of a colony of his countrymen. Its citadel, called *Cadmæa*, was reckoned very ſtrong. Hercules and Bacchus,

chus,—the poets Linus and Pindar,—the philoſopher Cebes, a diſtinguiſhed diſciple of Socrates,—and the accompliſhed Epaminondas, were all natives of Thebes. —— Theſpia, conſecrated to the Muſes, ſituated on the declivity of Mount Helicon. PHRYNE, ſo infamous by her morals, but ſo celebrated for her beauty, was a native of Theſpia *. She teſtified her attachment to her native city, by ſetting up there an ineſtimable ſtatue of Cupid, being the maſterpiece of the famous ſtatuary Praxitiles, her paſſionate admirer, from whom ſhe obtained it as a preſent. Thither multitudes thronged to gaze on it with inexpreſſible delight and admiration.—— Platea ſtood at the bottom of Mount Cithæron, on the river Aſopus, between Theſpia and Thebes. Here the Greeks, commanded by the Spartan Pauſanias, gained a deciſive victory over the Perſians, whoſe general, Mardonius, and the beſt troops of their army, were there cut off.—— Cheronæa, the native city of Plutarch, the excellent biographer.—— Aulis, where the Grecian forces aſſembled before their expedition againſt Troy, and from whence they ſet ſail.——Leuctra, ſituated at the bottom of Mount Cithæron, on the confines of Megara, between Theſpia and Platea, where the Thebans, commanded by Epaminondas and Pelopidas, beat the Spartans, though much ſuperior to the Thebans in point of numbers.

PELOPONNESUS, a peninſula, as its name imports, now called the *Morea*, ſeparated on the north from the continent of Achaia by the iſthmus of Corinth, and ſurrounded on all its other ſides by the ſea; the Archipelago or Ægean ſea on the one hand, and the Adriatic gulf or Ionian ſea on the other.

The moſt conſiderable rivers in Peloponneſus were,

* This lady was ſo dead to the modeſty of her ſex, and at the ſame time ſo vain of her perſonal charms, that at the feaſt of Neptune ſhe, in preſence of all the people of Eleuſis, went naked into the ſea to bathe. From this public exhibition of ſo beautiful a woman, Apelles is ſaid to have made an admirable picture of Venus Anadyomene.

Peneus; ——Alpheus, which flowing through Arcadia and Elis, paſſes by Olympia; —Panyſus, the largeſt river within the iſthmus, which falls into the ſea on the coaſt of Meſſenia; —Eurotas, which runs through Laconia, and waſhes Sparta; —and Inachus, which flows through Argis, paſſing by its capital, Argos.

Stymphalus, Pholoe, Chronicus, and Taygetus, are the principal mountains in Peloponneſus. Stymphalus lies between Achaia and Arcadia. —Pholoe is a lofty woody mountain in Arcadia, the ſummit of which is generally covered with ſnow. —Chronicus ſtands in Laconia. Here, according to the ancient fabuliſts, Saturn hid himſelf when flying from Jupiter. —Taygetus is ſituated in the neighbourhood of Sparta. It abounded with wild beaſts, and furniſhed the Spartan youth with the amuſements of the chace.

Peloponneſus was divided into ſix diſtricts; Achaia, properly ſo called, Elis, Meſſenia, Arcadia, Laconia, and Argis.

Corinth was the chief city in Achaia, and ſtood in the middle of the iſthmus that bears its name. It had two harbours; *Cenchrea*, towards the Archipelago, whence the Aſiatic commerce was carried on; and *Lecheum*, towards the Adriatic, frequented by the veſſels employed in the trade of Italy and Sicily. Corinth was the moſt commercial town in all Greece, was very powerful in naval ſtrength, and acquired vaſt wealth by trade. Next to Athens and Sparta it was the moſt conſiderable ſtate in ancient Greece. Lais, ſo celebrated for her beauty, was a native of Corinth. Ladies of her profeſſion found there unaccountable encouragement and protection. —Sicyon was likewiſe ſituated in Achaia, and was ſuppoſed to be the moſt ancient city in Greece. Aratus, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo highly as general of the Achean league, was a native of Sicyon.

Elis lies on the weſtern coaſt of Peloponneſus, having Achaia to the north, and Arcadia and Meſſenia to the ſouth. —— Olympia, likewiſe called Piſa, ſituated on the river Alpheus, was the chief town in Elis. Here

the Olympic games were celebrated. In its neighbourhood ſtood a rich temple of Olympian Jove, of which the fineſt ornament was an ivory ſtatue of the god, executed with exquiſite art by the celebrated Phidias. —Cyllené, another city of Elis, was reputed to be the birth-place of Mercury, thence called Cyllenius.

Meſſenia lay on the ſouth-weſt coaſt of Peloponneſus. It was accounted the moſt fruitful country of all Greece. —— Meſſene, Pylus, and Corone, were the chief towns of Meſſenia. Pylus was the country of Neſtor, ſo diſtinguiſhed in the Trojan war. This town having gone to decay, was rebuilt by the Athenians during the Peloponneſian war; who, about the ſame time, took poſſeſſion of the iſland Sphacteria, on the ſame coaſt. The Athenian garriſons placed in Pylus and Sphacteria, haraſſed the Lacedemonians extremely during that deſtructive war.

Arcadia is a mountainous country, and forms the centre of the Peloponneſus. —— The towns of note in this diſtrict were Tegea, Stymphalus, Mantinea, and Megalopolis. In the neighbourhood of Mantinea was fought the bloody battle between the Thebans and their allies on one ſide, commanded by Epaminondas, and the Lacedemonians and Athenians on the other. The latter were defeated; but Epaminondas expired in the arms of victory. Megalopolis was the birth-place of Polybius the hiſtorian.

Laconia lay on the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of Peloponneſus, and bordered on Meſſenia and Arcadia. —— Its chief city was Sparta, whoſe inhabitants were equally diſtinguiſhed by their bravery, and by the auſterity of their manners. It was built on the river Eurotas; but had no walls. Gytheum ſtood at the mouth of the Eurotas, on the coaſt of the Archipelago, and was the chief ſea-port of Laconia. —In Laconia were likewiſe the towns of Leuctrum and Amyclæ.

Argis, alſo named Argolis, and Argia, lay on the eaſtern coaſt of Peloponneſus; and was bounded by Arcadia on the

the weſt, and by Laconia on the ſouth. —— It contained the towns of Argos, Nemæa, Mycenæ, Nauplia, Træzene, and Epidaurus. Argos, the capital, ſtood on the banks of the river Inachus. In this city Pyrrhus King of Epirus loſt his life. Nemæa was ſituated between Argos and Corinth. Here the Nemæan games were celebrated in honour of Hercules. Mycenæ was the chief town of Agamemnon's kingdom, and that king's royal reſidence. Epidaurus was a maritime town, where there was a famous temple of Æſculapius.

The ſeas which ſurround Greece are every where interſperſed with numberleſs ISLANDS.

In the Egean ſea, we obſerve Eubœa, Salamis, Egina, Sciro, Tenedos, Lemnos, Samothrace, Leſbos, and Chios.

Eubœa is ſeparated from the continent of Bœotia by a very narrow branch of the ſea called *Euripus*. This iſland is about 90 miles long and 20 broad; and is fruitful in corn and wine. A remarkable irregularity of the tides happens in the Euripus: from the 9th to the 25th days of the moon, the ſea ebbs and flows there twelve, thirteen, or fourteen times in the twenty-four hours, with a moſt rapid current. Anciently Eubœa contained two wealthy towns, Caryſtus and Chalcis. Near the former were quarries of fine marble. Here was found the aſbeſtos, a ſpecies of ſtone that may be ſeparated into thin pliable threads, which the ancients wove into cloth. This cloth, when dirty, was put into the fire, which purified it as water purifies linen, without conſuming it. Chalcis ſtands at the Euripus, oppoſite to Aulis in Bœotia. It was a very populous city, and ſent out many colonies. Here Ariſtotle breathed his laſt.

Sciros contained the tomb of Theſeus. Here too, according to the poets, Achilles was concealed among the women of Lycomedes, prince of the iſland, to avoid going to the ſiege of Troy, where it was foretold he ſhould be killed.

Tenedos was a little iſland not far from Troy.

Lemnos is of a ſquare form, each ſide being about ſeven leagues long. Here, according to the ancient fabuliſts, Vulcan fell when kicked out of heaven by Jupiter. Hence Vulcan is denominated *Lemnius*. Terra Lemnia, a production of this iſland, is a mineral famous for its medicinal virtues. —— From Lemnos Homer ſpeaks of wine being ſent to the Greeks when beſieging Troy.

Leſbos, about ſeventeen leagues in length, and ſeven in breadth, was celebrated for its beautiful women, its excellent wine, and its fertility. Its natives were accounted fine ſingers. Mytilene was its chief town. —— Sappho the poeteſs, and Pittacus the ſage, were natives of Leſbos.

The wine of Chios was likewiſe highly eſteemed. It was the nectar of the ancients. This iſland is about fourteen leagues in circumference. The women of Chios were uncommonly beautiful.

Ægina, alſo called *Ænone*, lay between Attica and Megaris. Being a powerful naval ſtate in the neighbourhood of Pireus, the harbour of Athens, it excited the jealouſy of the Athenians; who having quarrelled with the Æginetæ, paſſed a law, one of the moſt barbarous that occurs in hiſtory, ordaining the thumbs of ſuch of them as fell into their hands to be cut off, to diſable them from working at the oar.

Salamis, the kingdom of Telamon, father to Ajax and Teucer, was famous by the important victory obtained in its neighbourhood by the Grecian fleet over that of Xerxes. —— The Athenians ſuffered ſo ſeverely by a long ſtruggle with the Megarenſians about this iſland, that, at length, they entirely relinquiſhed the attempt, and declared it capital for any perſon to propoſe a renewal of the enterpriſe. But Solon, ſenſible of the great advantage which the Athenians might derive from having the command of the iſland, compoſed verſes to incite them to recommence the attempt; and, to avoid the puniſhment enacted by the law juſt mentioned, he affected to be mad; and, in that character, ran through the

ſtreets

ſtreets declaiming his verſes with great vehemence. The ſtratagem ſucceeded, and his countrymen recovered the iſland.

The Cyclades, a cluſter of twelve little iſlands, lying in a circular form, as the name imports, round Delos; and the Sporades, another collection of ſmall iſlands, more diſtant from one another, and ſcattered round the Cyclades, lie more near to the entry of the Ægean ſea, towards Crete. ——Of the Cyclades, the moſt conſiderable was Andros, in the neighbourhood of Eubœa; Delos, and Paros famous for its beautiful marble. —— Delos, from what the ancients have written of it, ſhould ſeem to have been ſuddenly produced by ſome violent convulſion in the earth occaſioned by an earthquake *. Delos, according to poetical fable, was the birth-place of Apollo and Diana, the children of Latona. It contained a river called *Cynthius*, whence Apollo is ſometimes called *Cynthius*, and Diana *Cynthia*. Many Corinthian merchants, after the deſtruction of their native city by the Romans, were induced to ſettle at Delos on account of its convenient harbour. ——Of the Sporades, the moſt conſiderable iſlands were Icaria, Patmos, Samos, Cos, and Carpathus. Samos is ſituated oppoſite to Epheſus, at the diſtance of about ſix miles from the continent of Aſia Minor. It is about ten leagues long, and five broad. Pythagoras was born here. Juno too was accounted a native of Samos. Cos was the birth-place of the painter Apelles, and of the Prince of Phyſicians Hippocrates.

In the Ionian ſea, the chief iſlands were Corcyra, Cephalenia, Zacynthus, and Ithaca. Homer places the Phæacæ, and the gardens of King Alcinous, in Corcyra. Here the Corinthians eſtabliſhed a colony about half a

* In the year 1707, three or four iſlands were, by a ſimilar convulſion, produced in the moſt ſoutherly part of the Archipelago. The largeſt of theſe is called *Santorin*, and is about ten leagues in circumference. It is a rock of Pumice ſtone, covered to the depth of nine or twelve inches with earth.

century

century before Solon's time.—— Anthony, Cicero's colleague in the conſulate, was baniſhed to Cephalenia, where he laid the foundations of a new town. —— The inhabitants of Zacynthus were an effeminate race, enervated by luxury, the conſequence of their wealth. —Ithaca, ſituated to the eaſt of Cephalenia, is chiefly diſtinguiſhed by being the kingdom and the reſidence of Ulyſſes.

Crete, the largeſt of all the iſlands which ſurround Greece, lies beyond the entry into the Ægean ſea. It is reckoned to be about 200 miles long, and 60 broad. It produced corn and fruit in great plenty, and was famous for its excellent wine. Its inhabitants, reputed, with much probability, to have been originally a Phenician colony, were anciently a warlike people. They had good cavalry, and were expert at the bow, and in naval engagements.—— Their laws were much admired by the Greeks; and the memory of their legiſlator Minos was highly venerated. —— The Cretans afterwards degenerated extremely, and became infamous for their piracy and voluptuouſneſs.—— Gortyna, Cydon, and Gnoſſus, were the chief cities of Crete: and Ida and Dictæ were its moſt remarkable mountains. It had no rivers of any note.

The ancient Greeks ſent out many colonies, particularly to Italy, to Sicily, and to Aſia Minor. In the laſt-mentioned country, theſe colonies poſſeſſed a large tract of country along the ſea-coaſt, diſtinguiſhed into three provinces, Eolia, Ionia, and Doris.

Eolia lay on the coaſt of the Ægean ſea, having the province of Troas or little Phrygia to the north, and Ionia to the ſouth. More anciently, and before the Eolians ſettled there, it was called *Myſia*. —— The cities of chief note in this province were Cuma, Phocea, and Elea. Cuma was reported to have been founded by Pelops, and was a maritime town. Phocea ſtood at the mouth of the river Thermus, between Cuma and Smyrna, and was built by an Athenian colony. Marſeilles, in the ſouth of France, is, by ſome authors, ſuppoſed

to

to have been founded by a colony from Phocea. —— Elea was a ſea-port town at the mouth of the river Caicus. Here Zeno, the founder of the ſect of Stoics, was born.

Ionia lay to the ſouth of Eolia. Its inhabitants, the Ionians, who gave their name to the country, had, according to their own traditions, emigrated thither from Attica. Its principal cities were Smyrna, Clazomenæ, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, and Epheſus. Smyrna was a rich commercial city, remarkable for the beauty of its ſituation. Clazomenæ ſtood upon the coaſt, and was the birth-place of the philoſopher Anaxagoras, the inſtructor of the illuſtrious Pericles. Teos was ſituated on a bay of the ſea oppoſite to Clazomenæ. Here Anacreon, the celebrated Lyric poet, was born. Lebedus ſtood likewiſe on the coaſt. Here annual games were performed in honour of Bacchus. Colophon was famous for an oracle of Apollo in its neighbourhood; but more famous ſtill by having the moſt plauſible claim to the honour of being the birth-place of Homer, the Prince of Epic Poets. But of all the cities of Ionia, Epheſus was the moſt diſtinguiſhed. It was ſituated on the coaſt between the rivers Cayſter and Mæander. Its principal ornament was the renowned temple of Diana, one of the moſt magnificent edifices that ever the world ſaw.

Doris lay to the ſouth of Ionia. Halicarnaſſus and Cnidus were its two principal cities. Herodotus, the Father of Hiſtory, was a native of the former; but removed, with a colony of his countrymen, to Thurium in Italy. Here too Dionyſius, ſurnamed the *Halicarnaſſian*, was born. At Cnidus there was a ſtatue of Venus of ineſtimable value, executed by the famous Praxitiles. Cnidus too was the birth-place of Cteſias the phyſician, who having accompanied Cyrus the younger in his unnatural expedition againſt his brother Artaxerxes, was made priſoner at the battle of Cunaxa, and remained at the Perſian court ſeventeen years. In this period he is ſaid to have written

written a voluminous hiſtory of the Perſians and Aſſyrians *.

The Pelaſgi, who, by their own account, derived their deſcent from Pelaſgus, are, on probable grounds, ſuppoſed to have been the moſt ancient inhabitants of Greece mentioned in tradition.

The Greeks, in their more early times, were, like every other people, very ſavage, being utterly ignorant of agriculture, and paying divine honours to Pelaſgus, who had taught them to feed on acorns, as affording a more ſolid and ſubſtantial nouriſhment than herbs and roots. But diſcovering, by degrees, the advantages of ſociety, they began firſt to form villages, and, in proceſs of time, towns.

It appears, that they bore originally the name of *Greeks*, which however they ſoon loſt; for *Hellen*, the ſon of Deucalion king of Lycia, having ſubdued the Peloponneſe, called the people after his own name, Ἕλληνες, and the country itſelf Ἑλλας.

Acheus and Ion, grandſons of Hellen, became the chiefs of two tribes; the former, of the Acheans, who inhabited Achaia; and the other, of the Ionians, who poſſeſſed the territory called afterwards *Lacedemon*.

Eolus and *Dorus*, likewiſe two deſcendents of Hellen, were in the ſame manner chiefs of two other tribes called after their names; Eolus of the *Eolians*, who, under Pelops ſon of Tantalus, ſettled in *Laconia*; and Dorus of the *Dorians*, who occupied the country of *Doris*, in the neighbourhood of Mount Parnaſſus. Af-

* Cteſias, in his hiſtory, ſeems to have differed in various particulars from Herodotus, whoſe accuracy he affected to queſtion. Cteſias too was himſelf ſuſpected by the poſterior Greek writers, and by Plutarch among the reſt, both of credulity in his hiſtorical reſearches, and of vanity as to what related to himſelf. But as Herodotus, as well as Cteſias, wrote principally from tradition, they may have been both miſinformed: and from their diſagreement, as well as from the nature of things, we may perceive how little credit is due to the hiſtory of remote nations and ages not otherwiſe ſupported than by tradition.

terwards

terwards the *Heraclidæ*, or deſcendents of Hercules, invaded the Peloponneſe, and drove out the Acheans and Ionians; who thereupon retired to the coaſt of Aſia Minor.

In order to treat this hiſtory in a more diſtinct and methodical manner, we ſhall divide it into four ages or periods, including, all together, a ſpace of 1938 years.

The firſt age extends from the foundation of the ſmall kingdom of Sicyon, accounted the moſt ancient in Greece, about the year before Chriſt, according to our computation, 2084, to the beginning of the war between the Greeks and Perſians, about the year 494, a ſpace of 1590 years.

The ſecond age extends from the beginning of the war between the Greeks and Perſians, to the concluſion of the Peloponneſian war in the year 404, a ſpace of 90 years.

The third age extends from the concluſion of the Peloponneſian war, to the death of Alexander the Great, in the year 323, a ſpace of 81 years.

The fourth and laſt age extends from the death of Alexander the Great, to the time when Greece became a Roman province, ſoon after the deſtruction of Corinth, about the year 146, a ſpace of about 177 years.

The end of the hiſtory of Greece is, by other writers, extended to the period of the extinction of the government of the Seleucidæ in Aſia, by Pompey the Great, in the year before Chriſt 65: And, by ſome authors, it is even extended to the time that the race of the Lagidæ failed in Egypt, in the perſon of the famous Cleopatra, when that country was reduced into the form of a Roman province by Auguſtus Cæſar, in the year after Chriſt 30.

To the whole ſhall be ſubjoined an account of the moſt memorable tranſactions in Greater Greece, which comprehended, as we have already obſerved, the iſland of Sicily, and a conſiderable part of the preſent kingdom of Naples on the continent of Italy.

THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE.

BOOK I.

Containing the History of the First Age of Greece.

THIS first age may be called the infancy of Greece. It presents at first to our view a country divided into several small principalities, such as the kingdoms of Sicyon, of Athens, of Sparta, of Thebes, &c. which are thought to have been respectively founded by so many different colonies of Egyptians and Phenicians. In the next place, it comprehends the heroic times, under which are placed the expedition of the Argonauts, the cruelty of the Danaides, the labours of Hercules, the siege of Thebes, the siege of Troy, and other ancient events, which have been greatly disguised by the fables of the poets. For the whole mythology, and the various metamorphoses with which their works abound, are nothing else than the events of the ancient Greek history, disfigured and transformed by the licentious marvellous of those first poets.

The colonies just now mentioned contributed to humanize and soften the savage manners of the original Greeks. Of the Phenicians they learned navigation

and commerce; and of the Egyptians, laws, religion, the rudiments of the fine arts, and bodily exerciſes.

The Greeks, gradually emerging from barbariſm, acquired by degrees juſter notions of every thing. Each individual began to regard his family as a member of the ſtate, and his native country as a common mother. Hence they ſoon became ſenſible of the neceſſity and nature of government. At firſt the regal power generally prevailed. But in proceſs of time moſt of the ſtates aſſumed the republican form of government; which, as it opens a way for every the loweſt member to arrive at honours and offices, begets in the breaſts of the citizens a more than ordinary love of their country. The offices of truſt, too, in ſuch a government, being commonly confined in their duration to a year, or ſome ſuch ſhort ſpace, could hardly be converted to any bad purpoſe by thoſe who poſſeſſed them, ſenſible how ſoon they muſt reſign them, and return to a level with their fellow-citizens, and that they were obliged to render a ſtrict account of their adminiſtration. Beſides, their laborious courſe of life, chiefly ſpent in the cultivation of the ground, preſerved them, in a great meaſure, from the more hurtful and vicious paſſions, and maintained a certain degree of equality among all the members of the ſtate. Hence ſimplicity and ſobriety, with their concomitant virtues, were holden in honour and eſteem. Such were the Greeks during this firſt age, and the greateſt part of the ſecond.

CHAP. I.

A general account of the ancient principalities of Greece, from their earlieſt times, till the abolition of the kingly government in all but Sparta.

THE hiſtory of the firſt ages of Greece is, like that of the beginnings of all other nations, involved in almoſt impenetrable obſcurity. This obſcurity gives room

room for fiction, which, while it fills up the total blank of remote antiquity with imaginary events and revolutions, diſguiſes at the ſame time, and embelliſhes, the few real occurrences of later times of which ſome remembrance was ſtill preſerved, ſo that they become marvellous, unnatural, and incredible. Thus it is found to be extremely difficult, if not abſolutely impoſſible, even to gueſs at the ſimple truth.

Some learned men, however, have laboured to diſtinguiſh fact from fable in this indigeſted chaos; and their inveſtigations furniſh evidence of their extenſive reading, and frequently, though not always, diſcover much diſcernment and ingenuity. But this is all the praiſe that can be given them. For a ſagacious and attentive reader generally perceives their theories to be directed by ſome particular bias, and finds their deductions inconcluſive and unſatisfactory.

But the unavoidable ignorance of the more ancient hiſtory of nations, though it may be matter of regret to philoſophers, is no material loſs to other readers. For what uſeful information could have been thence derived, even if their tranſactions had been faithfully recorded by writers who had lived in thoſe times? We ſhould peruſe but the annals of a wild and ſavage race, roaming about from place to place as accidents direct them, ſtruggling with the ſeaſons, and with their *brother-beaſts*, and governed in their purſuits by immediate neceſſity rather than by rational deſign. To the philoſopher, who deſires to trace man from the brute ſtate to that of ſociety, ſuch a hiſtory might be uſeful; but to other readers it would afford little inſtruction, and leſs entertainment. Mankind in this ſtate ſhould ſeem to be a fitter ſubject for natural philoſophy, than for hiſtory.

The ancient poets of Greece were likewiſe its firſt hiſtorians. The ſame has been the caſe with moſt other nations. The object of theſe poets having been to pleaſe and to ſurpriſe rather than to confine themſelves to the plain narration of mere matters of fact, their deſcriptions

ſcriptions are wonderful paſt all bounds of credibility, and exhibit a motley medley of miracles, monſters, demigods, and heroes.

We ſhould therefore very willingly have omitted to take any notice of the abſurd fables of the more ancient hiſtory of Greece, were not the knowledge of them neceſſary to thoſe who peruſe the writings of the ancients, which otherwiſe muſt in many places prove totally unintelligible. For this reaſon alone we proceed to this diſagreeable and diſguſting taſk; which, however, we ſhall diſcuſs with all poſſible brevity.

Greece, in its more ancient times, was divided into theſe ſeven ſmall kingdoms or principalities; Sicyon, Argos, Mycene, Thebes, Corinth, Sparta, and Athens. Of each of theſe in its order.

SICYON.

2101 *. The kingdom of Sicyon took its name from Sicyon, a town of the Peloponneſe, ſituated near the iſthmus of Corinth, and by ſome accounted the moſt ancient city in Greece. *Egialeus* is mentioned as its firſt king; but hiſtorians are not agreed about the number of his ſucceſſors. Indeed this kingdom never poſſeſſed much power, nor made any conſiderable figure.

We cannot ſpeak with any tolerable certainty of the other ſmall kingdoms eſtabliſhed about the ſame time with that of Sicyon.

ARGOS.

1856. The principality of Argos ſurpaſſed both in power and wealth that of Sicyon. The names of its kings that occur in hiſtory are theſe: Inachus, Phoroneus, Apis, Argus, Criaſus, Phorbas, Triopas, Erotopus, Sthenelus, Gelanor, Danaus, Lynceus, Abas, Prætus, Acriſius.

Phoroneus endeavoured to humanize his ſubjects, influencing their minds by the terrors of religion, and

* This and all the other dates are expreſſive of the years before Chriſt.

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their actions by the reſtraint of laws. He gained ſeveral advantages over the Arcadians in war, and reduced the Peloponneſe under his power. Argus, from whom the chief city of the kingdom derived its name, is reckoned the firſt who yoked oxen in the plough. Criaſus was the firſt who dedicated altars to the goddeſs Juno. Inachus is famous for being the father of Io, who has afforded ſo much matter for poetical fiction.

Here occurs the fable of the Danaides, told in ſubſtance thus. Egyptus king of Egypt having fifty ſons, reſolved to marry them to the like number of daughters of his brother Danaus; who, to avoid the alliance, fled to Argos. The ſhip in which he tranſported himſelf was the firſt of any conſiderable ſize that had appeared on the coaſts of Greece. Upon arriving at Argos, he claimed the crown, as being a deſcendent of Epaphus; and was on that footing preferred to Gelanor, who was then in poſſeſſion of it. Egyptus, in the mean time, apprehenſive leſt Danaus ſhould become too powerful by the alliances he might procure from the marriages of his fifty daughters, diſpatched his fifty ſons at the head of an army, to inſiſt on the daughters receiving them for huſbands. Their uncle, Danaus, finding himſelf ſolicited in ſo forcible a manner, was obliged to conſent; but he privately perſuaded his daughters to murder their reſpective huſbands the firſt night of their marriage; a moſt ſhocking cruelty, which theſe daughters, however, were not afraid to perpetrate. Linceus, the huſband of the daughter named *Hypermneſtra*, alone eſcaped this horrible maſſacre. This ſtory is fooliſh, abſurd, and incredible.

Acriſius and Prætus, two twin-brothers, and ſons of Linceus, diſputed the kingdom with each other; but came to an agreement at laſt, whereby the crown of Argos was reſerved to Acriſius; and Tirinthus, with ſome other places, were yielded to Prætus. This Acriſius was the father of the beautiful Danae, ſo celebrated by the poets. Acriſius having been warned by an oracle, that his grandſon ſhould occaſion his death, placed his daugh-

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ter in close confinement. But a prince, named *Jupiter*, bribed her guard, gained admittance into the tower wherein she was confined, and married her.

1361. Perseus was the fruit of this clandestine marriage.

Many wonderful actions are attributed to this Perseus. He is said to have destroyed monsters; — to have killed Medusa, who is believed to have been a queen in Africa, whose kingdom he conquered; — and to have rescued Andromeda from a sea-monster, that is to say, from some person who was to have carried her away in a ship. Perseus coming at last into Thessaly, to be present at certain public games, killed Acrisius by accident.

About the same time Pelops, the son of Tantalus king of Phrygia, having married Hippodamia, the daughter of Oenomaus king of Pisa, succeeded his father-in-law in his kingdom, and reigned very long. He made himself master of the Peloponnese, and had a vast number of descendents, very famous in the history of Greece, where they are distinguished by the name of *Pelopidæ*.

Mycene.

Perseus transferred the throne of Argos to

1344. *Mycene*, and gave the city of Argos to his son Anaxagoras, who was the father of a pretty long race, by whom he was succeeded in that principality. The reign of Perseus was of fifty-eight years duration, and afforded him sufficient time for establishing on a firm foundation his new kingdom of Mycene. The names of his successors were, Sthenelus, Eurystheus, Atreus, Thyestes, Agamemnon, Egisteus, Orestes, Tisamenes.

It was Eurystheus who imposed on Hercules the twelve labours so much exaggerated by fable. It seems to be admitted by historians, that several heroes existed, in different nations, under this name of Hercules, which appears to have been a general appellation bestowed on those who distinguished themselves

by extraordinary feats of valour. But in the end, the exploits of all the reſt were, by the Grecian fabuliſts, appropriated to their own countryman, who was the ſon of Alcmena, by Amphytrion, or, as the poets will have it, by Jupiter, the chief of the gods; but who truly has been ſome neighbouring prince of that name. Euryſtheus, from a jealouſy of the bravery of Hercules, engaged him in ſeveral dangerous enterpriſes, wherein he hoped he might periſh. Theſe enterpriſes have in fable obtained the name of the *twelve labours*, and are there rendered romantic, paſt all bounds of probability. The Nemean lion, and the ſeven-headed hydra, muſt certainly have been robbers or murderers extirpated by Hercules. For, in thoſe early ages, perſons of extraordinary courage travelled about in ſearch of great adventures, ſomething in the manner of our modern knights-errant.

The expedition of the Argonauts muſt be placed about this time. Jaſon, a young prince of Theſſaly, was inſtigated to this undertaking by his uncle Pelias, who having uſurped his throne, hoped that his nephew might fall in the expedition. The braveſt men of Greece joined him in the enterpriſe; Hercules, Oileus, Telamon, Caſtor, Pollux, and Argus, by whoſe directions the ſhip that tranſported them to Colchos was conſtructed, and therefore called after his name. The poets have been pleaſed to aſſign a golden fleece, which was guarded by a dragon, for the object of this expedition, and to deck the whole ſtory in very ſhowy fables. The truth of the matter ſeems to be, that they went to make war againſt King Etes, who was believed to poſſeſs vaſt treaſures. The adventurers accordingly ſucceeded in their enterpriſe, and that too without any blood being ſpilt; for Medea, the daughter of Etes, having fallen in love with Jaſon, put him in poſſeſſion of all her father's wealth, to induce him to marry her. This Medea became afterwards very famous by her ſkill in ſorcery, and ſtill more infamous by her wickedneſs. 1263.

To return to Hercules. That hero, after having acquired immortal glory, burnt himſelf on Mount Oeta, in an exceſs of pain, occaſioned, as we are told, by the poiſoned ſhirt given him by his wife Dejanira, by the perſuaſion of his rival Neſſus. This fabulous ſtory ſignifies, perhaps, that Dejanira, in a fit of jealouſy, may have given him a potion which rendered him furious, and killed him.

Euryſtheus, actuated by the ſame hatred and cruelty againſt the children of Hercules that he had entertained againſt their father, expelled them the Peloponneſe. They were known by the name of *Heraclidæ*, and took refuge in Attica, where Euryſtheus having again attacked them, was defeated and ſlain. Upon this they returned into the Peloponneſe; but three years after, Hellen, the eldeſt of them, having been defeated by a king of Tegea, the reſt of his kindred were obliged to diſperſe through different countries.

After the death of Euryſtheus, his nephew Atreus, the ſon of Pelops, took poſſeſſion of the Peloponneſe, where his poſterity reigned after him under the appellation of *Pelopidæ*. This Atreus rendered himſelf remarkable by his cruelty. Having diſcovered that his brother Thyeſtes carried on a criminal correſpondence with his wife Europa, he firſt baniſhed him; but afterwards having recalled him, he killed Thyeſtes's ſon Pelops, and ſerved up the fleſh of his body as a diſh to his father. This fact, however, depends on no better authority than that of the poets, and may therefore be juſtly enough called in queſtion. But it has nevertheleſs furniſhed ſubject for the Tragic Muſe, both in ancient and modern times. Agamemnon, ſon of Pliſthenes, and grandſon of Atreus, is ſuppoſed to have been the ſucceſſor of Atreus in the kingdom of Argos and Mycene. Agamemnon was a very powerful prince, and on that account was choſen commander in chief of the Grecian forces in the war againſt Troy.

THEBES.

Cadmus, a native of Egypt, and the ſon of Agenor, is reckoned the firſt king of Thebes. 1493. Under pretence of ſeeking his ſiſter, who had been carried off by a prince called *Jupiter*, he led a colony of Phenicians into Greece, and founded that city. Cadmus is ſaid to have introduced into Greece the Phenician alphabet. The invention of letters is the moſt wonderful, and the moſt uſeful, of all the inventions of man.—The ſucceſſors of Cadmus were, Polydore, Labdacus, and Lycas.

In the time of the laſt of theſe, Amphion and Zethus made themſelves maſters of Thebes, and aſſumed the ſovereign power. Amphion being a man of a mild diſpoſition, and very eloquent, perſuaded the Thebans voluntarily to confirm him and his colleague in the royalty, and likewiſe to take more effectual meaſures for the defence of their city. This, no doubt, has given occaſion to the poetical fable, of Amphion having built the walls of Thebes by the muſic of his lyre. His reign, however, was but of ſhort duration; for Laius, the ſon of Labdacus, ſoon recovered the kingdom.

Laius having married a lady called *Jocaſta*, was told by the oracle, that the ſon ſhe brought him ſhould be the occaſion of his death. As ſoon therefore as the boy was born, he ordered him to be expoſed. But ſome ſhepherds found the child, ſaved him from periſhing, and called him *Oedipus*. Happening, when grown up, to meet with his father in the country of Phocis, he quarrelled with the old man, and ſlew him, without knowing him to be his father. Creon, thereupon, the brother of Jocaſta, uſurped the crown.

Here the truth of the Theban hiſtory is diſfigured and diſguiſed by the fables of the poets. They tell us, that a ſphinx appeared on the ſea-ſhore, propoſed a riddle to all paſſengers, and devoured thoſe that could not ſolve it. Creon ordered proclamation to be made through all Greece, that he would beſtow the kingdom of Thebes, together with its queen Jocaſta, on the man

that ſhould ſolve the ſphinx's riddle. Oedipus undertook the buſineſs; and on being aſked by the ſphinx, *What was the animal that walked in the morning on four feet, at noon on two, and at night on three?* He anſwered, *That it was man.* The ſphinx, enraged at finding her riddle underſtood, threw herſelf into the ſea. Oedipus, as the reward of his ingenuity, received Jocaſta in marriage, and the kingdom of Thebes, for her dowry. A violent plague immediately deſolates Bœotia; and the oracle being applied to on the occaſion, gives for anſwer, that it would continue to rage till the murderer of Laius were baniſhed. After much inquiry, the myſtery is diſcovered. Oedipus perceiving that he is not only the murderer of his father, but the huſband of his own mother, is ſtruck with the utmoſt horror, and in deſpair plucks out his eyes, or, more truly, perhaps, baniſhes himſelf from the ſight of his ſubjects by a voluntary retirement; and Jocaſta, in an exceſs of grief, ſtrangles herſelf. The tragic poets, in all ages, have found this an admirable ſubject on which to exerciſe their muſe.

Eteocles and Polinices, the unhappy fruits of
1225. the inceſtuous marriage of Oedipus and his mother, ſoon became famous for their mutual animoſity, and their hatred of each other. In this diſpoſition they both aſpired to the throne, and could find no other mean of reconcilement, than by agreeing to reign alternately, each a year at a time. But Eteocles having been firſt preferred to the regal dignity, on account of his being the elder brother, refuſed, upon the expiry of his year, to reſign the throne to Polinices. The latter, upon this, implored the aſſiſtance of Adraſtus king of Argos; who not only joined him himſelf, but ſoon formed a powerful confederacy in his favour, and immediately declared war againſt Eteocles. Thebes, accordingly, is beſieged under the conduct of ſeven famous commanders, Adraſtus, Polinices, Tydeus, Amphiaraus, Capaneus, Hypomedon, and Parthenopeus. Of theſe commanders the greater part periſhed in the courſe

courſe of the ſiege; which, after occaſioning the effuſion of much blood, was at laſt relinquiſhed, Eteocles and Polinices having terminated the conteſt by a ſingle combat; wherein they fought with ſuch deſperate fury, that they both fell. This ſiege of Thebes is reckoned to have preceded that of Troy about thirty years.

After the death of the two brothers, the ſons of the ſeven commanders who had conducted the ſiege, reſolved to revenge the deaths of ſuch of their fathers as had been killed in it. With this view they laid waſte Bœotia, and came to an engagement with the Thebans; who having loſt their king in the battle, abandoned their city; of which the *Epigonoi*, the name given to theſe ſeven chiefs, immediately took poſſeſſion.

The ſequel of this period of the Theban hiſtory is no leſs uncertain and obſcure than its beginning. Xanthus is thought to have been their laſt king, the government on his death having become republican.

CORINTH.

The origin of *Corinth* is involved in great obſcurity. It is ſuppoſed to have been firſt erected into a kingdom by Syſiphus. Glaucus the ſon of Syſiphus inſtituted the Iſthmic games, and was father to the famous Bellerophon, who, according to the poets, mounted the horſe Pegaſus, to encounter a monſter. The truth of the matter ſeems to be, that Bellerophon behaved himſelf heroically in the many enterpriſes which he undertook. As there is great confuſion in hiſtory with reſpect to the kings of Corinth, we ſhall only mention, that one of theſe kings, Bacchis, left a numerous poſterity, known by the name of *Bacchides*; who, after a conſiderable interval, during which ſeveral revolutions happened in the kingdom, engroſſed the whole power of the ſtate, and rendered the government ariſtocratical. 1393.

In this interval Corinth had arrived at a conſiderable degree of naval ſtrength, and had founded the colonies of Corcyra and Syracuſe. The latter of which, by the

the advantage of its ſituation, and the goodneſs of its climate, became the fineſt city of Greater Greece.

Cypſelus, at laſt, in ſpite of numberleſs obſtacles that lay in his way, roſe to the ſupreme power at Corinth, and having completely gotten the better of all oppoſition, ruled his ſubjects with great mildneſs and moderation for the ſpace of thirty years. His ſon Periander ſucceeded him; but proved a downright tyrant: for he not only put to death the principal citizens of Corinth, but even his own wife. His great intercourſe, however, with the philoſophers of thoſe times, and the philoſophical ſpirit which, notwithſtanding the cruelty of his nature, he himſelf poſſeſſed, procured him a place among the ſeven ſages of Greece; an honour from which his crimes ought to have excluded him. Upon his death the Corinthians, weary of being ruled by an abſolute prince, reſolved to alter the form of government from monarchy to democracy; and having, with that view, freed themſelves of the remaining branches of the royal family, they aſſerted their natural liberty, and eſtabliſhed the popular government.

The advantageous ſituation of Corinth upon the narrow neck of land that joins the Peloponneſe to the continent, procured her the appellation of the *eye* of Greece, and ſeemed peculiarly adapted for giving her a ſuperiority over all the neighbouring ſtates. But the genius of the Corinthians was entirely commercial. They aſpired rather at wealth than power.

SPARTA.

Lelex is the firſt king of *Laconia* mention-
1533. ed in hiſtory. His ſucceſſors were, Myles, Eurotas, Lacedemon, Amycles, Argalus, Cynortas, Oebalus, Hypocoon, and Tyndarus.

Eurotas was the founder of the city of Sparta, ſo called after his daughter Sparta, the wife of Lacedemon, who gave his name to the country, as his wife had given hers to the city.

Tyndarus married Leda, who became mother of the two famous heroes Caſtor and Pollux, and the no leſs famous

famous daughters, Clytemneſtra the wife of Agamemnon, and Helen, whoſe rape gave occaſion to the Trojan war.

It is believed, and with a great deal of probability, that the Trojans were originally a Greek colony; Dardanus, their firſt king, having come from Arcadia; and their religion, their language, and the greater part of their names, being evidently of Greek extraction. Theſe are the kings of Troy whoſe names have reached us: Dardanus, Ericthonius, Tros, Ilus, Laomedon, and Priam. The name of *Ilium*, by which their chief city was known to the Greeks, is thought to have been derived from *Ilus*, and its other name of *Troy* from Tros. Priam, its laſt king, had arrived to a very high pitch of wealth and power. He was the father of fifty ſons; the walls of Troy were rebuilt by him; he changed the name of the town to *Pergamus*; and reigned for many years with great proſperity.

In the mean time Queen Hecuba, Priam's ſecond wife, having dreamt that ſhe ſhould bring forth a firebrand, by which the city ſhould be reduced to aſhes, Priam was ſo much alarmed, that he ordered the child of which the queen was big, and who happened to be a boy, to be expoſed as ſoon as born. The child was named *Paris*; and, notwithſtanding the order of his father, was, by the care of Hecuba, preſerved, and privately educated. When grown up, he appeared at court, where his beautiful perſon attracted general admiration. Upon this he ventured to diſcover himſelf to Priam; who was ſo delighted with his figure and accompliſhments, that he thought no more of the dream. Paris ſoon after undertook an expedition into Greece, on pretence of recovering his aunt Heſioné, who, when very young, had been carrried away by Hercules, and by him had been given in marriage to Telamon. It may not be improper to mention the occaſion of this rape.

Laomedon, the father of Heſioné, had applied the treaſures of the temples of Neptune and Apollo to build

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the walls of Troy, under a promiſe of repaying the ſums ſo abſtracted. But being either unable or unwilling to diſcharge his promiſe, the oracle declared that he could no otherwiſe expiate the ſacrilege, but by expoſing a Trojan virgin to a ſea-monſter. Heſione was condemned by lot to undergo this puniſhment. Hercules, however, ſlew the monſter, and reſcued Heſione. It is well known how much this event has been diſguiſed by the fictions of the poets.

Paris, upon his arrival at Sparta, was received in the moſt kind and hoſpitable manner by Menelaus, who had ſucceeded to that kingdom in the right of his wife, Helen, the daughter of Tyndarus. But Paris falling in love with Helen, prevailed with her to run away with him, and thereby plunged his country into an abyſs of misfortunes.

We may, however, trace the cauſe of the Trojan war to a higher ſource ſtill, and attribute it to an hereditary animoſity that had long ſubſiſted between the families of Agamemnon and Priam. For Tantalus king of Phrygia, and great-grandfather of Agamemnon, having violently carried off Ganymede, brother of Ilus, the grandfather of Priam, Ilus had taken vengeance for this injury, by ſtripping Tantalus of his dominions, and obliging him to take refuge in Greece, where his ſon Pelops and his deſcendents eſtabliſhed themſelves under the name of *Pelopidæ*.

Menelaus, fired with indignation at the inſult committed againſt him by Paris, perſuaded his brother Agamemnon to eſpouſe his quarrel; and by their joint efforts, the two brothers brought all the other powers of Greece to unite in the ſame cauſe, and to bind themſelves by oath, either to recover Helen, or to ruin Troy. Agamemnon was choſen commander in chief of this grand confederacy.

Aulis was the general rendezvous of all the Grecian forces; who, when aſſembled there, compoſed all together an army of 100,000 men. The fleet deſtined to carry them to Troy, conſiſted of about 1150 veſſels.

The gallies of Bœotia carried each 120 men, and thoſe of Philoctetes 50. Theſe veſſels had no deck, but were made like open boats. Of the chiefs who accompanied this army, the moſt famous were, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomedes, Sthenelus, Euryalus, Neſtor, Ajax ſon of Telamon, Ajax ſon of Oileus, Achilles, his friend Patroclus, Ulyſſes, &c.

The Greeks having landed on the plains of Troy, ſoon perceived that the Trojans were as brave a people as themſelves. In the mean time Ulyſſes and Menelaus were ſent to Priam to demand the reſtitution of Helen; but that prince, in oppoſition to the opinion of his council, having refuſed to comply with their requeſt, both parties made vigorous preparations for war. 1193.

The Greeks, after defeating the Trojans in two different engagements, found themſelves under the neceſſity of dividing their forces, the more eaſily to procure proviſions, of which they began to be in great want. This gave leiſure to the Trojans to negotiate with the neighbouring ſtates for aſſiſtance. Achilles, in the mean time, who commanded the detachment of the army ſent out in ſearch of proviſions, performed many ſignal exploits; took ſeveral towns, and made a vaſt booty. But the cruelty of the Greeks to Palamedes, one of their braveſt officers, whom they put to death upon a falſe accuſation of treaſon brought againſt him by Ulyſſes, ſo provoked Achilles, that he refuſed to give them further aſſiſtance in the war, and ſeparated his troops from the reſt of the army.

The nine firſt years of the war were conſumed in various engagements of no great importance; the Greeks having in that time employed themſelves chiefly in ravaging the territories of Priam and his allies. It is therefore true, that the *war* of Troy continued ten years; but it is not true, as is commonly believed, that the city of Troy was *beſieged* all that ſpace; for it was not till the ſpring of the tenth year that the Greeks formed the ſiege. They at firſt experienced the moſt vigo-

rous reſiſtance on the part of the beſieged, who were commanded by Hector, Deiphobus, &c. and by ſeveral princes that had come to their aſſiſtance; ſuch as, Sarpedon, Rhæſus, Memnon. The Trojans had even the advantage in ſeveral engagements, and made a great ſlaughter of the Greeks; but none of theſe actions was deciſive. At laſt, however, Hector, at the head of the Trojans, beat the enemy fairly from the field, purſued them to their camp, forced the entrenchments, and ſet fire to their ſhips; and victory ſeemed at laſt on the point of declaring for the Trojans. But Patroclus, the friend of Achilles, perceiving the extreme diſtreſs of the Greeks, advanced in this critical moment to their relief with the troops of Achilles, reckoned the braveſt of the Grecian army, rallied the Greeks, and repulſed the Trojans. Several of the beſt officers on both ſides fell on this occaſion; amongſt the reſt, Sarpedon, ſlain by Patroclus, and Patroclus himſelf ſlain by the hand of Hector. Affairs now aſſume a different appearance. Achilles, furious for the loſs of his friend, forgetting the former cauſe of his reſentment, joins his forces to the reſt of the Grecian army, beats the Trojans, and ſacrifices on the tomb of Patroclus twelve of the nobleſt priſoners taken by him in the engagement. He is now ſolely intent on fighting perſonally with Hector, whom he engages, and kills at laſt. But, not ſatisfied with the death of his gallant enemy, he ſullies the glory of his victory by inſulting, in the moſt ungenerous and ſavage manner, over his dead body, which he drags at his chariot-wheels around the city. Achilles himſelf is ſlain ſoon after by Paris; who in like manner falls in a ſhort time by the hand of Philoctetes.

The Trojans having now loſt their beſt commanders, repoſed their laſt hope on the famous Palladium, a ſtatue of Minerva, ſaid to have dropt into their city directly from heaven; it being a received opinion, that while this ſtatue remained within the walls of Troy, that city could never be taken. At length, however, Antenor and Æneas are reported to have treacherouſly delivered

livered it to the Greeks, and at the ſame time to have betrayed the city, by throwing the gates open to the enemy in the night. But ſome authors ſay, that the Greeks took Troy by ſurpriſe. As for the wooden horſe, by means of which the Greeks, according to the poets, made themſelves maſters of the city, it ſhould ſeem to be a mere chimera of poetical fancy; or, perhaps, ſome machine reſembling a horſe, which the Greeks may have uſed in the ſiege, to make a breach in the wall, by which they gained admittance into the town. It is, however, an agreed point, that the Greeks took the city in the night, put Priam and all his family to death, and after plundering the town, ſet it on fire. The taking of Troy is the moſt cele- 1184.
brated epoch in the hiſtory of the Greeks; and indeed this war may be ſaid to have afforded the firſt public diſplay of Grecian valour. It is likewiſe worth remarking, that the misfortunes of Troy have furniſhed the ſubject of the two moſt perfect epic poems in the world, namely, the Iliad and the Æneid.

Menelaus alone, by recovering Helen, reaped an apparent advantage from the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe. To the other Greeks it proved a ſource of the bittereſt misfortunes. The fields of Troy were enriched with the blood of their beſt commanders and ſoldiers, of whom the far greater part were buried there; and the remains of their army, after being further conſiderably diminiſhed by the diſaſters of a tempeſtuous voyage, found, on their arrival at home, nothing but mortifications and diſappointments of the moſt cruel kinds. Their chief, Agamemnon, had been but a ſhort while in his own kingdom when he was murdered by Egyptus the ſon of Thyeſtes, who uſurped his throne as the reward of his villany.

Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus and Helen, had been firſt married to Oreſtes, the ſon of Agamemnon, but was afterwards taken from him, and given to Pyrrhus the ſon of Achilles. Oreſtes having ſlain Pyrrhus, ſucceeded Menelaus in the kingdom of Sparta; and ſeven years after, having likewiſe killed the uſurper Egyptus,

together with Clytemneſtra his own mother, who had been acceſſory to the murder of her huſband Agamemnon, he united the kingdom of Sparta with that of Argos and Mycene. Oreſtes, in the mean time, felt the moſt bitter remorſe for his cruelty to his mother; whence the poets have taken occaſion to ſay, that he was haunted by the furies. Tiſamenes ſucceeded his father Oreſtes; but was dethroned, and expelled his kingdom by the Heraclidæ, after reigning three years.

The Heraclidæ were at this time headed by three brothers, Temanes, Cteſiphontes, and Ariſtodemus, ſons of Ariſtomachus, great-grandſon of Hercules. They laid claim to the Peloponneſe, as belonging to them by hereditary right, and recovered it accordingly. Temanes got the city of Argos, Ariſtodemus that of Sparta, and Cteſiphontes Mycene. The return of the Heraclidæ produced a great revolution among the ſtates of Greece, and annihilated the power of the Pelopidæ. The Acheans, who had formerly inhabited a part of Laconia, were by that event obliged to remove to Aſia Minor, where they occupied that part of the continent formerly known by the name of *Eolia*, and there founded Smyrna, and ſeveral other cities. The Ionians too, who poſſeſſed another diſtrict of the Peloponneſe, were expelled that country by the Heraclidæ, and obliged, in like manner, to retire to Aſia Minor; where they took poſſeſſion of the country called after them *Ionia*, and there built Epheſus, Clazomene, Samos, &c.

As the four principal tribes of Greeks, diſtinguiſhed by the names of *Eolians*, *Acheans*, *Ionians*, and *Dorians*, were perfectly independent of one another, and confined themſelves each to its particular territory, every one of them preſerved its peculiar manner of ſpeaking. Hence aroſe four principal dialects of the Greek language; the Attic, uſed by the Athenians; the Ionic, by the people of Ionia; the Doric, by the Lacedemonians and Argives; and the Eolic, by the Bœotians and the inhabitants of Eolia.

The Heraclidæ and Pelopidæ furniſhed kings to Sparta

ta for the ſpace of 900 years, reckoning down to the time of the tyrant Machanidas.

Ariſtodemus, at his death, left behind him two ſons, Euryſthenus and Procles; who being twins, and ſo exactly like each other, that it was hardly poſſible to diſtinguiſh them, were therefore made joint kings. From their time Sparta was always governed by two kings. Euryſthenus was ſucceeded by his ſon Agis, and Procles by his ſon called Ous. It was in their time that the ſlaves called *Helots* were firſt known at Sparta. The inhabitants of Helos, a city in the neighbourhood of Sparta, having refuſed to pay a certain tribute impoſed by Agis upon all the territories of Lacedemon, that king, deſirous to confirm his authority by an example of ſeverity, laid ſiege to their city, took it, and made all the inhabitants ſlaves. They were condemned to the moſt diſgraceful and painful employments, and treated with much rigour and cruelty. In proceſs of time, the Spartans obliged them to labour their grounds, and kept them in a ſtate of perpetual ſervitude.

The Spartans took advantage of the weakneſs and extreme good-nature of one of their kings Eurytion, to encroach on the royal prerogative, and by that means produced confuſion in the government. Eunomus, another of their kings, left two ſons of different marriages, Polydectus and Lycurgus. Polydectus ſucceeded to Eunomus; but died without leaving any child, though his wife was pregnant at the time of his death. Lycurgus, therefore, who afterwards became ſo famous, next mounted the throne, as colleague to Archelaus; but he declared to the people, that he aſſumed this dignity merely as a guardian for the child whom his brother's wife ſhould bring forth, to whom the crown of right belonged. The queen, in the mean time, ſignified to Lycurgus, that, on condition of his marrying her, ſhe would deſtroy the child in her womb. Lycurgus was ſhocked at this horrid propoſal, but judged it prudent to diſſemble, and to avoid, under various pretences, to come to a final explanation with the queen, giving pri-

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vate orders to bring him the child the moment it ſhould be born. The queen, at laſt, brought forth a boy; who was immediately carried by Lycurgus into the public aſſembly, and preſented to the chief men of Sparta as their king. The name of this king was Charilaus. We ſhall reſume the ſequel of the Lacedemonian hiſtory in the beginning of next chapter.

ATHENS.

1556. Cecrops, a native of Egypt, led a colony of his countrymen into Greece, ſettled in Attica, and founded the kingdom of *Athens*. He divided the country into twelve diſtricts, and aſſumed the name of king. He pitched on a hill in the midſt of a large plain for the foundation of his city, and built the citadel on the rock in which the hill terminated. He eſtabliſhed a religion among his ſubjects, and inſtituted a particular form of worſhip to Jupiter and Minerva. As the ſoil of the country of Attica was very barren, his ſubjects were laid under the neceſſity of making uſe of navigation to bring corn from Africa and Sicily. The Areopagus, a kind of ſenate, which aſſembled and held its deliberations upon a hill near the citadel, conſecrated to Mars, was likewiſe inſtituted by Cecrops. This tribunal was afterwards rendered by Solon the moſt famous in the world.

The names of the ſucceſſors of Cecrops were, Cranaus, Amphictyon, Ericthonius, Pandion, Erectheus, Cecrops II. Pandion II. Egeus, Theſeus, Mneſtheus, Demophoon, Oxintes, Oephidas, Timethes, Melantus, and Codrus.

Cranaus was expelled Athens by Amphictyon and Hellen, ſons of Deucalion king of Theſſaly. It is thought that the Greeks derived their name from this Hellen.

1497. Amphictyon inſtituted the famous aſſembly called after his name. It was compoſed of deputies from twelve, or, according to ſome, from one and thirty neighbouring ſtates, among whom this king brought about a ſort of confederacy. Two

deputies

deputies from each of theſe ſtates met twice a-year at Thermopylæ, to deliberate on the affairs of Greece in general. The Amphictyons had a power of determining in the laſt reſort, all controverſies that ſubſiſted between theſe ſtates, and of impoſing high fines on the party found in the wrong. The members of this court, before their admiſſion, bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths and imprecations, to the ſtrict performance of the duty of their office. They particularly engaged themſelves to execute vengeance againſt any perſon who ſhould preſume to abſtract any gift from the temple of Apollo. The authority of this tribunal prevailed in all its vigour till the time of Philip king of Macedon, who having procured himſelf to be elected preſident of it, abuſed the power repoſed in him, and by that means brought the court into contempt.

Bacchus, known likewiſe by the name of *Dionyſius*, having in the time of Amphictyon come into Greece, accompanied by other natives of the eaſt, inſtructed the Greeks in many uſeful arts, particularly in the culture of the vine. In return, the Greeks accounted him a god, and raiſed altars to his memory. The birth and conqueſts of this god have furniſhed an ample field for the imaginations of the poets to embelliſh.

Under the reign of Ericthonius, is placed the rape of Proſerpine, the daughter of Ceres queen of Sicily; the journey of Ceres into Greece to ſeek her daughter; her ſtay at Eleuſis with Triptolemus, whom ſhe inſtructed in tillage; and the eſtabliſhment of her worſhip at Eleuſis. The ceremonies attending this worſhip, were known by the name of the *Eleuſinian myſteries*, and became extremely famous, on account of the impenetrable ſecrecy with which they were concealed.

Ericthonius inſtituted, in honour of Minerva, the feſtival called *Panathenea*, on account of the great concourſe of people from every part of Greece that flocked to Athens on that occaſion. Ericthonius taught the Athenians the uſe of money.

Pandion II. had four ſons: one of theſe was Egeus

geus his ſucceſſor; Pallas, another of them, had fifty ſons, called after him *Pallantidæ*. Egeus had but one child, and him by a concubine called *Æthra*, the daughter of Pitheus. This child was Theſeus, one of the moſt famous heroes of antiquity.

Theſeus, while yet very young, and before his acceſſion to the throne, having heard of the exploits of Hercules, was ſeized with a violent deſire to imitate him. After his example, therefore, he employed himſelf in clearing the highways of robbers, of whom he deſtroyed a great number. On returning to Athens, his father received him with much joy, and named him his ſucceſſor in the kingdom. 1264.

On coming to the throne, he was involved in a war againſt his couſins, the ſons of Pallas, who were provoked that a baſtard ſhould be preferred to them in the kingdom. But being unable to reſiſt the valour of Theſeus, they were vanquiſhed and diſperſed. As Theſeus could not bear to be idle, he employed himſelf in deſtroying the monſters that infeſted the country. He killed the bull of Marathon, and freed the Athenians from a tribute of ſeven boys and as many girls, impoſed upon them by Minos king of Crete, who, to revenge the death of his brother Androgeus, whom the Athenians had ſlain, invaded their country, and forced them to ſubmit to that ſevere condition. But Theſeus having accompanied the children to Crete, attracted the affections of Ariadne the daughter of Minos, married her, and got the tribute diſcharged. This ſeems to be the ſimple truth of the matter; but the poets, in their uſual manner, have given the affair a more marvellous turn. They tell us, that Theſeus received from Ariadne a clue to conduct him through the labyrinth, wherein was kept the Minotaur, a monſter, half man half bull, to which, by the command of an oracle, the Athenian children were given to be devoured; and that Theſeus having, accordingly, by the help of this clue, made his way through the labyrinth, and reached the monſter, attacked

tacked and killed it, and ſo relieved his countrymen from the tribute.

Theſeus, after effecting the object of his journey, ſet out in triumph on his return for Athens. But having on his way loſt Ariadne, who was run away with by a prieſt of Bacchus, he was ſo grieved, that he omitted to hang out white colours, the ſignal of victory agreed on with his father. Egeus, from this, believing his ſon to be dead, jumped into the ſea that now bears his name, and drowned himſelf.

Theſeus having procured peace to his country, applied himſelf to govern it with wiſdom. He is ſaid to have induced all the inhabitants of Attica, partly by his authority, partly by perſuaſion, to remove from their villages to Athens, there to live in one great community; and to have invited, by a public proclamation, people of all other nations to come and ſettle at Athens, where they were to be in every reſpect on an equal foot with the natives of Attica. This produced a large increaſe in the number of inhabitants, and in the extent of the city.

After accompliſhing this undertaking, he converted the ſyſtem of government into a ſort of republic, reſerving only to himſelf the command of the army, and the ſupport of the laws. He divided the people into three claſſes; the nobility, the farmers or huſbandmen, and the mechanics. All public offices were to be occupied by the nobility alone, but the reſt of the people had the power of chuſing the particular perſon on whom each office was to be conferred. He eſtabliſhed the tribunal of the Prytaneum, compoſed of fifty members, who, among other buſineſs, were to provide for the ſubſiſtence of ſuch poor citizens as had done eminent ſervice to the ſtate.

After having put the adminiſtration upon a proper foot, he ſpent the remainder of his life in travelling about in queſt of adventures, in which to ſignalize his valour. He had a ſhare in the victory over the Centaurs; in the conqueſt of the golden fleece; in the

chace of the Calydonian boar; and in both the wars of Thebes. Theſeus and Pirithous having met with an intention to fight, were ſo ſtruck with admiration at the ſight of each other, that they laid aſide all hoſtile intentions, and from that time forward lived in the moſt perfect friendſhip. They of concert forcibly carried off the famous Helen daughter of Tindarus; and afterwards went to the court of Aidoneus, ſurnamed Pluto, king of the Moloſſi, to carry off his daughter likewiſe. But Pluto ſlew Pirithous, and threw Theſeus into priſon, whence he was releaſed by Hercules. The poets have involved theſe events in abundance of fables. Theſeus, on returning to Athens, found great cauſe of diſquiet from his family-affairs, which ended in the tragical deaths of his wife Phedra, and of his ſon Hippolitus. Meneſtheus too had taken the opportunity of his abſence to prejudice the public againſt him. Theſeus, thinking it beneath him to puniſh the ungrateful Athenians, ſatisfied himſelf with leaving their country, and retired to the iſland of Scyros. Some time after, Lycomedes, chief of that iſland, growing jealous of his merit, laid an ambuſh for him, and cauſed him to be thrown from the top of a precipice.

Theſeus was the greateſt king the Athenians ever had. His tomb, in after times, became famous by being made a refuge for ſlaves.

Meneſtheus diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his military ſkill in the war againſt Troy.

In the reign of Codrus, the Heraclidæ being at war with the Athenians, were told by the oracle, that they ſhould be victorious if they did not kill Codrus. That prince, hearing of this reſponſe, diſguiſed himſelf in a peaſant's habit, and, entering the enemy's camp, provoked them to kill him. When the Heraclidæ were informed of their having ſlain Codrus, they immediately fled.

Codrus was the laſt king of Athens. For, on his death, the government became republican, by the eſtabliſhment of Archons; an office which was at firſt hereditary,

reditary, and little inferior, in point of power, to royalty itſelf.— We ſhall in the next chapter reſume the hiſtory of this republic.

CHAP. II.

Affairs of Greece, from the abolition of the kingly government in the principal ſtates, till the time that Hippias took refuge in Perſia.

FRom what has been ſaid in the preceding chapter it appears, that the government of all the different ſtates of Greece was originally monarchical. But the tyranny of their princes ſoon produced a total alteration in the ſyſtem; awakened in the minds of the Greeks that ardent deſire of liberty which ever after ſo ſtrongly marked the character of this wonderful people; and threw them into ſo many ſeparate republics. For ſome time, indeed, we ſhall ſee private perſons now and then appear, who, prompted by their ambition, attempt to become ſovereigns of their country, ſome by policy and addreſs, ſome by open violence, and the force of arms.

But of all theſe ſtates, Sparta and Athens diſtinguiſhed themſelves far above the reſt; and by their extraordinary merit, and the wiſdom of their laws, acquired ſo great a ſuperiority over the others, that they became the main ſprings of the political machine of Greece. Between theſe two republics a ſpirit of rivalſhip very naturally aroſe, which at laſt broke out into long conteſts and diſſenſions; in the courſe of which we ſhall ſee the other ſtates ſometimes ſiding with Sparta, ſometimes with Athens, as their different intereſts incline them. The principal events, therefore, of this hiſtory, more immediately reſpect theſe two republics, which conſtantly occupy the foremoſt place, and appear, on all occaſions, to ſuſtain the fate of Greece. We proceed, therefore, to reſume the hiſtory of Sparta and Athens, from the period at which we ſtopped in the laſt chapter.

Lycurgus, by his equitable and diſintereſted conduct in defeating the barbarous intentions of the queen, and procuring Charilaus, yet a child in the cradle, to be declared king, had highly offended that princeſs; who, in revenge, employed all her intereſt to form a faction againſt him, and got him accuſed of a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate. But Lycurgus ſoon withdrew himſelf from all danger from theſe machinations. Perceiving that the laws were entirely diſregarded, he reſolved to bring about an extraordinary reformation in the government, and for that purpoſe to travel into foreign countries, that he might have an opportunity of obſerving with his own eyes the various cuſtoms and inſtitutions of the different nations the moſt renowned for the wiſdom of their legiſlation.

With this view he firſt went to the iſland of Crete, where the celebrated Minos had eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of laws, the rigid ſpirit of which was much to the liking of Lycurgus. This Minos was a powerful prince, who had flouriſhed 100 years before the Trojan war, and whoſe virtues had procured him the higheſt eſteem. Having ſubdued the iſland of Crete, he reſolved to ſecure his conqueſt by the wiſdom of his laws. The government there, at the time of his conqueſt, was monarchical; but to bring that form of government to its utmoſt perfection, Minos judged it neceſſary to make the prince as ſubject to the power of the laws, as the nation was ſubject to the power of the prince; who by that means ſhould have an unlimited power of doing good, and at the ſame time ſhould be totally reſtrained from doing miſchief; the laws committing to him the moſt precious of all truſts, the care of a whole people, on condition of his ruling them as a father and protector, not as an oppreſſor and tyrant. From Crete Lycurgus went into Aſia; where he collected into one body the works of Homer, which before were ſcattered up and down in detached fragments. From Aſia he travelled into Egypt, where he acquired a vaſt fund of knowledge.

After

After having maturely conſidered the various forms of government that had fallen under his obſervation, and deliberately weighed the advantages and diſadvantages of each, he adopted into his own ſyſtem what appeared to him the moſt eligible. The reſult of all theſe painful reſearches, was the famous Spartan legiſlation, which has been the wonder of ſucceeding ages; and to us, in theſe latter times, would appear to be altogether chimerical and impracticable, were it not atteſted paſt all poſſibility of doubt by every ancient author who ſpeaks of it, many of whom, ſuch as Plato, Ariſtotle, Xenophon, and Plutarch, were eye-witneſſes of what they deliver. It is, beſides, an undoubted fact, that this ſyſtem ſubſiſted during a ſpace of more than 700 years. We cannot, however, ſufficiently admire how it was poſſible for one man to ſucceed in eſtabliſhing a form of government, ſo violently repugnant in ſeveral particulars to the moſt powerful paſſions of the human ſoul.

During the abſence of Lycurgus, the Lacedemonians became extremely turbulent, and Sparta was on the brink of falling into downright anarchy. Perceiving how much they wanted a man of ſuperior parts and underſtanding, they diſpatched meſſengers to intreat Lycurgus to return. He immediately obeyed the invitation. But before proceeding to promulgate his laws, he choſe to fortify himſelf with the authority of the gods; and for that purpoſe went to conſult the oracle of Delphos, where he found means to obtain a favourable reſponſe.

Upon his arrival at Sparta, he firſt communicated his ſcheme in private to the leading men 884.
of the city. Having procured their approbation, he proceeded to the market-place, eſcorted by a number of armed men, and there explained to the people the alterations he intended to bring about in the government, and the new inſtitutions he propoſed to eſtabliſh. We forbear at preſent to enter on a detail of theſe inſtitutions, becauſe the courſe of the narrative

ſhould

ſhould thereby be too much interrupted; but we ſhall ſpeak of them at length in the ſequel.

Lycurgus was almoſt entirely employed, during the remainder of his life, in bringing his laws to perfection, and enforcing the obſervance of them. In this he met with much oppoſition; and diſplayed, perhaps, no leſs fortitude and prudence in prevailing with his fellow-citizens to ſubmit to his regulations, than he had ſhown wiſdom in deviſing them.

After having put the finiſhing hand to his work, and taſted of the pleaſure of ſeeing his inſtitutions firmly eſtabliſhed, and his countrymen accuſtomed to execute them, he declared his intention of conſulting the oracle, whether any further improvement were neceſſary, and obtained their ſolemn promiſe to obſerve them till his return. On arriving at Delphos, he was aſſured by the prieſteſs, that while Sparta kept his laws in obſervance, ſhe ſhould be the moſt illuſtrious and happy city in the world. Lycurgus tranſmitted this reſponſe to Sparta; and conſidering his plan to be now entirely completed, he died a voluntary death, by abſtaining from all nouriſhment.

The reformation of the Spartan government by Lycurgus, is reckoned a ſecond revolution there. For the future, therefore, we are to conſider that ſtate as a republic, in which the kings were no more than the principal magiſtrates.

Hiſtorians place the birth of Homer not many years prior to that of Lycurgus.

Soon after the death of Lycurgus, a war having broken out between the Lacedemonians and Argives about a ſmall territory called *Thyrea*, both parties, to ſpare the lives of their citizens, agreed to terminate the diſpute by 300 choſen men of each ſide. Theſe 600 combatants engaging accordingly, fought with ſuch fury and obſtinacy, that they were all killed on the ſpot except three, two of whom were Argives, and the third a Lacedemonian, named *Orthrades* *. As both parties claimed

* The reader will be ſtruck with the ſimilarity between this combat

claimed the victory, a general battle enſued, in which the Lacedemonians remained the conquerors. Orthrades, diſdaining to ſurvive the reſt of his fellow-ſoldiers, killed himſelf on the field of battle †.

This year Theopompus, one of the Lacedemonian kings, eſtabliſhed the Ephori in Sparta; or rather, the common people, provoked by the oppreſſion under which they groaned, prevailed with that king to give them thoſe magiſtrates as a check both on the power of the kings and of the ſenate. 760.

The Lacedemonians about the ſame time declared war againſt the Meſſenians, for having violated ſome Lacedemonian young women, who had gone, according to cuſtom, to pay their devotions at a temple on the confines of both ſtates. To revenge this inſult, the Lacedemonians, under the command of Alcmenus, ſurpriſed the town of Amphea by night, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. The Meſſenians were not at that time in a ſituation to make repriſals. But about four years after, they marched into Laconia under the command of their king Euphaes, and came to an engagement with the Lacedemonians, to which the night alone put an end. 743.

Next year the Lacedemonians took the field, after binding themſelves by oath, not to return to Sparta till they ſhould reduce every place in the poſſeſſion of the Meſſenians. A battle enſued, in which both parties fought with ſuch obſtinacy, that fatigue obliged them to ſeparate by mutual conſent. The Meſſenians, exhauſted by the double calamity of a war and plague, aſſembled at Ithome, a ſtrong place ſituated on the ſummit of a hill, and ſent to conſult the oracle at Delphos

combat and that of the Horatii and Curiatii in the Roman hiſtory, and a much later one ſtill recorded in the Hiſtory of Scotland, which took place in 1396, to terminate a feud between two highland clans.

† Rome was founded in the year before Chriſt 753; — and, three years after, the rape of the Sabine women is ſaid to have happened.

about

about the means of relief in this deſperate extremity. The oracle returned for anſwer, that they muſt ſacrifice to the gods a virgin of royal blood; and Ariſtodemus, a Meſſenian of royal extraction, in obedience to the divine command, offered up his own daughter. About the ſame time, a bloody battle happened in the neighbourhood of Ithome, where the Meſſenians performed prodigies of valour to reſcue the body of their king Euphaes, who had fallen covered with wounds in the fight; and they were at laſt ſucceſsful. Here Ariſtodemus obtained the prize of valour, as the perſon that had fought with the greateſt bravery; and he was likewiſe choſen king in place of Euphaes, who died of his wounds.

Ariſtodemus having led his countrymen to another engagement with the Lacedemonians, defeated them, and took their king Theopompus, whom, together with 300 Spartans more, he put to death in cold blood. The Lacedemonians, apprehenſive leſt their families ſhould fail in the mean time, by their long abſence from home, in conſequence of the oath they had taken, ſent back to Sparta all the ſoldiers who had joined the army after the taking of that oath, to cohabit with the wives of thoſe that remained. The iſſue of this extraordinary connection were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Parthenians*; who, as ſoon as they were able to carry arms, baniſhed themſelves of their own accord from Sparta, and formed a ſettlement at Tarentum in Italy.

Four years after, a general action enſued between the Lacedemonians and Meſſenians, in which a party of the latter attacked the Lacedemonians from an ambuſcade, put them to flight, and procured their countrymen the victory. But though the Spartans had loſt in this engagement the flower of their troops, they, nevertheleſs, laid ſiege to Ithome. Ariſtodemus ſeeing his countrymen reduced to the laſt extremity, killed himſelf in deſpair on the tomb of his daughter. The reſt of the Meſſenians, after enduring the utmoſt miſeries of famine, were obliged at laſt to capitulate. The Lacedemonians made the greateſt part of them ſlaves, and

forced them to cultivate their grounds; but many of them eſcaped, and took refuge among different nations. This firſt war was of twenty years continuance.

The Meſſenians, after enduring the Lacedemonian yoke for thirty years, grew at laſt weary of it, and reſolved to attempt the recovery of their liberty. For this purpoſe they put themſelves under the command of Ariſtomenes, a young man of extraordinary bravery, and great ſkill in the art of war; and under his conduct vanquiſhed their enemies in ſeveral engagements. The Lacedemonians being hard preſſed, conſulted the oracle; who adviſed them to beg a general of the Athenians. Theſe not chuſing to give them a man of much merit, ſent them Tyrteus a poet. The Lacedemonians found their affairs not at all mended by this expedient; and after being beaten in three ſucceſſive battles, they reſolved to return to Sparta. But this reſolution was oppoſed by Tyrteus; who, to rouſe their courage, recited to them ſome verſes that he had compoſed with great care. Theſe verſes were ſo ſpirited, and well calculated to inſpire bravery, and a contempt of danger, that they animated the Lacedemonians to the higheſt pitch of martial rage, in ſo much that they required, with one voice, to be inſtantly led againſt the enemy; and after a moſt bloody battle, obtained a complete victory. The remains of the Meſſenian army retreated to Mount Eira, where they defended themſelves a long time againſt all the efforts of the Lacedemonians; but their general, Ariſtomenes, having fallen amidſt a croud of Spartans, upon whom he had made a moſt deſperate attack, his countrymen were ſo diſcouraged by his death, and ſo weakened by their repeated engagements with the Lacedemonians, that they were at laſt overpowered. Such of them as fell into the hands of the enemy, were reduced to the condition of Helots. The reſt, ſeeing their country ruined paſt all hopes of recovery, retired to Sicily, and there founded a city, called at firſt *Meſſene*, and afterwards *Meſſina*. Their laſt brave general, Ariſtomenes, was the ſworn 685.

enemy of the Spartans, and, while he lived, their conſtant terror *.

We have already obſerved, that monarchy was aboliſhed at Athens under the children of Codrus, and governors called *Archons* ſet up in place of the prince. Theſe were the principal magiſtrates of the republic, and were bound to govern the ſtate according to the eſtabliſhed laws. In the beginning they enjoyed their office for life, and Medon was the firſt who was inveſted with that dignity. Afterwards, upon the death of Alcmeon, the people created nine Archons, and confined their authority to the ſpace of ten years. The chief of them was called *Eponymus* Archon, and the year was diſtinguiſhed by his name; under ſuch an Archon, for example, was fought ſuch a battle; the ſecond was called *King*; the third *Polemarchus*; and the remaining ſix bore the general name of *Theſmothetæ*.

Such a limited authority as that veſted in the Archons, was inſufficient to curb men of ſo turbulent a diſpoſition. The Athenians, accordingly, were for ſeveral years diſtracted by controverſies and factions. For having as yet no written laws, they diſagreed about almoſt every point both of religion and government. *Cylon* took advantage of theſe troubles, and ſeized the citadel; but the Athenians found means to quell this inſurrection.

Having learned, by experience, that real liberty conſiſts in a due dependence on laws and government, the Athenians reſolved to take the moſt effectual meaſures for putting an end to their diſſenſions. With this view they caſt their eyes on one of their Archons na-
623. med *Draco*, a citizen of exemplary virtue, and the moſt rigid ſeverity of manners; but whoſe extreme rigour, in point of government, bordered on inhumanity. This man being choſen by the Athenians

* The combat between the Horatii and Curiatii is placed in the year before Chriſt 667.

to

to be their lawgiver, from a zeal to ſtop the licentiouſneſs of their manners, fell into the oppoſite extreme, and made death the puniſhment of the moſt trivial offences, even of idleneſs and indolence. On this account the laws of Draco were ſaid to have been written, not with ink, but with blood: and their exceſſive ſeverity procured them the fate of all violent inſtitutions; they quickly fell into diſuſe.

At length aroſe a man worthy to preſcribe laws to the Athenians. This was the famous *Solon*, 643. a native of Salamis. Having lately reſtored the Athenians to the government of that iſland by a ſtratagem, he had, by that exploit, gained great reputation; and his integrity, his wiſdom, his knowledge in the ſcience of government, but, above all, the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, ſoon procured him the eſteem of his fellow-citizens. The Athenians, therefore, pitched on him to reſtore tranquillity in their city; created him Archon-extraordinary; and inveſted him with full authority to make ſuch reformation in the government as he ſhould judge neceſſary. The unlimited power with which he was intruſted might have conducted him to the throne; but his virtue and moderation would not permit him to give way to the temptation.

Solon applied himſelf with great care and diligence to diſcharge the truſt repoſed in him by his countrymen. He ſettled the public government on a more ſteady foundation, and deviſed for the Athenians a body of excellent laws. Of his inſtitutions, ſo far as they regarded the public adminiſtration, we ſhall afterwards ſpeak at ſome length; but his private laws neither fall within our province or deſign.

After having publiſhed his laws, and bound the citizens by oath to obey them, Solon left Athens for the ſpace of ten years, both with a view that his inſtitutions might, in the mean time, take deep root, and that he might avoid the daily complaints and difficulties ſtarted to him about their execution and interpretation. In

this interval he travelled into Egypt, and visited Crœsus king of Lydia. That prince having made an ostentatious display of his vast wealth and magnificence, to excite the admiration of Solon, had the mortification to see them regarded by the philosopher with the most Stoical indifference, and could not draw from him the smallest compliment on that account; Solon only taking this opportunity to remark, that no man could with certainty boast of his happiness till the instant of his death.

During the absence of Solon, great disorders were occasioned at Athens by three factions formed under three different heads; Megacles, Pisistratus, and Lycurgus. Megacles was extremely powerful by his wealth, being the son of Alcmenus, whom King Crœsus had loaded with riches, and having married the daughter of Clistenus, one of the most opulent princes of Greece. Pisistratus, by the mildness of his behaviour, his affability, and his great liberality to the poorer citizens, had acquired the highest popularity. But his insinuating address was no more than an artful cover to his most ambitious designs. Solon found things in this situation on his return to Athens.

Pisistratus, the better to effectuate his purpose, employed one of the most singular and basest stratagems. Having wounded himself in several parts of his body, he ordered his friends to carry him all covered with blood to the market-place, where he told the people, that he had suffered this cruel treatment from the enemies he had created to himself by his zeal for the good of the republic. The populace, moved by his story and his appearance, rose in his favour, overpowered the opposite factions, and appointed a guard of fifty men for his person. With the assistance of these, and of a greater number of his own creatures whom he armed, Pisistratus first seized the citadel, and soon after made himself master of the whole city.

Solon, after upbraiding Pisistratus in vain with
560. the injustice of his usurpation, and the people with

with their cowardice and folly, retired from Athens, overwhelmed with grief, and went to paſs the remaining part of his life in the iſland of Cyprus; but ſorrow at ſeeing the oppreſſion of his country, ſoon put a period to his days; and he died the firſt year after his retirement, at the age of 80. Solon certainly poſſeſſed a philoſophical ſpirit, and was animated with an extraordinary zeal for the republican form of government. But his ſyſtem was fundamentally faulty, in ſo far as it threw all the power into the hands of the multitude, whom the event of Piſiſtratus's operations ſhewed to be extremely apt to be led aſtray by an artful deſigning man. It muſt, however, be allowed, that he gave the Athenians, who had been bred up in the greateſt licentiouſneſs, the beſt notions of order, law, and juſtice, of which at that time they were perhaps capable.

Solon was cotemporary with the ſeven wiſe men of Greece, and was himſelf accounted one of their number. The names of the other ſix were, Thales, Bias, Pittacus, Cleobulus, Periander, and Chilo. They were honoured with the title of *wiſe men* on account of their having been all legiſlators, in ſome degree or other, and of their having delivered the general maxims of morality in ſhort Laconic ſentences.

Piſiſtratus enjoyed his ill gotten tyranny for no longer ſpace than three years, Megacles and Lycurgus having united their factions, and procured his expulſion. But Megacles ſoon becoming jealous of his rival's power, offered his daughter in marriage to Piſiſtratus, and the ſovereign authority along with her. Piſiſtratus accepted the offer, and Lycurgus was expelled. But Piſiſtratus, the more effectually to ſecure the popular approbation, reſolved to make his reſtoration appear as the immediate effect of divine interpoſition; and for that purpoſe prevailed on a woman of a fine majeſtic figure to play the part of Minerva on the occaſion, and in that character to announce his arrival. The woman, accordingly, aſſuming the dreſs in which that goddeſs was uſually repreſented, and appearing all of a ſudden in the midſt of the

city,

city, mounted on a magnificent chariot, acted her part to perfection, and proclaimed aloud, that ſhe, Minerva, was juſt about to bring back Piſiſtratus. The people regarded this piece of roguery as a divine mandate, and received the tyrant with the utmoſt joy.

Hipparchus and Hippias, the ſons of Piſiſtratus by a former marriage, apprehenſive leſt their brothers by his preſent wife might ſupplant them in the ſucceſſion to the tyranny, artfully inſtilled into the mind of their father injurious ſuſpicions of their ſtepmother. Megacles, to ſupport his daughter, bribed the greater part of the Athenians, induced them to revolt, and forced Piſiſtratus to fly a ſecond time, and to take refuge
556. in the iſland of Eubœa, where he lived with his family eleven years. In the mean time his ſon Hippias, a man of an active intriguing diſpoſition, having prevailed on ſeveral maritime towns to declare in his father's favour, Piſiſtratus ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, by whoſe aſſiſtance he ſurpriſed the city of Athens, at a time when he was leaſt expected, and entered it as its conqueror.

To eſtabliſh his authority, he thought it neceſſary to accompliſh the deſtruction of thoſe who ſupported the party of Megacles. But after having removed out of the way all who had power and inclination to oppoſe him, he applied himſelf to efface the remembrance of his cruelties: and it muſt be acknowledged, that the mildneſs and juſtice of his ſubſequent adminiſtration made amends, in a great meaſure, for his former crimes; for from that time he applied his power to the beſt of purpoſes. His eloquence was of great ſervice to him in regaining the public affection, and lulling the Athenians into a forgetfulneſs of their former liberty. He ſtudied by every method to acquire popularity, particularly by throwing his gardens open to all the citizens; and, upon the whole, he juſtified the ſaying of Solon, that he would have been the beſt citizen of Athens, if he had not been the moſt ambitious. He ended his days in peace, and tranſmitted to his children his

uſurped

uſurped ſovereignty, which he had enjoyed all together for the ſpace of thirty-three years, during the laſt ſeventeen years of which he had reigned in the utmoſt peace and tranquillity.

Hipparchas and Hippias his ſons ſhared the kingdom between them, and lived in perfect good underſtanding with each other; Hipparchus, as eldeſt brother, enjoying the chief honours. This man inherited his father's extraordinary love for the ſciences; and to inſpire the Athenians, by the charms of poetry, with a taſte for letters, and the poliſhed manners which are a natural conſequence of knowledge, he invited to his court Anacreon and Simonides, and patronized all men of diſtinguiſhed genius. According to Plato, the tranquillity and happineſs that prevailed during his reign revived the idea of the golden age.

About the ſame time Polycrates uſurped the ſovereign power at Samos, and ſacrificed his own brother to his deſire of occupying the regal dignity alone. Having procured a fleet of 100 veſſels, he rendered himſelf formidable both in Europe and Aſia, and wantonly oppreſſed both his ſubjects and his neighbours. Sparta, by its warlike exploits, was now regarded as the principal republic of Greece. Its protection therefore was implored againſt the tyranny of Polycrates; and as the Spartans profeſſed themſelves the enemies of every ſpecies of tyranny and oppreſſion, they thought themſelves bound in honour to check the progreſs of the tyrant. With this view they fitted out a fleet, made a deſcent upon the iſland of Samos, and laid ſiege to the town. But their enterpriſe miſcarried; and, after being repulſed in repeated aſſaults, they were at laſt obliged to relinquiſh the undertaking, and to return home. Polycrates, a little while after, fell into the hands of the Perſians, and was by them crucified. Eaces ſucceeded him in the tyranny; but the people found means to throw off his yoke, and to recover their liberty.

Hippias, after reigning eighteen years at Athens, became at laſt cruel and deſpotic. The Athenians therefore

fore grew weary of his tyranny, and formed a conſpiracy againſt him and his brother. The faction of the Alcmeonides, ſo called from their leader Megacles the ſon of Alcmenus, were the fomentors and principal actors in this conſpiracy. Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, both citizens of Athens, and mutually connected by friendſhip, reſolved to revenge an affront offered to the daughter of the former by Hipparchus, who had obliged her to retire from a public proceſſion at which ſhe was intitled to have aſſiſted by carrying a baſket of flowers. Nothing leſs would ſatisfy the reſentment of theſe two men than the depoſition of the tyrants. Having concerted the proper meaſures for their enterpriſe, they ſecretly imparted their plan to a ſmall number of the citizens, and fixed the day of execution to be the feaſt of Panathenea, when all the citizens wore arms. They accordingly attacked and ſlew Hipparchus; but were themſelves inſtantly apprehended, and put to death.

Hippias having eſcaped the fate of his brother, ſtudied the beſt means for ſecuring his life for the future. In the firſt place, he put to the torture the accomplices of the murderers of his brother, to force them to diſcover the other circumſtances of the plot. On this occaſion a woman called *Lionna*, who had been very intimately connected with Harmodius, behaved with the utmoſt heroiſm. She ſupported, with a courage infinitely ſuperior to what might have been expected from her ſex, the moſt cruel torments; and leſt the violence of the torture ſhould at laſt make her utter what ſhe choſe to conceal, ſhe cut out her own tongue. The Athenians afterwards erected to her memory a ſtatue without a tongue. Several citizens were ſacrificed to the ſuſpicions of Hippias, who obliged all the partiſans of the faction of the Alcmeonides to fly from Athens.

The Alcmeonides, in the mean time, were very active in contriving means for bringing themſelves back. With this view they were ſo lucky as to engage in their intereſts, by very liberal preſents, the prieſteſs of Delphos; who, as often as the Lacedemonians came to

conſult her, or to implore her interceſſion with the gods in their behalf, conſtantly anſwered them, "That "they muſt free Athens from the tyranny of the Piſi- "ſtratidæ." This ſtratagem had the deſired effect. The Lacedemonians fitted out a fleet, and made a deſcent upon Attica; but Hippias getting notice of their purpoſe, made the neceſſary preparations to receive them. On hearing that they were landed, he marched to oppoſe them, killed their commander, and put them to flight. But this check only ſerved to exaſperate the Lacedemonians; who again returned into Attica with a freſh army, defeated the Theſſalian cavalry, which were the chief ſtrength of the tyrant's army, and laid ſiege to Athens. Hippias, unwilling to expoſe his children to the conſequences of a ſiege, ſent them ſecretly out of the city, to be carried to ſome place of ſafety. But the children having fallen into the hands of the enemy, Hippias, to ſave their lives, readily agreed to reſign his ſovereignty; and, in conſequence of his agreement, bade a laſt farewell to Athens, and retired to Sigeum in Phrygia.

Thus the Athenians recovered their liberty, after a tyranny of fifty years duration. They 510. erected ſtatues to the memory of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, who had begun this revolution, and ſet them up to public view, that the ſight of them might inſpire the citizens with a more violent hatred of tyranny *.

Athens, however, enjoyed this calm but a very ſhort while. Cliſthenes and Iſagoras, both powerful citizens, mutually aſpired to the chief authority, and created two new factions. But Cliſthenes being richer than his rival, eaſily brought over the populace to his ſide, and ſoon got the better of his antagoniſt. Cliſthenes made ſeveral alterations in the form of government; and in particular, created ſix new tribes. It

* In the preceding year, viz. 511, Tarquin was expelled from Rome, and Conſular government eſtabliſhed there.

was he who invented the puniſhment of oſtraciſm, whereby the people might ſatisfy their jealouſy againſt any citizen whom power, wealth, or abilities, ſet too far above his fellow citizens, by baniſhing him the city for the ſpace of ten years. The name of this puniſhment was derived from a Greek word, ſignifying a particular kind of ſhell, on which each citizen inſcribed his vote on ſuch occaſions.

The Lacedemonians diſcovering, in the mean time, the trick of the Delphic prieſteſs, and being already jealous of the Athenians, deſired to avail themſelves of having delivered them from tyranny, by aſſuming over them a ſort of ſuperiority. With this view, Cleomenes king of Sparta eſpouſed the cauſe of Iſagoras, who had taken refuge in that city; and procured the baniſhment of Cliſthenes from Athens. But, not ſatisfied with that, he marched againſt Athens at the head of an army, expelled from thence 700 families, together with all the partiſans of Cliſthenes, and took poſſeſſion of the citadel. Here, however, he was inveſted by the Athenians, and, after enduring a three months ſiege, was at laſt obliged to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to depart in freedom with his Spartans. But all the Athenians who had aſſiſted him in this exploit were put to death. Upon this Cliſthenes, and the reſt who had been baniſhed, were recalled. Cleomenes, however, of new exerted himſelf in favour of Iſagoras, and for that purpoſe made another incurſion into Attica, ſupported by the Bœotians. But the Athenians had the advantage in ſeveral actions that enſued on that occaſion.

The Lacedemonians perceiving the thriving condition of the Athenians ſince they had recovered their liberty, began to deliberate about reſtoring tyranny among them, and ſetting Hippias again on the throne. For this purpoſe Hippias was invited to Sparta, to aſſiſt at an aſſembly wherein the queſtion was to be debated. In this aſſembly Cleomenes made a ſpeech in favour of Hippias; but without any effect. For Soſicles, the deputy from Corinth, ſpoke after him, and ſhewed the

aſſembly,

aſſembly, with ſuch eloquence and good ſenſe, how unworthy it was in ſtates who profeſſed themſelves the enemies of tyranny to undertake the defence and ſupport of a tyrant, that every one preſent aſſented to his opinion.

Hippias thus diſappointed, retired to Artaphernes, the Perſian governor of Sardis, and implored his aſſiſtance. That ſatrap, delighted with ſo fair an opportunity of reducing under the power of his maſter Darius ſo important a city as Athens, which might open an eaſy way to the conqueſt of the reſt of Greece, gave a very favourable reception to Hippias, and perſuaded Darius to ſummon the Athenians to replace him on the throne. But the threats of the king of Perſia were ineffectual. The Athenians returned an abſolute refuſal to comply with his demand, reſolving to endure every extremity, rather than to open their gates to the tyrant. Hippias, therefore, may be conſidered as the firſt cauſe of the quarrel between the Greeks and Perſians; tho' it is true, that the latter received other ſubjects of provocation, of which we ſhall take notice in the ſequel.

Eminent Writers, Philoſophers, &c.

As the firſt age of Greece had its heroes, ſo it had likewiſe its poets, who devoted their talents to celebrate the praiſes of their country, and of the great men it produced; whom, by the exceſs of their praiſe, they transformed from heroes into demigods. To the times of peace and tranquillity, therefore, in this period, it ſhould ſeem, that the commencement of poetry ought to be fixed. Though Homer is the moſt ancient poet whoſe works have been tranſmitted to us, it is certain that the art of poetry had before his time arrived among the Greeks to a conſiderable ſtate of perfection. This is indiſputably eſtabliſhed by tradition. For the names of Linus, Orpheus, and Muſeus, which occur ſo frequently both in the Greek and Latin poets and hiſtorians, are ſufficient evidence of the exiſtence of thoſe poets. But as we have no opportunity of judging of

their works, of which it is very doubtful whether any remains have come to our hands, we muſt place Homer at the head of the poets whoſe works yet exiſt.

Homer is generally believed, and on very probable grounds, to have lived before the inſtitution of the Olympic games; for otherwiſe it is hardly to be imagined that he would have omitted to take notice of thoſe games in his works, as they would have afforded him ſo excellent a field for deſcription, an ornament of which he appears to have been extremely fond. His birth, however, ſeems to be placed, with a good deal of certainty, both by Uſher's chronology and the Arundel tables, in the year of the world 3120, that is, about 340 years after the ſiege of Troy: and he is commonly accounted a native of Smyrna.

Homer is uſually repreſented as blind; and we are told that he employed himſelf in wandering through the country in the character of an itinerant bard. This, however, muſt not depreciate in our eyes his wonderful merit, of which his works convey ſo high an idea; for we there ſee him carrying at once to the ſummit of perfection the art of Epic Poetry, of which he is accounted the inventor.

The two principal poems of Homer are the *Iliad* and the *Odyſſey*. The ſubject of the Iliad is the wrath of Achilles, which proved ſo fatal to the Greeks when beſieging Troy: That of the Odyſſey is the voyages and adventures of Ulyſſes after the ſacking of that city.

The war againſt Troy, which furniſhes the ſubject of theſe immortal poems, has been called in queſtion by ſome authors, who fancy it to be altogether the production of Homer's invention. But their labours to convince the world of the truth of this opinion have been extremely vain. For, without mentioning the other ancient authors who record that event, it is incredible that Homer would have employed his heaven-born muſe on a ſubject not heard of before. So accurate a judge of human nature muſt have felt, that a ſubject purely fictitious, however harmoniouſly ſung, could have drawn

drawn from his hearers but a momentary attention. Had not the ſubject of his poem been deeply intereſting, much of its merit muſt have been overlooked, and much of that great fame at which he aſpired muſt of courſe have been loſt.

We may therefore very reaſonably conclude, that the event of the war againſt Troy was not only notorious, but was in Homer's time regarded as the moſt ſignal and important tranſaction in which his countrymen had been till then engaged. We muſt, however, remember, that the poet lived about three centuries later than the hiſtorical event which he celebrates. Hence it is more than probable, that he would avail himſelf of this latitude to render the circumſtances more ſubſervient to his fancy; and that he would even take liberties with ſome of the principal facts, as well to flatter thoſe for whoſe immediate pleaſure he compoſed his poem, as to give fuller ſcope to his poetical enthuſiaſm.

Cicero ſays, that the works of Homer are rather painting than poetry; ſo ſkilful is he to delineate, as it were, before the eyes of the reader the circumſtances he deſires to deſcribe; which are generally the moſt ſublime and ſtriking to be found in nature. Horace prefers him, on account of the knowledge and inſtruction with which he abounds, to the moſt ſkilful philoſophers. Quintilian has given a very high elogium of this poet, and has conveyed, in few words, a juſt idea of the ſurpriſing variety of ſtyle which he employs. "When deſcribing lofty and important circumſtances, "his expreſſion is inimitably ſublime. — In minute, it "is remarkably juſt and proper. — In copiouſneſs, and "perſpicuity, in the ſerious, and the tender tone, we "are at a loſs which to admire moſt, his judgement or "his eloquence." Homer is peculiarly happy in the harmony of his numbers, and the judicious arrangement of his words and periods. In the article of deſcription he is rather a painter than a poet, and in that particular excels all the poets that ever wrote. In deſcribing the march of an army,— the majeſty of Jove,—

the

the gods fighting, — the parting of Hector and Andromache, he lays before our eyes ſo many beautiful and lively pieces of painting. — Nothing can be more ingenious than his machinery, nor more properly introduced. In vain have ſome modern writers attempted to criticiſe, and to find fault with his works; like the ſhades in a picture, their remarks have only ſerved to make his beauties more conſpicuous. But it muſt be acknowledged, that the many ſuperficial and petulant criticiſms advanced by the cenſurers of this divine bard, are perhaps more than counterbalanced by the extravagant and abſurd commendations laviſhed upon him by ſome of his injudicious admirers *.

His fame reſts on the firmeſt and moſt unequivocal foundations. His countrymen, who thoroughly underſtood the characters and the manners he deſcribed, and the language in which he wrote, and who excelled all mankind in the acuteneſs of their underſtanding, and the exquiſite delicacy of their taſte, regarded his Iliad and his Odyſſey as the moſt perfect work of human genius. Great cities contended for the honour of the poet's birth: The venerable Lycurgus collected and tranſcribed the Iliad and Odyſſey with his own hand, and introduced them from Ionia into Greece: Solon ordained them to be ſolemnly recited in the Athenian republic: Alexander the Great was ſo paſſionately fond of their peruſal, that he placed them every night under his pillow: and the moſt ingenious of the ancient critics deduced from theſe poems the juſteſt rules of criticiſm. —— To crown his praiſe, the beſt Epic Poets in ſucceeding times have looked up

* Here I muſt be forgiven for quoting four lines of a Noble Engliſh poet, which, though frequently repeated by many of the admirers of our immortal bard, and though inſerted by Mr Pope in his preface to his tranſlation of the Iliad, appear to me to be extravagant even to abſurdity.— The lines are theſe:

"Read Homer once, and you can read no more;
"For all books elſe appear ſo mean, ſo poor,
"Verſe will ſeem proſe: but ſtill perſiſt to read,
"And Homer will be all the books you need."

to

to Homer as the moſt perfect model for their imitation. They have not only copied him exactly in the arrangement and conduct of their ſubject; but many paſſages in their poems are little elſe than paraphraſes from his admirable works. But the ſtyle of Homer can be truly admired in the original alone, where he will be found to have employed to the utmoſt advantage the inimitable perfections of the fineſt language ever ſpoken by men.

Homer is, beſides, highly valuable on account of the knowledge he affords us of the manners, ſacrifices, feaſts, ſieges, and battles of the men of thoſe ancient times. The pureſt maxims of morality are every where inculcated by him. Under the emblem of Jupiter, he deſcribes an only and Almighty Deity, whoſe decrees are fate; who is the ſource of all goodneſs and happineſs; and whoſe providence directs the moſt minute events that occur throughout the univerſe.

Heſiod was nearly cotemporary with Homer. He was born at Cumes, a city of Etolia, and educated at Aſcra in Bœotia. Three of his performances have come down to us: 1ſt, His Works and Days, in which he treats of agriculture. This piece was the model of Virgil's Georgics; and abounds with excellent maxims, both with reſpect to the ſubject of which it treats, and to human life in general. 2dly, His Theogony, or genealogy of the gods. This is the moſt certain account of the ancient heathen mythology. 3dly, The Shield of Hercules, ſo called from its being a deſcription of the ſhield of that hero. His taſte of writing was extremely different from that of Homer, whoſe conſtant aim was the ſublime, while that of Heſiod was the beautiful. Rural objects were the favourite theme of Heſiod's muſe.

Archilochus was a native of Paros. Iambic verſes, a ſpecies of poetry adapted to violent and paſſionate ſubjects, were the invention of this poet. Quintilian ſays, that his ſtyle was nervous and expreſſive; but that his manner was very ſatirical and licentious.

Alceus was a native of Mytilene. From him the Alcean verſes derive their name. His pieces were ſevere

ſatires

ſatires againſt the tyrants of Leſbos, and againſt Pittacus in particular. His ſtyle, according to Quintilian, was lofty, and bore a great reſemblance to that of Homer. Beſides his merit as a poet, he was likewiſe a brave ſoldier.

Sappho was cotemporary with Alceus, and a native of the ſame place. She invented the Sapphic verſes, and was honoured with the name of the Tenth Muſe. Alceus was a lover of hers; but his addreſſes ſeem to have been ineffectual; for ſhe was greatly enamoured of Phaon; who, on the other hand, paid very little regard to her paſſionate and beautiful complaints. The purity of her manners was by no means anſwerable to the beauty of her poetry. Her poems are chiefly admired on account of her ſkilful deſcription of the paſſions.

614. *Steſichorus*, a native of Himera in Sicily, brought Lyric poetry to perfection. None of his works have reached us; but they were much valued by the ancients for their gravity and dignity.

566. *Theſpis* was cotemporary with Solon, and a native of Icaria, a town in Attica. He is regarded as the inventor of Tragedy, which before his time was a ſort of farce, intermixed with ſongs in honour of Bacchus, and performed in the highways and ſtreets, or where-ever they happened to fall in with the throngeſt audience. Theſpis gave it a different turn. He carried about his performers in a cart, which ſerved them likewiſe for a ſtage; he cauſed them to beſmear their faces with the lees of wine; and introduced a perſon in the intervals of the chorus who ſpoke a magnificent deſcription of ſome extraordinary action.—This was, in a manner, the cradle of tragedy.

Simonides, a native of Ceos, one of the iſlands called *Cyclades*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his elegiac verſes. His anſwer to Hiero's queſtion, "WHAT IS GOD?" is well known. Simonides at firſt deſired one day to conſider of the queſtion; when that was elapſed, he demanded two days more; then four; and ſo on for a conſiderable time, always doubling the ſpace he had laſt

requeſted.

requeſted. Hiero, ſurpriſed at this behaviour, aſked him the reaſon of it; "Becauſe," anſwered Simonides, "the more I meditate on the ſubject of your queſtion, "the more incomprehenſible I find it." His verſes are much commended by the ancients, and have acquired him great reputation.

THE origin of philoſophy, as well as that of poetry, is likewiſe fixed to this period; when ſeveral Greeks, whoſe diſpoſitions did not incline them to buſineſs, applied themſelves to the ſtudy of nature. *Thales*, a native of Miletus, and the founder of the Ionic ſect, is thought to have led the way. He learned aſtronomy of the prieſts of Memphis, and was the firſt Greek that treated of natural philoſophy. He gave general notions of the univerſe; and maintained, that an only ſupreme Intelligence regulated all its motions. He diſtinguiſhed the ſphere into eight circles, and diſcovered the cauſe of eclipſes, which in thoſe days were accounted prodigies. Valerius Maximus tells of him, that on being aſked, whether a man could conceal his actions from the Deity? he anſwered, "How is that "poſſible, ſince he cannot conceal from him even his "thoughts?" From his ſtrong attachment to ſtudy he declined marriage. His great knowledge procured him a place among the ſeven wiſe men of Greece. 600.

Anaximander, his ſcholar, diſtinguiſhed the four elements, and found out the obliquity of the ecliptic.

Although theſe firſt philoſophers did not arrive at an accurate knowledge of natural philoſophy, they have, nevertheleſs, the honour of having pointed out the way to their followers in the ſame track, to attain more exact diſcoveries.

Heraclitus was a native of Epheſus, where he became the founder of a ſect of philoſophers. We know little more of him, except that he was a profeſſed miſanthrope; that he beheld with pity all the actions of men; that he conſtantly wept for their miſery, and from thence obtained the name of the *crying* philoſopher.

Democritus was a native of Abdera in Thrace, and lived in the time of Xerxes king of Perſia. As a philoſopher, he was in high eſteem. His deſire of knowledge induced him to travel through the greateſt part of the then known world; and in thoſe journies he ſpent a very conſiderable fortune. He lived in perfect indifference about all the events of life, and uſed to laugh at the follies of mankind. His reſiding for the moſt part among tombs, inclined many to believe him to be diſordered in his judgement; and the inhabitants of Abdera intreated Hippocrates, the famous phyſician, to go and ſee him. Hippocrates, accordingly, paid him a viſit; but on diſcourſing with him, immediately diſcovered him to be a man of extraordinary knowledge and underſtanding. Diogenes Laertius aſſures us, that Democritus poſſeſſed a fine genius, and had acquired a great fund of the moſt valuable learning.

APPENDIX.

PART I.

Of the Spartan and Athenian governments.

BEfore proceeding to the more intereſting part of our hiſtory, we have judged it proper to ſubjoin to this firſt book a ſeparate and diſtinct account of the moſt curious particulars of Grecian polity and manners, which it was impoſſible to interweave into the main body of the work, but with which, at the ſame time, it was neceſſary to be acquainted, elſe many of the hiſtorical paſſages that follow could not be diſtinctly underſtood. As theſe particulars have a ſtrong connection with,

with, and ſerve to illuſtrate one another, we thought it beſt to throw them all together in an appendix. We have divided this appendix into two parts. In the firſt we ſhall ſpeak more particularly of the Spartan and Athenian governments: and, in the ſecond, we ſhall treat in general of the education of the youth; of the games and ſhows; of the principal circumſtances relating to the art of war; and of the moſt remarkable particulars of the religion of the Greeks.

SECT. I.

THE Spartan inſtitutions may be conſidered under two diſtinct heads: 1*ſt*, So far as they regarded the public government of the ſtate: 2*dly*, So far as they regarded the private lives of the citizens.

The public government of Sparta was managed by two kings, a ſenate, the people, and the ephori. Hence it partook of the nature of each of the three principal forms of government, monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy.

The civil power of the two kings at Sparta was very limited. In time of peace they enjoyed little elſe than the name of kings, and were truly no more than the two chief men of the ſenate. They were not at liberty by themſelves alone to undertake any public buſineſs whatever; all matters of that kind being determined by a plurality of voices in the ſenate. In time of war, indeed, they were inveſted with an abſolute authority, in quality of generals. But they were accountable for their management; their conduct was liable to inveſtigation, and their perſons ſubject to puniſhment. We may therefore eaſily conceive, that the two kings of Sparta made but a poor figure in time of peace.

The ſenate was the grand inſtitution of Lycurgus. It was intended to counterbalance the power of the kings on the one hand, and that of the people on the other. It was compoſed of thirty members, including the two

kings. The whole legiſlative authority was lodged in their hands, and every point was determined by a plurality of voices.

The power of the people was by Lycurgus very much confined. Their principal privilege was that of chuſing the members of the ſenate. Their aſſent indeed was neceſſary to give ſanction to the laws; but they were not permitted to reaſon or to deliberate upon ſuch matters as were laid before them; being obliged ſimply to approve or to reject the opinion propoſed to them by the ſenate. Their aſſemblies too were in a great meaſure dependent on the ſenate, which might call them together or diſmiſs them at its pleaſure.

This was the footing upon which Lycurgus eſtabliſhed the public government at Sparta; and in this ſituation it remained for about 130 years after his death, when it was thought neceſſary to deviſe ſome curb to the power of the ſenate, which appeared to be too abſolute and great. For this purpoſe, therefore, the *Ephori* were created in the time of King Theopompus. Theſe magiſtrates were five in number; were choſen by the people, and out of their own number, and continued only one year in office. They bore a great reſemblance to the tribunes of the people among the Romans. Their authority was very great. They could oblige the inferior magiſtrates, and even the kings themſelves, to render an account of their adminiſtration; and they could arreſt and impriſon the perſons both of the ſenators and of the kings. A remarkable inſtance of this power happened in the caſe of Pauſanias.

The moſt important article reſpecting the private policy of the Spartans, was the equal diſtribution of the lands. Lycurgus, when he began his reformation, finding the whole territory of the ſtate in the hands of a few wealthy citizens, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail with thoſe citizens to relinquiſh their poſſeſſions, and to conſent to an equal diviſion of the lands among the whole members of the commonwealth. In this arduous work, he was lucky enough at laſt to ſucceed.

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The whole territory of Laconia was diſtributed into 30,000 ſhares, and aſſigned to the inhabitants of the country; and the liberties of Sparta were, in like manner, divided into 9000 ſhares, and allotted to the inhabitants of the city. Each ſhare contained as much ground as was judged ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of one family; which was computed to require about ſeventy buſhels of grain, and a proportionable quantity of wine and oil.

To remove likewiſe, as far as poſſible, all pretenſions to diſtinction that might ariſe from an inequality in point of moveable effects, Lycurgus prohibited the uſe of gold and ſilver, and obliged the Spartans to confine themſelves to iron money alone, of which the weight and ſmall intrinſic value muſt render its uſe extremely difficult. By theſe means he baniſhed luxury and magnificence, brought riches into contempt, and made modeſty and ſimplicity to be honoured and eſteemed. It is vain to pretend to reaſon about the rationality and expediency of theſe eſtabliſhments of Lycurgus, ſince it is certain, that while Sparta retained this contempt for riches, ſhe continued powerful and glorious.

Still further to prevent the deſire of riches, and all incitements to luxury, Lycurgus prohibited the practice of all ſuperfluous and unneceſſary arts at Sparta; and all public ſhows, that his citizens might not be accuſtomed to ſights condemned by the laws, nor liſten to the juſtification of crimes and irregular paſſions. In place of ſuch occupations and amuſements, hunting, and bodily exerciſes were encouraged, and conſtituted the ordinary buſineſs of the Spartans.

To complete this ſyſtem of equality that Lycurgus deſired to eſtabliſh among his countrymen, his laſt and moſt effectual inſtitution was that of the public tables, at which the whole body of citizens, rich and poor promiſcuouſly, were obliged to eat of the ſame diet. Every table contained fifteen perſons, each of whom furniſhed a certain quantity of the requiſite proviſions. A buſhel of flour, eight gallons of wine, five pounds

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of cheeſe, two pounds and a half of figs, together with a ſmall ſum of money to purchaſe a little fleſh and fiſh, and to cook the victuals, was the monthly contribution of every member. No new member could be admitted to any of thoſe tables without the conſent of the whole company. From their entertainments all delicate and luxurious diſhes were baniſhed; their ordinary and moſt eſteemed fare being a ſort of black broth *.

This laſt regulation met with much oppoſition, and occaſioned an inſurrection, in which Lycurgus had one of his eyes knocked out. But the gentleneſs with which he treated the author of that misfortune, very much increaſed the public eſteem for him; and the regulation at laſt took place. The public tables ſoon became ſo many ſchools of temperance and inſtruction to the youth.

But of all the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, the moſt extraordinary, perhaps, and the moſt wiſe, were thoſe that regulated the education of the children, which he juſtly regarded as the ground-work and baſis of his whole ſyſtem of government. His care in that reſpect may be ſaid to have preceded not only the birth, but even the conception of the children, by the ſtrict attention he beſtowed on procuring them healthy and vigorous mothers. For this purpoſe the Spartan young women were from their earlieſt years accuſtomed to a courſe of hardy and laborious exerciſes, proper for invigorating the body, ſuch as wreſtling, running, and throwing the javelin. Theſe exerciſes, too, inſpired them with a ſpirit of emulation and heroiſm, and improved their minds no leſs than their bodies. Hence

* Dionyſius, the tyrant of Syracuſe, being informed of the extraordinary fondneſs of the Spartans for this black broth, is ſaid to have procured a Spartan cook for the ſingle purpoſe of preparing for him this diſh. But the tyrant, on taſting it, having ſhown great diſlike to it, the cook, with the ſtrong ſenſe of his native laconiciſm, told Dionyſius, That one muſt bathe in the Eurotas before he could acquire the proper taſte for this broth.

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the ſofter ſex, which, in the modern nations inhabiting our hemiſphere, ſeems to be naturally actuated with a deſire of outward ornament and dreſs, to attract the admiration of the other ſex, at Sparta aſpired at the moſt manly accompliſhments. Their education there rendered them ſuſceptible of the moſt heroic virtues; and that to ſuch a degree, that the love of their country often extinguiſhed the powerful ties of natural affection. The mother, who heard that her ſon had fallen in the ſervice of his country, anxiouſly examined the body to ſee whether he had received his wounds before or behind: in the firſt caſe ſhe rejoiced, in the latter ſhe wept.

Nor were the Spartan maidens permitted to receive huſbands till they arrived at the flower of their age:—An inſtance of ſingular wiſdom in their excellent lawgiver. His ſagacity was no leſs conſpicuous in contriving things ſo, that their marriages were all clandeſtine, and rather a rape than a formal conjunction. By theſe means the interviews between the new-married couple were few, difficult, and ſhort. Hence temperance in their pleaſures.

Every child, when born, was examined by the oldeſt men of its tribe; who, if they thought it too delicate and weak, condemned it to die. It is obſervable, that the Spartan children were never wrapped in ſwaddling cloaths, and yet were all remarkably ſtraight, well proportioned, and beautiful. Their nurſes were reckoned very careful and ſkilful; and, on that account, were eagerly ſought after by the principal people in the other ſtates of Greece. It is reported, that Alcibiades was ſuckled by a Spartan.

As the education of the children was accounted too important a concern to be intruſted to the parents, who, by an abſurd and ill-judged fondneſs, often ruin them, the ſtate took that matter entirely into its own hands. A citizen of diſtinguiſhed integrity and ability was appointed principal ſuperintendant of the education of the youth. At the age of ſeven years, the children

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were taken from their parents, and diſtributed into different claſſes, where they were inured to a hardy life, expoſed to the extremities of cold and heat, obliged to walk barefoot, with their heads ſhaved and uncovered, and accuſtomed to the greateſt ſimplicity and temperance in their diet.

At the age of twelve they were removed into another claſs, where they underwent a more ſevere diſcipline ſtill. There they learned obedience to the laws and magiſtrates, and reverence for their old men. To inſpire them with bravery, and to render them expert at the exerciſes of war, they were cauſed to fight with one another. In theſe conteſts they uſed to contend with ſuch fury and obſtinacy, as often to have ſome of their members diſabled, and ſometimes even to be killed. To make them adventurous and cunning, they were allowed to ſteal whatever they pleaſed, either from the gardens or public halls of entertainment, provided they accompliſhed the theft without being detected; but when caught in the fact, they were puniſhed. It was likewiſe accounted a worthy accompliſhment in the Spartan children to be able to bear, without complaining, at a certain feaſt in honour of Diana, the moſt ſevere whipping, even till the blood followed the ſtroke. Their underſtandings were cultivated more by the converſation of the wiſeſt citizens, than by ſtudy and reading. They were particularly taught to give their anſwers in the feweſt words poſſible. Hence conciſeneſs, either in ſtyle or converſation, has obtained the name of *Laconiciſm*. By theſe means a ſingle ſyllable ſometimes ſerved among the Lacedemonians for an anſwer.

The love of their country was the chief ſentiment with which the Spartans laboured to inſpire their youth; and the ſcience of war was almoſt their only ſtudy. For it appears to have been the intention of Lycurgus to form a nation of ſoldiers; not indeed that they might indulge themſelves in a ſpirit of conqueſt, and by that means give way to ambition and injuſtice, which he evidently meant to prevent, by prohibiting their making

uſe of any naval force, but that they might be able to maintain the peace and liberties of their native country againſt turbulent and ambitious neighbours. Their firſt and principal leſſon in the art of war, was, *Never to fly*, let the enemy outnumber them ever ſo much; but either *to die or to conquer*. Thoſe who fled in any engagement, were rendered infamous for ever, and might be inſulted by any perſon with impunity. Another ſingular, but very political maxim obſerved by the Spartans in war was, Never to purſue a vanquiſhed enemy beyond the field of battle. For this reaſon their adverſaries being ſure of finding ſafety in flight, were induced to fight with leſs obſtinacy. War, inſtead of a hardſhip, was by the Spartans conſidered as a recreation; for then, and at no other time, the extreme rigour and ſeverity of their uſual courſe of life was in a good meaſure relaxed.

We cannot conclude this article, without obſerving, that to ſeveral eminent writers ſome of the Spartan cuſtoms and inſtitutions have appeared reprehenſible. Certain public exhibitions of their young women are cenſured as indelicate: — And an article of freedom in an eſſential point allowed to their married women, is condemned as immoral, and as being ſubverſive of one of the moſt powerful bonds of paternal and of filial affection.

We know, that to the firſt it may be anſwered by a certain claſs of philoſophers, That this apparent indelicacy is only a conſequence of the corruption of the manners of thoſe who account it ſuch; while, on the other ſide, it is a proof of the innocence and ſimplicity of the Spartan manners. —— To the ſecond the anſwer is more obvious, and perhaps more ſolid, That at Sparta filial affection was intentionally diverted from the private father, and directed by the whole ſyſtem of their education to the ſtate, as the common father of all its members: A circumſtance which diſtinguiſhes Spartan polity from that of every other nation, ſo far as we know, which ever appeared on earth.

Their cruelty, both as individuals and as a community, is made another ſubject of reproach againſt the ancient Spartans: And indeed it ſeems to be altogether without excuſe. To deſtroy ſuch of their children as the inſpectors judged to be too puny and weak, was both cruel, and, we will venture to add, abſurd. Daily experience might have convinced them, that an enfeebled appearance in the firſt days of life is far from being an unequivocal ſign even of bodily ſtrength. Innumerable inſtances to the contrary occur daily in all countries. But, even in a nation of Spartan warriors, an athletic make could hardly be put in competition with bravery, which depends more on the mind than on the body, and, like underſtanding, fancy, memory, and other mental endowments, is moſt rarely communicated to an Herculean frame. Of this the illuſtrious Spartan Ageſilaus furniſhes a convincing proof.

But their more than ſavage barbarity to the Helots, who tilled their fields, and on whom of courſe they depended for the means of life, ſhocks humanity, and almoſt exceeds belief. They not only obliged them to wear, on all occaſions, both in their dreſs and deportment, the moſt diſgraceful marks of abject ſervility, but daily inſulted, ſtruck, and maimed them, without a ſhadow of provocation; and, often in pure wantonneſs, ſtabbed them to death.

The horrid amuſement of the *Cryptia*, or *ambuſcade*, not only permitted, but even authoritatively impoſed on the youth, is an inſtance of unprecedented, of inconceivable barbarity. Parties of the hardieſt young Spartans, armed with daggers concealed under their cloaths, were diſpatched to traverſe the fields, evidently with a view to mark out ſuch of the Helots as appeared to poſſeſs moſt ſtrength and courage, and the moſt manly appearance in face or geſture. Having made their obſervations, they concealed themſelves in the moſt unfrequented places, till night gave them an opportunity to perpetrate the meditated maſſacre. Then ſallying forth from

from their lurking-places, they ſtabbed with their daggers the devoted unſuſpecting wretches.

On the whole, the Spartan conſtitution ſeems to have been deviſed to render them a nation of hardy, unfeeling warriors. Every circumſtance deemed conducive to this end, was ſtudied and practiſed, though frequently repugnant to the ſofter and moſt amiable feelings of the human mind. But what cannot habit effect among mankind? The manners not only of diſtant nations, but even of the ſame nations in different ages, differ as much, as the motions of a tumbler differ from thoſe of a laborious peaſant.

So extraordinary a people ſoon attracted the admiration of their neighbours, as well as of ſtrangers; and Sparta acquired a pre-eminence over all Greece. The other ſtates, when at war, reckoned it a ſingular advantage to obtain a Spartan for their general, and paid him the moſt perfect obedience.

Moſt of the ancient philoſophers were of opinion, that the government of Sparta approached the neareſt of any to perfection, as comprehending all the advantages, and excluding all the diſadvantages, of the other forms of government. So far is certain, that while the inſtitutions of Lycurgus were maintained in their full vigour in Sparta, no ſedition ever broke out there; no private man poſſeſſed himſelf by violence of the ſupreme power; and no king aſſumed more authority than the laws permitted.

SECT. II.

TO form an accurate notion of the form of government in the Athenian republic, it is neceſſary to know diſtinctly the different members whereof it was compoſed.

The inhabitants of Athens were diſtinguiſhed into three different ranks; the citizens, the ſtrangers, the ſlaves.

Thoſe only were naturally citizens, who were born of Athenian parents, both free. Foreigners indeed might become citizens by the indulgence of the people, who had the power of conferring that honour on ſuch as had rendered ſignal ſervice to the ſtate. All the citizens were by Cecrops diſtinguiſhed into four tribes: each of theſe tribes conſiſted of three diviſions; and each of theſe diviſions was ſubdivided into thirty families. About 100 years after Solon, this diviſion of the citizens was altered by Cliſthenes, who increaſed the the number of tribes to ten; in which ſituation they continued till the time of Demetrius Poliorcetes, when they were further increaſed to twelve. The young men were not admitted to the rank of citizens, nor intitled to any of the privileges by them enjoyed, till the age of twenty years; when, after ſwearing in the moſt ſolemn manner never to fly from battle, to defend their country to their laſt breath, and to advance its honour and glory with all their might, they were inſcribed in the liſt of citizens. The whole power of government was excluſively confined to the citizens alone.

Such ſtrangers as ſettled at Athens, either for the ſake of commerce, or for any other conveniency, always put themſelves under the protection of ſome citizen. They were obliged to pay a tax to the ſtate, and were ſubject to the laws; but had no ſhare in the government.

The third claſs conſiſted of two diviſions: 1ſt, The *ſervants*, who, though free by birth, were conſtrained through poverty to gain a livelihood by ſerving the other citizens: And, 2dly, The *ſlaves*, properly ſo called, who were either priſoners taken in war, or were purchaſed with money. The laſt lived in a ſtate of abſolute dependence on their maſters, and were accounted part of their property. When treated with cruelty, they had a right to complain to the proper magiſtrate, and on proving what they alledged, their maſters were obliged to diſpoſe of them. A certain proportion of their gains was appropriated to their own uſe. They might

might purchaſe their liberty, though contrary to the pleaſure of their maſters; and their maſters might voluntarily ſet them at liberty whenever they thought proper.

We have ſeen in the preceding part of this hiſtory, that the Athenians were at firſt ruled by kings. We have ſeen them upon the death of Codrus aſſerting their liberty, taking the whole power of government into their own hands, and ſetting up principal magiſtrates of their own creation, called *Archons*. We have ſeen them limiting ſtill more and more the power of thoſe Archons; firſt reducing the duration of their office to ten years, inſtead of conferring it for life, as at firſt; and afterwards confining it to the ſpace of one year.

Senſible at laſt of the numberleſs inconveniencies attending this unſettled ſtate of government, they unanimouſly empowered Solon to make ſuch alterations in it as he ſhould judge proper, and to bring the manner of proceeding in their public deliberations to a firm and certain footing.

Aware of the turbulent and licentious diſpoſition of the people with whom he had to deal, Solon accepted of the office with reluctance. Naturally averſe himſelf to deſpotic ſway, and inclined to the free and equal rule of a well-regulated democracy, knowing perfectly at the ſame time the impoſſibility of reconciling the Athenians to any other mode of ſubjection, he deviſed for them a form of government purely popular. But as he was well acquainted with the many dangers and imperfections incident to that ſyſtem, he endeavoured, by every poſſible precaution, to obviate them as far as was in his power.

Solon would willingly have begun his adminiſtration, by eſtabliſhing at Athens the ſame equality in point of fortune that prevailed at Sparta. But foreſeeing the danger of ſuch an attempt in his circumſtances, he reſolved to take a middle courſe, and to procure an acquittal of all debts then ſubſiſting among the citizens. By that means he delivered from ſlavery a great number

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of citizens, whoſe exceſſive debts had obliged them to part with their freedom; and at the ſame time he ſtruck at the root of moſt of the commotions that had of late diſturbed the ſtate, which were produced by the rigour of the richer citizens in exacting their debts, and the refractory diſpoſition and the inability of the poorer ſort to pay them.

Solon next proceeded to rank all the citizens into four claſſes, in proportion to the wealth of each. The firſt three claſſes comprehended the richer citizens, who alone were to be promoted to all the offices of truſt or dignity in the ſtate. The fourth claſs contained the poorer citizens, who, though excluded on account of their poverty from all poſts and employments, had nevertheleſs the privilege of voting in the public aſſemblies; which, as we ſhall by and by ſee, eventually threw into their hands the whole power of the ſtate: for as this claſs comprehended a greater number of perſons than the other three together, they poſſeſſed a preponderancy of voices on all occaſions. Afterwards, too, this excluſion of the poorer ſort from public offices, was aboliſhed by the interpoſition of Ariſtides, and full liberty was granted to the meaneſt citizen, of arriving at any office whatever.

Solon next laid down rules about the form of proceeding in the public aſſemblies. Theſe aſſemblies were compoſed, as we have already obſerved, of the whole collective body of the citizens; each of whom not only might, but was obliged to aſſiſt at them. Their meetings were of two kinds, ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary meetings were appointed to be holden on certain fixed days, and the particular buſineſs that was to come under the conſideration of each meeting was properly known and aſcertained. The extraordinary meetings were called by public proclamation, when any matters occurred whoſe nature or importance required more ſolemn conſideration, or quicker diſpatch. Every meeting was opened with ſacrifices and prayer; after which the preſident explained to them the matter about

which

which they were to deliberate. If the queſtion had been previouſly agitated in the ſenate, in the manner that we ſhall afterwards deſcribe, the opinion there given was read, and the people were aſked, Whether they thought proper to confirm it? If they demurred, thoſe who choſe to deliver their ſentiments about the affair were deſired to aſcend the tribunal. The oldeſt members generally ſpoke firſt. When the pleadings were concluded, the people gave judgement by holding up their hands, in ſign of approbation of the opinion or propoſal laid before them. But if a majority gave not this ſign, the propoſal was rejected. After the pleaſure of the aſſembly was thus known, their ſentence was reduced into writing, then read over to them, and confirmed a ſecond time.

The whole power of the commonwealth, both legiſlative and judicative, was veſted in theſe popular aſſemblies: for not only were all matters of public concern, ſuch as the enacting and abrogating of laws, religious affairs, the creation of magiſtrates, and inquiries into their adminiſtration, peace, war, treaties, and the rewards of ſignal ſervices done to the ſtate, diſcuſſed in them; but every queſtion of private right might be tried before them, by appeals from all the judicatories in the republic.

As ſome ſort of reſtraint, or rather as a directory to the popular aſſemblies, Solon inſtituted the ſenate; which he formed of 100 men choſen out of each tribe; and the tribes in his time being four, the whole members of the ſenate amounted, by conſequence, to 400. Their number, however, was afterwards increaſed to 500, upon the increaſe of the number of tribes to ten, about 100 years after Solon, when each tribe was allowed to furniſh 50 members to the ſenate. They were all choſen by lot; but no man could become a ſenator before the age of thirty, nor till ſtrict inquiry was made into his private character; and before his admiſſion, he bound himſelf by oath to give judgement in every queſtion according to law, and to deliver at all times to the people

people of Athens the beſt counſel he could. Every member of the ſenate received a ſalary out of the public treaſury. The preſident was elected out of each tribe in its turn.

The ſenators, before aſſembling, ſacrificed to Jupiter and Mercury. It was the preſident's buſineſs to lay before the ſenate the queſtions on which they were to deliberate. Each judge ſtood up in his turn, and delivered his opinion. The manner of ſtating the queſtion being agreed on, it was written out, read aloud, and the judges proceeded to give their votes by throwing either a black or a white bean into an urn. If the number of white beans exceeded that of the black, the ſentence paſſed in the affirmative; if the number of black beans was greateſt, it was rejected. But before the decree of the ſenate could have the force of a law, it required the approbation of the aſſembly of the people, before whom therefore it next came. If affirmed by them, it paſſed into a law; if not, it was only good for a year. This council was, as already mentioned, intended by Solon as a check upon the aſſembly of the people, which being for the greater part compoſed of a confuſed multitude, without education, capacity, or much zeal for the public good, ſtood in need of ſuch an inſtitution to inform and direct them, to fix their inconſtancy, to prevent their temerity, and to aſſiſt their deliberations with a prudence and maturity to which they neceſſarily were ſtrangers. For this reaſon the moſt important matters of the ſtate, ſuch as thoſe relating to peace, war, the army, the navy, and the public funds, were firſt agitated in the ſenate, and brought before the popular aſſemblies only in the ſecond inſtance.

The next moſt conſiderable act of Solon's adminiſtration was the inſtitution, or rather perhaps the reformation, of the court of *Areopagus*. The power of this court was, properly ſpeaking, purely judicative. It was compoſed of the Archons, who had ſerved the ſtated time in that capacity, and had diſcharged the duty of their office with diſtinguiſhed integrity and reputation.

The number of judges in this court was not fixed. Sometimes they amounted to two or three hundred. The court of Areopagus never met but at night, and in an open place; and thoſe who pled before them were not permitted to indulge themſelves in rhetorical flouriſhes, but were ſtrictly confined to the merits of their cauſe.

This court was always moſt highly reſpected, on account of the ſingular juſtice and integrity of the judges, who were intruſted with the education of the youth, with the care of the public money, and with power to puniſh thoſe who lived in idleneſs. They had likewiſe juriſdiction in matters of religion, and deliberated about the introduction of new divinities, and the building of temples and altars. Beſides the matters here enumerated, they meddled with no other, unleſs upon particular application of the ſtate, which ſometimes had recourſe to the wiſdom of their deliberations on any dangerous emergency.

It were equally tedious and unneceſſary to enter into a particular detail of the various ſubordinate inſtitutions of Solon. We hope that what has been ſaid may give the reader a diſtinct notion of the public government of this famous republic, and that is all we propoſed *.

We

* We ſhall here mention, very briefly, ſome of the moſt remarkable of Solon's laws. — He who in public commotions remained neuter, was declared infamous. — A rich heireſs, who in marriage found her natural wiſhes diſappointed, from ſome natural defect about her huſband, of which he muſt have been ſenſible before marriage, might aſſociate with her huſband's neareſt male relations. — No portions were allowed to be given with any wives, except thoſe who were heireſſes. — All injurious reflections againſt the dead were forbidden; — ſo were public revilings againſt the living. — Thoſe who had no children were authoriſed to bequeath their effects by will, from which before Solon's time they were reſtrained. — From a deſire to promote induſtry and manufactures, which the barrenneſs of the territories of Attica rendered more particularly neceſſary, he ordained that the ſon who by his father had not been educated in ſome buſineſs, ſhould not be obliged to ſupport that father when in want: — And he

We ſhall therefore conclude with a few words on the article of the public revenues of Athens.

Theſe aroſe, 1*ſt*, From the produce of the territory of the republic, the ſale of its woods, and the great ſums drawn from its ſilver mines. 2*dly*, From the contributions of the allies to ſupport the expences of war.—In the time of Ariſtides, the produce of this fund amounted to no more than 460 talents; Pericles augmented it about a third; and ſome time after it was more than doubled, and roſe to 1300 talents. 3*dly*, From the fines, and confiſcations impoſed by the courts of law. And, *laſtly*, From extraordinary taxes levied in caſes of urgent neceſſity upon all the inhabitants of Attica.

PART II.

Of the education of the youth, the games and ſhows, matters of war and religion among the Greeks.

OF all the branches of Grecian polity, that which regarded the education of their youth was the moſt admirable. To the wiſdom of thoſe ancients, in this

who was thrice convicted of idleneſs became infamous. — To diſcourage proſligacy and to promote marriage, illegitimate children were not obliged to relieve their parents when reduced to poverty, while lawful children were, with the exception juſt mentioned, compelled under the penalty of infamy, to maintain their indigent parents. — An adulterer caught in the fact might inſtantly be put to death with impunity; — and the adultereſs was prohibited to adorn her perſon, and to aſſiſt at public ſacrifices. — The exportation of any of the fruits of the ground, except oil, was prohibited under ſevere penalties. — No ſtranger could be naturaliſed into the Athenian republic, unleſs he had been previouſly exiled to perpetuity from his native country, or had ſettled with his whole family at Athens to proſecute ſome manufacture. — The guardian was not permitted to live in the ſame houſe with the mother of his ward. — The cuſtody of the minor's perſon was not intruſted to his preſumptive heir. — An archon

this reſpect, may be chiefly attributed the vaſt ſuperiority in point of character and ability of the individuals among them over thoſe of modern times. To treat this ſubject with the accuracy its importance requires, would be a work equally laborious and uſeful. But as it is incompatible with our preſent deſign to enter into a minute inveſtigation of this matter, we ſhall content ourſelves with giving a general view of it in as few words as poſſible.

Among the Greeks, the education of the youth was a branch of government, and for that purpoſe public exerciſes were appointed, both for forming the body, and for improving the mind.

Their bodily exerciſes were principally calculated to inure them to the fatigues of war. Proper ſchools were ſet apart for the performance of thoſe exerciſes, and ſkilful maſters were appointed by the public to overſee them. There the youth practiſed wreſtling, riding, the uſe of arms, and military evolutions. Hunting too, which is an image of war, was in great repute, and very highly encouraged by the ancients. In the courſe of that diverſion, the youth were accuſtomed to ſupport the moſt violent fatigue, cold, heat, and all the other varieties of the weather, hunger, thirſt, and hard journies. For this reaſon Xenophon, one of the fineſt writers that Greece produced, who with the ſcience of a philoſopher, united the ſkill of an excellent commander, a thorough knowledge of the world, and the politeneſs of a gentleman, thought it worth his while to compoſe a treatiſe on the art of hunting; and in his beautiful philoſophical romance, the *Cyropedeia*, takes frequent occaſion to launch forth into the praiſes of it, and to ſhew, in

archon who appeared drunk ſuffered death. — He who diſſipated his fortune was declared infamous. — He who refuſed to be a ſoldier, or betrayed cowardice in battle, was not allowed to appear in the forum, or in the places of public worſhip. — The huſband who continued to cohabit with his wife, after diſcovering that ſhe diſhonoured his bed, became infamous.

the perſon of his hero, to what uſeful purpoſes it contributes.

Dancing, too, was reckoned an eſſential part in the education of the ancient Greeks. Its principal aim with them was to beſtow on the body an unconſtrained and eaſy motion, and a graceful air. To excel in it, therefore, was accounted an accompliſhment worthy the graveſt and greateſt characters. Hence even Epaminondas, one of the moſt perfect characters that Greece ever produced, was praiſed for dancing gracefully, and for playing ſkilfully on the flute.

Muſic, which holds a middle rank between the exerciſes of the body and the qualifications of the mind, was likeways carefully cultivated by the Greeks, and conſidered as a neceſſary and polite accompliſhment. The ancients indeed aſcribed to this art the moſt wonderful effects, believing it capable to ſooth the paſſions, to ſoften the manners, and even to humanize barbarous and ſavage diſpoſitions. On this account Socrates himſelf was not aſhamed, when pretty far advanced in years, to learn to play upon muſical inſtruments: And Themiſtocles, otherwiſe ſo well accompliſhed, was thought deficient in merit, becauſe he could not touch the lyre. Even Plato, the graveſt philoſopher of antiquity, deemed theſe two arts of dancing and muſic ſo important, that in his books of laws, he takes much pains to preſcribe proper rules with regard to them. But the taſte of the Greeks, in theſe two articles, was at length corrupted and depraved by the extreme licentiouſneſs of their theatres, where both muſic and dancing were by the comedians applied to the purpoſe of exciting the looſeſt and moſt ſhameful paſſions.

Greece was the nurſery and the reſidence of every branch of polite learning, of arts, and of ſciences. Every ſtudy that depends on the powers of imagination, or the faculties of the underſtanding, was there carried to the ſummit of perfection. Hence their youth applied, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, to the ſtudy of mathematics, philoſophy, poetry, and eloquence, and were early inſtructed

ſtructed by the beſt maſters in the principles of their native language, of which the various beauties were carefully pointed out to them. By theſe means the Athenians in particular imbibed that exquiſite taſte for the refinements of language, which has been the wonder of ſucceeding ages.

But the acquiſition they valued the moſt, and which was the object of their warmeſt ambition, was eloquence. This indeed in popular governments like theirs, was of all qualifications the moſt uſeful, being the path that conducted to the higheſt offices of the ſtate, and raiſed thoſe who excelled in it to the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank among their fellow-citizens.

Before the time of Socrates, the ſciences were chiefly taught by maſters called *Sophiſts*, a vain preſumptuous ſet of men, who were eternally diſputing and boaſting of their knowledge. The excellent philoſopher juſt mentioned took great pains to detect their ignorance, and to expoſe them to ridicule. This provoked them againſt him; and we ſhall by and by ſee, that he owed his deſtruction principally to the reſentment of thoſe Sophiſts.

The *games* and *combats*, ſo much in uſe among the Greeks, were principally encouraged on account of their being ſo admirably calculated for rendering the bodies of the youth robuſt and vigorous, and for enabling them to ſupport the fatigues of war; and likewiſe becauſe they formed a part of their religious worſhip. Of theſe exerciſes the famous heroes of antiquity, ſuch as Hercules, Theſeus, Caſtor, and Pollux, were the original inventors; and the greateſt poets aſpired at glory by celebrating the praiſes of thoſe that conquered and excelled in them. In proceſs of time, public inſtructors in theſe exerciſes aroſe, who formed a ſeparate profeſſion by themſelves, and often made an oſtentatious diſplay of their ſkill, by contending with one another in public.

Of theſe games there were four principal and more ſolemn exhibitions, viz. the Olympic, the Pithian, the Nemean, and Iſthmic.

The

The Olympic games were the moſt famous of all. Their firſt inſtitutor is unknown, though Pelops is with a great deal of probability generally conſidered as ſuch. No particular time was at firſt ſet apart for their celebration; but about the year before Chriſt 784, Iphitus, king of Elis, fixed it to every fourth year. Theſe games were conſecrated to Jupiter; and were performed in the neighbourhood of Olympia, a city in the diſtrict of Piſa. An Olympiad was a period of four years, being the ſpace of time that intervened between one celebration and another. Ancient authors reckon their chronology altogether by Olympiads, beginning at the Olympiad which happened in the year before Chriſt 776.

Theſe more ſolemn games were no doubt at firſt eſtabliſhed by the Greeks, as well with a view to draw together the leading men in the different ſtates of Greece, that they might have an opportunity of deliberating on matters of general concern, as to inſpire the youth with a love of glory. The Greeks exerted their utmoſt efforts to ſupport the magnificence of theſe games, which were regularly celebrated while that people maintained their liberty. The vaſt concourſe of ſpectators that conſtantly flocked thither, inſpired the combatants with the higheſt ſpirit of emulation; and to come off victorious was eſteemed the greateſt glory. According to Horace, victory there raiſed the conquerors to the rank of gods. The year was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the conqueror in the chariot races, accounted the moſt honourable of all, and his praiſes were ſung by the moſt famous poets.—The prize was a crown of laurel.

Running was conſidered as the principal exerciſe at the Olympic games; which therefore always opened with the foot races.——The courſe was called the *Stadium*, from the meaſure of that name, containing about 600 feet, which was originally the whole ſpace ſet apart for the performance of all the exerciſes. But, in proceſs of time, not only the particular ſpot within which

which the diſputants contended, but likewiſe that occupied by the ſpectators, was called by that appellation, though perhaps exceeding the extent of ſeveral ſtadia.—In the middle of the ſtadium were diſplayed the different prizes deſtined for the victors. At one extremity of the liſts was placed the barrier or ſtarting place, formed by a cord extended, without which were ranged the runners, and alſo the chariots. The drawing of this cord was the ſignal for ſtarting. At the other extremity of the liſts was placed the goal for thoſe that ran.

The runners were drawn up in a ſtraight line, and the moment the ſignal was given, they hurried towards the goal with wonderful rapidity. In the ſhorteſt race, he who arrived firſt at the goal was declared the victor: But there was a longer race, in which, after reaching the goal, they returned to the barrier. Beſides theſe, there were others of greater extent ſtill; and, in the longeſt of all, the diſputants were obliged to double the goal no fewer than twelve times.

Horſe-races, though holden in a conſiderable degree of eſtimation, were not ſo common: And, indeed, in thoſe ancient times, when the uſe of ſtirrups was unknown, it muſt have required very great dexterity to contend in them.

The chariot races were the moſt famous of all; not only becauſe ancient princes and heroes generally fought from chariots; but likewiſe, becauſe thoſe who contended for the prize in that exerciſe, at the Olympic games, were perſons of the nobleſt birth, or diſtinguiſhed by the greatneſs of their exploits. Two kings of Syracuſe, Gelo and Hiero, and Philip of Macedon, accounted their having obtained the palm of victory in this diſpute among their higheſt honours. Thoſe chariots were drawn by two or four horſes yoked a-breaſt. Hence the words *bigæ*, (a two horſe carriage), and *quadrigæ*, (a four horſe carriage). All the chariots ſet off together from the ſtarting-place, called *carceres*, the inſtant the ſignal was given. The ſtation of each

was

was ſettled by lot; for ſome ſtations were much more advantageous than others; thoſe, for example, that were ranged on the left, were nearer the goal, around which they were obliged to turn, than thoſe ranged on the right, which had a larger circuit to perform; but the ſtations occupied by each, before ſtarting, were neceſſarily altered in the courſe of the race; for the fleeteſt horſes, and moſt ſkilful charioteers, would certainly take poſſeſſion of the moſt convenient ſtations. Of all the Athenians, Alcibiades was the moſt ambitious to diſtinguiſh himſelf in theſe games. For that purpoſe he kept a great number of horſes; and once ſent no fewer than ſeven chariots to contend for the prize. On the day that he won the three firſt prizes, he gave a grand entertainment to all the ſpectators, who muſt have formed a vaſt multitude. Theſe victories of Alcibiades were immortalized by a famous ode compoſed by the celebrated Euripides.

It was not neceſſary for the diſputant in the chariot races to conduct his chariot in perſon. It was ſufficient if he were preſent; or even if he ſent thither his horſes. Thus Philip was at Potidea, when he received the news of his victory in the chariot races at the Olympic games. It may be obſerved too, that even women were permitted to contend for the prize in that diſpute, as well as the men. We learn from hiſtory, that Cyniſca, the ſiſter of Ageſilaus king of Sparta, was the firſt woman who ſet the example; and that ſhe gained the victory in the race of the chariots drawn by four horſes.

The victor, after being adorned with a crown of olive, received a palm into his hand, and was conducted through the ſtadium by a herald, who proclaimed him victor by the ſound of a trumpet. This was accompanied by loud ſhouts from the ſpectators. On returning to his native city, he made his entry through a breach in the wall, thrown down for that ſpecial purpoſe, mounted on a chariot drawn by four horſes, all his fellow-citizens going out to meet him.—Victory in the chariot-races was, as already obſerved, eſteemed the

moſt honourable of all; and hiſtorians diſtinguiſhed each Olympiad by the name of him who had won the firſt prize in that diſpute.

The combats of the *Athletæ*, or the Gymnaſtic exerciſes, formed the remaining part of the entertainment at the Olympic games. The *Athletæ* prepared themſelves for this public exhibition of their dexterity by a regular education; and none but free Greeks, of irreproachable moral characters, were admitted into their number. They were obliged, previouſly to their appearing at the public games, to ſpend ten months in the Gymnaſia; where, under the direction of proper maſters appointed for the purpoſe, they obſerved the moſt rigid temperance, to harden their bodies, and to adapt them to the requiſite exerciſes. Before engaging, the Athletæ had their bodies carefully rubbed and anointed, that their limbs and joints might thereby be rendered more ſtrong and pliable: and they fought quite naked, to give leſs hold to their adverſaries.

Thoſe who preſided at theſe games were called *Agnothetæ*.

The various exerciſes in which the *Athletæ* contended, were, wreſtling;—boxing;—*the Pancratium*;—throwing the diſcus;—and jumping.

Wreſtling is an exerciſe every where ſo well known, that it were ſuperfluous to ſpend many words in giving a deſcription of it.—Each contending party practiſed his utmoſt ſtrength, agility, and addreſs, to throw down his adverſary. But if he who was thrown down carried his opponent along with him, the diſpute was not at an end; for they ſtill continued ſtruggling, and he who got uppermoſt at laſt, and obliged the other to demand quarter, was declared conqueror.—Milon of Crotona, and Polydamas, were the moſt renowned wreſtlers of all antiquity.

Boxing is an exerciſe pretty generally known likewiſe. In this exerciſe the combatants fought with their fiſts, which were armed with ceſtuſes, a ſort of gauntlet or glove, compoſed of leather ſtraps lined with

plates of iron, to render the blows more violent: and to preſerve their heads from contuſions, they wore a ſort of large cap. Sometimes, after contending a long while, they were ſo exhauſted by ſweat and fatigue, as to be obliged of concert to ſuſpend the combat for a little time, that they might draw breath, and refreſh themſelves. In theſe engagements, they were ſometimes frightfully disfigured, having all their body covered with miſerable contuſions, an eye knocked out, or their jaw-bones broken; and ſometimes the combatants dropped down dead on the ſpot.

The Pancratium required, as the word imports, the whole ſtrength of the body. It was a combination both of wreſtling and boxing; for the combatants employed the ſtruggling practiſed in the firſt, and the blows uſed in the ſecond. They were at liberty even to kick with their feet, and to make uſe of their teeth and nails. Such combats juſtly appear to us barbarous and horrible, nearly as much ſo as thoſe of the Roman gladiators; and the ſpectators were certainly in a high degree devoid of humanity, when they took pleaſure to ſee men endeavouring in this manner to disfigure, and even to murder one another.

The diſcus was an exerciſe in which the diſputants exerted all their ſtrength to throw a piece of ſtone or lead, of a round form, and generally of ſuch a weight, that it was with difficulty carried in both hands. This exerciſe, like moſt of the others, was calculated to ſtrengthen the body, and to make it bear more eaſily the burdens neceſſary to be carried in war. Their poſture, when they threw the ſmaller diſcus, was thus: They advanced one leg to a convenient diſtance before the other, bended their body, and holding the diſcus poiſed on one arm, leaned their whole weight on the foremoſt leg; then, after two or three motions in the manner they were to throw, in order properly to balance their whole body, they diſcharged the diſcus. He who threw it fartheſt, won the prize. But beſides this, they had ſeveral other methods of throwing the

diſcus,

diſcus, generally making uſe of both arms at the ſame time.

Jumping and throwing the javelin were two exerciſes in which the diſputants endeavoured to jump and to throw the javelin the fartheſt they poſſibly could; and he was victor who threw it the fartheſt of all.

Beſides the exerciſes above deſcribed, it was uſual at the Olympic games for the poets, and fineſt geniuſes of the times, to contribute ſtill further to the public entertainment, by reciting before that vaſt aſſembly ſome of their beſt compoſitions. There Herodotus publicly read his hiſtory, which was ſo highly reliſhed and applauded, that each of the nine books, whereof it conſiſted, was honoured with the name of one of the nine muſes. In like manner Lyſias the famous Athenian orator recited an oration, wherein he congratulated with the Greeks on their having humbled the power of Dionyſius the tyrant. Several other orators likewiſe went thither to read ſome favourite diſcourſe.

The victors in thoſe games had right of precedency at all the public ſhows. Beſides this general indulgence, they were particularly honoured at Sparta, by the privilege of being maintained at the public charge, and of fighting neareſt the perſon of the king.—The praiſes of the victors were commonly the ſubject of the odes compoſed by the poets of thoſe days. Pindar and Simonides made this the theme of all their works of that kind.

The Pythian games were celebrated at Delphos every fourth year, in honour of Apollo; and particularly in memory of his victory over the ſerpent Python. The victor in them was crowned with laurel.

The Nemæan games were celebrated every ſecond year at Nemæa, a city of the Peloponneſe, in honour of Hercules, who had deſtroyed the lion that infeſted the foreſt of Nemæa. The victor in them was crowned with parſley.

The Iſthmian games were celebrated every fourth year in the iſthmus of Corinth, in honour of Neptune.

They were inſtituted by Theſeus. The victor in them was crowned with pine leaves.

It is to be remarked, that during the celebration of all theſe games, a general ſuſpenſion of arms took place through Greece, if at the time war happened to prevail between any of the ſtates.

One of the moſt famous combatants in the Gymnaſtic exerciſes, of which we have been juſt ſpeaking, was Milo the Crotonian, ſo called from his being a native of the city of Crotona. He is renowned in hiſtory for his prodigious ſtrength, and his great courage. When but a very young man, he was ſix times victor at the Olympic games. The inſtances of his vaſt ſtrength, and no leſs ſurpriſing ſtomach, told us by hiſtorians, appear almoſt incredible. He is ſaid to have carried on his ſhoulders the whole length of a ſtadium an ox four years old; to have killed it with a ſingle blow of his fiſt; and to have eaten the whole carcaſe in one day. His ſtrength, however, proved at laſt his deſtruction: for, having attempted to open entirely the body of an oak tree, which he found a little open already, the wood cloſed upon his hands; and, being unable to diſengage himſelf, he was devoured by the wild beaſts.

The Athenians were paſſionately fond of theatrical repreſentations. Among them judges were appointed to examine each piece before it came to be publicly acted: And the repreſentations were conducted with the higheſt magnificence.

Tragedy was not only invented, but carried to the higheſt pitch of perfection among the Greeks. Theſpis may be ſaid to have been the inventor of it:—Eſchylus improved upon his plan; and Sophocles and Euripides completed the work.

Terror and pity conſtituted the ſoul of the ancient Greek tragedy; for that ingenious people, who in every art and ſcience made nature their ſole model, diſcovered, that theſe two paſſions were the beſt adapted to affect the minds of the ſpectators. The principle upon

on which this is founded, may perhaps be this; that as we refer every thing to ourſelves, and are ſenſible of the misfortunes with which human life is ſurrounded, we are more diſpoſed to be affected with the repreſentation of theſe misfortunes, from a conſciouſneſs of being ourſelves expoſed to feel the ſufferings by which we ſee others diſtreſſed. But to aſcertain the principle appears unimportant. Terror and compaſſion, were the only paſſions whereby thoſe ancient poets ſtudied to move their audience. They ſeem to have diſdained to accompliſh that end by exhibiting their heroes as the ſlaves of the ſofter paſſions, and unmanned by the effeminate cares of love; for they regarded weakneſſes of that ſort as a ſtain on their characters.

Comedy kept pace with her ſiſter art at Athens, and arrived at perfection much about the ſame time. The Athenians took great delight in the livelineſs and ſatirical humour of its repreſentations; being well pleaſed to ſee the blemiſhes in the characters of their ſuperiors and cotemporaries expoſed and cenſured by the ingenious touches of pleaſantry and wit. But we are juſtly ſurpriſed at the extreme licentiouſneſs of the Athenian comic poets; for they not only made the moſt illuſtrious characters of their age the butt of their ridicule, but even meddled with thoſe of their gods. They likewiſe preſumed to touch on ſtate affairs; and introduced the faults of government as the ſubject of their mirth and pleaſantry. —— This exceſſive licentiouſneſs was one of the conſequences of the popular government.

Eupolis, Cratinus, and Ariſtophanes, were the moſt famous of the Greek comic poets, but of the two firſt none of the performances have come down to us, and only a few of thoſe of the latter. —— In the time of Lyſander and the thirty tyrants, the ſatirical liberty which had till then prevailed on the ſtage was greatly reſtrained. The poets, however, eluded the force of the injunction given them, not to mention any perſon by name, by drawing the character in ſo ſtriking a manner, that the audience had no difficulty to find out the

the perſon aimed at. But at laſt, in the time of Alexander the Great, the poets were entirely prohibited to attack any living character in their comedies, either directly or indirectly. They were obliged therefore to have recourſe to fiction, and to deviſe adventures for their theatrical perſonages. Comedy then became a copy of the living manners of the age in general.

The theatre of the Greeks conſiſted of three principal diviſions. The firſt, deſtined for the ſpectators, and denominated, *the theatre*, in a more ſtrict and confined ſenſe, was in the form of a ſemicircle, and diſpoſed in the manner of an amphitheatre, containing three ſtories of ſeats above one another, of which the higheſt reached to the top of the building. Each ſtory conſiſted of ſeven rows of ſeats, ſeparated from one another by a landing place. The ſtories of ſeats were divided from each other by three ranges of very large porticoes, which compoſed the body of the amphitheatre. Beſides theſe, there were great ſquare openings in proper places called *vomitoria*, by which the people entered and retired; and ſtairs called *cunei*, becauſe each of them formed a ſort of corner conducting to the ſeveral ſtories of ſeats.

The ſecond diviſion was called *the ſcenes*, and conſiſted of two parts. The firſt of theſe, called in a more limited ſenſe *the ſcenes*, was of the form of a long ſquare; and preſented a large front, along which the ſtatues and decorations were diſpoſed. The other part of this diviſion was a large ſpace in front of the ſcenes, called by the Greeks *proſcenium*: but it might have been in a ſtricter ſenſe denominated the ſtage; for it was there that the actors performed the piece.

The third diviſion, called the *orcheſtra*, was ſituated between the theatre and the ſcenes, and was ſet apart for the pantomimes, dancers, and muſicians.

The whole edifice was open at top, and expoſed to the weather, but was commonly covered with ſails or large pieces of canvas, to preſerve the ſpectators from the heat of the ſun.

The

The paſſion of the Athenians for theatrical repreſentations roſe at laſt to a kind of phrenſy, and is accounted one of the principal cauſes of the corruption of their manners. It muſt be allowed, that Pericles, from a deſire to conciliate the popular favour, was the firſt who laid the foundation of this corruption; for, by procuring a certain ſalary to each citizen every day that ſacrifices were performed, or plays exhibited, he very naturally produced in the hearts of the Athenians a ſtrong inclination for the theatre. Feaſts and plays ſucceeded each other almoſt without intermiſſion; and the people, as a conſequence of their taſte for ſhows and diverſions, became idle and indolent.

This taſte, however, was reſtrained within ſome ſort of bounds, till after the death of Epaminondas; when the Athenians, finding themſelves delivered from a man whoſe talents had raiſed the Thebans to ſuch a ſituation as to be able to diſpute with them the ſuperiority in Greece; and who had, during his life, kept them as well as the other ſtates in conſtant action; and having then no other enemy to give them diſturbance, conſumed in ſhows and feaſts the whole public money deſtined for the maintenance of their fleet and army. What unaccountable deluſion, to ſquander away in empty amuſements ſuch immenſe ſums; and to prefer the love of pleaſure to the good of the ſtate, and integrity of manners! Their enemies, and particularly Philip king of Macedon, did not fail to avail themſelves of this ſtate of indolence and diſſipation into which the Athenians had fallen.

The Greeks were from the earlieſt times diſtinguiſhed by their martial character, of which the Trojan war, where ſo many brave chiefs gained immortal fame, furniſhed the firſt public diſplay. It is difficult to determine, whether this warlike temper was the cauſe or the effect of that ſtrong ſpirit of liberty with which we have ſeen them ſo univerſally actuated: but theſe two paſſions are certainly nearly allied, and muſt have greatly cheriſhed and heightened one another. This martial

diſpoſition,

diſpoſition, too, muſt have been highly promoted by the peculiar ſituation of the country, divided, as it was, into a number of ſmall ſtates, each governed by its own laws, and influenced by its particular character and intereſts. Accordingly, we ſee, that ambition and jealouſy occaſioned continual ſubjects of diſpute among thoſe different ſtates, and kept them almoſt conſtantly at war with one another. Sparta and Athens were unqueſtionably the chief of all thoſe ſtates, and rendered themſelves no leſs famous by their rivalſhip and their perpetual ſtruggles for ſuperiority, than by the ſingularity and difference of their genius and manners.

From what has been already ſaid in the former part of this appendix, the cauſe of the pre-eminence of Sparta and Athens over their neighbours is ſufficiently apparent. The whole aim of the Spartan legiſlator appears to have been to render his countrymen a nation of ſoldiers. Every circumſtance of their education was admirably calculated for that purpoſe. To go barefoot, to lie hard, to eat little, to ſuffer every extremity of the weather, to bear fatigue, and even wounds, to exerciſe themſelves continually at wreſtling, running, hunting, all contributed to that end. Their remarkable reverence for magiſtrates and elders, and their perfect ſubmiſſion to the laws, prepared them admirably for every branch of military diſcipline. At Sparta too the mothers wept only for ſuch of their children as fled, not for thoſe that fell. Every means, in a word, was practiſed to make the Spartans invincible in battle.

The Athenians, though not educated in ſo hardy a manner, were nevertheleſs animated with an equal ſpirit of valour. The ancient glory of their nation, which had always diſtinguiſhed itſelf by its warlike actions, was a powerful incentive to bravery. A generous emulation, not to yield in point of merit to their rivals the Spartans, likewiſe ſerved greatly to promote the martial temper natural to the Athenians. But above all, the rewards and honours beſtowed on thoſe that had behaved with remarkable courage in battle; the monu-

ments erected to the memory of ſuch as had fallen in the ſervice of their country; and the excellent funeral orations publicly pronounced on the moſt ſolemn occaſions, to render their names immortal, contributed wonderfully to keep alive the flame of valour, and to inſpire them with extraordinary bravery. This end was likewiſe greatly advanced by the attention ſhewn by the republic to ſuch of their citizens as had ſuffered in war; for not only thoſe who were maimed, but the children and parents of thoſe who were killed in battle, were taken under the immediate protection of the commonwealth, and educated and maintained at the public expence.

By theſe means Sparta and Athens enjoyed an undiſputable ſuperiority, in point of valour and military diſcipline, over all the other ſtates. Thebes alone, by an extraordinary exertion of bravery, attempted to ſhare in their glory: but her power, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, was of very ſhort continuance.

The armies both of the Lacedemonians and Athenians conſiſted of four claſſes, citizens, allies, mercenaries, and ſlaves. At Athens, in the time of Demetrius Phalerius, were reckoned about 20,000 citizens, 10,000 ſtrangers, and 40,000 ſlaves.

All the Athenians, at the age of twenty years, were inrolled, and engaged by oath to ſerve the republic, which they were obliged to do till they were ſixty years old. Citizens alone were admitted on that footing. Each of the tribes whereof the ſtate was compoſed furniſhed a certain number of ſoldiers, according as the public exigencies required, either for the ſea or land ſervice; for in proceſs of time the naval power of Athens became very conſiderable, in ſo much, that at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, we ſhall ſee them maintaining a fleet of no fewer than 300 gallies.

At Sparta, in the time of Demaratus, were computed to be 8000 Spartans. Theſe were the flower of the nation, every individual of that number poſſeſſing the qualifications of a general; and they were all inhabi-

tants of Sparta; for thoſe who went by the name of *Lacedemonians* lived in the country. Their allies formed the moſt numerous part of their troops. The mercenaries were maintained by the ſtate; and every Spartan was attended by four or five Helots.

The age of thoſe who bore arms among the Lacedemonians, was from thirty to ſixty years; thoſe of a leſs or more advanced age were charged with the defence of the city. They never put arms into the hands of their ſlaves, except in caſes of great neceſſity. Their proper national forces altogether amounted only to about 10,000 men; for Sparta was not near ſo populous as Athens.

The infantry of the Greeks, in general, conſiſted of two great diviſions: 1ſt, The heavy armed ſoldiers, each of whom carried a large ſhield, a lance, a javelin, and a ſword. 2dly, The light-armed ſoldiers, who bore only bows and ſlings, and in the beginning of the battle were commonly poſted in the front of the army. The armies were divided into different ſquadrons or regiments, commonly conſiſting, as at the battle of Mantinea, of between 500 and 600 men; theſe again were ſubdivided, like our modern regiments, into four companies of 128 men each; and theſe were further ſubdivided into four parties, which we may call platoons, conſiſting of 32 men each, and which admitted of four men abreaſt, and eight deep; or the contrary.

The Lacedemonians had but few horſe; and the Athenians ſtill fewer, by reaſon of their uneven rocky country.

The Athenians were much ſuperior to the Lacedemonians in naval power. Their fleets conſiſted of two ſorts of ſhips: 1ſt, Their ſhips of war, called by them *long ſhips*, which were rowed. 2dly, Their tranſports, which carried the proviſions and baggage, and were managed with ſails. Of their ſhips of war ſome had but one bench of oars, without any deck; ſome had two, ſome three, ſome four, and ſome five benches of oars. Hence they were denominated *biremes*, *triremes*,

remes, &c. according to their number of benches. The *triremes* were moſt in uſe. The moſt common opinion is, that the different benches of oars were diſpoſed above one another obliquely, like the ſteps of a ſtair, and not parallel to each other, along the length of the veſſel. The beak or roſtrum of the veſſel was on a level with the water, immediately under the prow, and was a long piece of wood, having a ſharp point covered with iron, with which they ſometimes pierced and ſunk their opponent at a ſingle ſtroke. The management of the veſſel was committed to the rowers, *remiges*, and ſailors, *nautæ*. Diſtinct from theſe were the ſoldiers, whoſe only buſineſs was to fight. The ſailors were all citizens, and none of them ſlaves. The chief commander of the veſſel was called *nauclerus*. The next in office was the pilot, *gubernator*, who had his ſtation at the ſtern. It is believed that each of the larger veſſels contained about 200 men in all, counting both ſoldiers and ſailors. The common pay was about three *oboli*, near three pence Sterling. The pay of the land-forces was much the ſame.

The charge of arming the gallies in time of war, and of furniſhing them properly with every thing neceſſary, was laid upon the richer ſort of citizens, who were thence called *trierachs*, a word importing *commanders of gallies of three benches of oars*. At firſt the number of theſe was indeterminate; but afterwards it was eſtabliſhed, that each tribe ſhould furniſh 120 men; and the number of tribes at that time being 10, the whole number, by that means, amounted to 1200 men. Theſe were divided into four claſſes of 300 men each, of whom the firſt 300, being the richeſt, made the requiſite advances, for which recourſe was reſerved to them againſt the reſt. Thoſe 1200 men were again divided into parties of 16 men each, of whom each party was obliged to equip one galley.

As this law was extremely arbitrary, and by that means gave occaſion to much injuſtice and oppreſſion, Demoſthenes perſuaded the Athenians to eſtabliſh a dif-

ferent rule, whereby every citizen whoſe eſtate amounted to ten talents, was obliged to fit out one galley upon his own proper expence; if his eſtate was worth twenty talents, he was obliged to fit out two; and ſo of the reſt. Thoſe who were not worth ten talents, were to join with others, till the eſtates of the whole reached to that ſum, and to find one galley among them.

It was the ſtate that furniſhed the pay of the ſailors and ſoldiers. The trierarch had the command of the veſſel; and when there were two trierarchs, they commanded by turns, at the rate of ſix months each. When their office ended, they were obliged to give an account of their management; and to deliver up the ſhip, with every thing belonging to her, into the hands of the republic.

The Greeks had a ſingular taſte for every ſpecies of religion. Being for the greater part originally compoſed of ſmall colonies from different nations, each ſtate had its peculiar form of worſhip; beſides which, they had the folly to adopt not only the various deities of one another, but likewiſe thoſe of the different nations with whom they had any intercourſe. Still not ſatisfied with the multitude of gods; by theſe means introduced among them, they inſtituted a general feſtival in honour of all other gods wherewith they were unacquainted; and from the Acts of the Apoſtles, it appears, that the Athenians had erected an altar to the unknown God. The moſt remarkable particulars relating to religion among the Greeks were their temples, their ſacrifices, their feſtivals, their oracles, and their augury.

The four principal temples belonging to the Greeks, were, 1*ſt*, That of Diana at Epheſus, accounted one of the ſeven wonders of the world. It was about 440 feet long, and 230 wide; and was ſupported by 127 pillars, about 62 feet high, the whole executed by the moſt ſkilful artiſts. 2*d*, That of Apollo in the city of Miletus. 3*d*, That of Ceres and Proſerpine at Eleuſis. 4*th*, That of Olympian Jove at Athens. All theſe temples were built of marble, and decorated with the

fineſt

fineſt ornaments; their architecture furniſhed the moſt perfect models in the three principal orders, namely, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian.

But of all the temples in Greece, the moſt famous was that of Apollo at Delphos, on account of the great credit and reverence paid by all nations to the reſponſes of his oracle. This temple was filled with immenſe riches, made up of preſents from the moſt opulent princes and ſtates. Thoſe, particularly, of Crœſus king of Lydia, were extraordinarily magnificent, conſiſting of vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver, and ſome ſtatues of ſolid gold, of ineſtimable value. But the great wealth of this temple allured the avarice of ſeveral princes who were not over ſcrupulous about the crime of ſacrilege. Xerxes, in his return from Greece, took poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of its treaſures; the Phoceans plundered it ſeveral times; and the Emperor Nero, long after, ordered 500 of its moſt valuable ſtatues to be brought to Rome.

To give a diſtinct idea of the ſacrifices of the Greeks, it ſhall ſuffice to ſet down an account of that offered up on the arrival of Telemachus at Ithaca, as we find it minutely deſcribed in the third book of Homer's Odyſſey. Neſtor performed on that occaſion the part of the prieſt or ſacrificer: Two men brought forward the heifer: Two other men approached at the ſame time; the one bearing a baſon with water, the other a baſket containing the conſecrated barley: Two men more ſtood by; the one holding an axe, the other a veſſel to receive the blood. Neſtor began the ceremony, by pouring out the water, by way of libation, and ſcattering the barley; after that, he cut off from the forehead of the victim ſome hair, which he threw into the fire, and addreſſed a prayer to Minerva. Then he who held the axe, cut with one blow the ſinews of the neck of the heifer, which was then thrown down; the women preſent pouring forth, in the mean time, their prayers, accompanied with loud exclamations: The victim being lifted up again was blooded. As ſoon as

ſhe

ſhe was dead, they ſkinned and opened her: The haunches were ſeparated from the reſt of the carcaſe, were overlaid with a double coat of fat, covered with ſmall pieces cut off from the other parts, and then burnt on the altar, Neſtor ſprinkling them with wine. When the haunches were conſumed by the fire, and the intrails taſted by all preſent, the remaining parts were cut into convenient pieces, and roaſted on ſpits; and then thoſe preſent ſat down to the entertainment.

The Athenians obſerved many feſtivals. The principal were,

1ſt, The Panathenea, celebrated in honour of Minerva, the tutelar deity of their city, which from her derived its name. Theſe were ſubſtituted by Theſeus, in place of the *Athenea*, when he prevailed with all the people of Attica to remove to Athens. They were ſolemniſed every year; and, on that occaſion, victory was publicly contended for in four different diſputes, namely, running, wreſtling, muſic, and poetry. Judges were appointed for regulating the form of the trial, and diſtributing the prizes. Theſe diſputes were followed by a ſolemn proceſſion, in which a magnificent ſtandard was carried, exhibiting the feats of Pallas againſt the Titans and giants. The old men walked foremoſt in this proceſſion; next the oldeſt women; after them came all the men in the flower of their age, armed with ſhields and lances; they were followed by the young men of the principal families; girls carrying baſkets, wherein were the conſecrated things, ſucceeded next; and the proceſſion was cloſed by young children of both ſexes. In this feſtival, the people of Athens implored the protection of Minerva.

2dly, The feſtivals of Bacchus, conſiſting of the greater, called *Dionyſia*, which were celebrated in ſpring within the city; and the leſſer, called *Lenea*, celebrated in the autumn, and in the country. Both were attended with magnificent ſhows, and dramatic repreſentations, as well of the tragic as comic kind. The initiated dreſſed themſelves at theſe feſtivals in ſkins,

ſkins, and carried in their hands thyrſuſes, with drums or horns; having their heads adorned with leaves of the vine or ivy; and perſonating Silenus, Pan, or the Satyrs. They were either actually drunk, the moſt common caſe, or elſe counterfeited drunkenneſs, and ran about all over the country. The women joined in the celebration of theſe feſtivals as well as the men; diſguiſed themſelves in the ſame manner; and ſeemed actuated by a ſort of religious phrenzy. The vileſt and moſt exceſſive debauchery and licentiouſneſs prevailed on thoſe occaſions.

3*dly*, The feſtival of Eleuſis, or Ceres.——This was one of the moſt famous, and was called, by way of excellence, *the myſteries*. Tradition bore, that it was inſtituted by Ceres, who having come to Eleuſis in Attica, taught the inhabitants the uſe of corn; and, at the ſame time, ſoftened and humaniſed their ſavage diſpoſitions. Theſe myſteries were divided into the greater and the leſſer: The leſſer were celebrated in the month of November, and the greater in the month of Auguſt. Strangers were totally excluded from both. Before initiation, it was neceſſary to waſh, to pray, to ſacrifice, and to obſerve a ſtrict continence for a certain ſpace. The ceremony of their admiſſion was performed in the night. On that occaſion certain myſterious books were read; extraordinary voices, with claps of thunder, were heard; ſpectres appeared; the earth ſhook; and the initiated were congealed with fear. It was alledged, that very abominable things were tranſacted at theſe ceremonies; but if ſo, they were buried in ſilence; for it was highly criminal to divulge the myſteries of this feſtival. An Archon, then honoured with the title of *king*, preſided at the celebration of the ceremonies, having under him ſeveral officers to aſſiſt him in the diſcharge of his duty. All the Athenians, both men and women, were early initiated in theſe myſteries.

It was commonly believed, that this ceremony enjoined the practice of virtue; and procured the celebrators the

the peculiar protection of the goddeſs, and a higher degree of happineſs in the next life.—— What ſtrange notions have been entertained in all ages, about the manner of paying honour to the beings ſuppoſed to preſide over the univerſe, and of reconciling their favour! It was capital for any perſon not initiated to enter the temple of Ceres. This feſtival continued nine days. The firſt three days were conſumed in the performance of certain previous ceremonies. On the fourth was exhibited *the proceſſion of the baſket*, ſo called from its being compoſed of women, carrying baſkets, filled with certain things moſt carefully concealed. The fifth was *the proceſſion of the torches*, when they imitated Ceres ſearching for Proſerpine. On the ſixth the ſtatue of Bacchus, called *Iacchus*, was carried along. This proceſſion ſet off from the Ceramicus, a ſuburb of Athens, and ended at Eleuſis. While marching along, they ſung hymns in praiſe of the goddeſs; ſounded trumpets; danced, and exhibited the higheſt marks of joy. On the ſeventh day, games and combats were celebrated. The two laſt days were ſet apart for certain particular ceremonies. This feſtival was obſerved only once every four years; and, while it continued, it was unlawful to arreſt or to throw any perſon into priſon.

Oracles, among the pagans, were the reſult of the anxious curioſity about futurity, natural to the minds of men, who, by that means, preſumed to interrogate the deity about human affairs. — This was the moſt ſolemn ſpecies of prophecy, to which recourſe was had for the ſolution of all doubtful queſtions. To obtain the opinion of the gods about declaring war, or concluding peace, thoſe pagans never failed to apply to ſome oracle; and the reſponſe, if intelligible, which was ſeldom the caſe, was religiouſly complied with. Jupiter was thought to be the chief ſource of moſt oracles. Thoſe who were more immediately employed in declaring the pleaſure of the god, were careful to expreſs themſelves in ambiguous terms, which might receive

any explanation that the event might require. — It ſhould ſeem that Greece, from its earlieſt times, made uſe of this method of conſulting the gods; for we find no preciſe period aſſigned for the firſt introduction of oracles into that country. Thoſe who had the chief management of affairs in the different ſtates, found theſe oracles very convenient. For, when they had a mind to introduce any innovation into the ſyſtem of government, or wanted any favourite meaſure adopted by their countrymen, they knew well how to procure the approbation of the oracle, and in that caſe the people never ventured to contradict the pleaſure of the gods. — The prieſts likewiſe found their advantage in this matter; for they took ſpecial care not to permit the god to open his mouth, till after the requiſite preparations by ſacrifices and preſents. —— Oracles, therefore, appear to have been entirely of human invention, founded on the credulity of the multitude, and kept up by the ſelf-intereſt of the prieſts, and the policy of the ruling men.

The moſt renowned oracle of antiquity was that of Apollo at Delphos, a town in the diſtrict of Greece called *Phocis*. Apollo was there worſhipped under the name of *Pythian* Apollo; and the prieſteſs aſſumed the name of *Pythia*. She delivered her oracles ſtanding on a tripod called *Cortina*, which was placed on the mouth of a hollow in Mount Parnaſſus, whence proceeded a vapour that affected the head; and round this hollow was built the temple of Delphos. In proceſs of time, the prieſteſs being unable alone to ſuſtain the fatigue of giving reſponſes to the multitude that thronged thither from all quarters to conſult the oracle, was obliged to make uſe of an aſſiſtant, who was likewiſe a female.

It was only on particular days, called *happy*, that the prieſteſſes uttered their prophecies. For that purpoſe they prepared themſelves by purifications, faſts, and ſacrifices. When the day arrived, the laurel tree that grew before the gate of the temple, and the earth around, were perceived to ſhake. As ſoon as the prieſteſs was intoxicated by the vapour, her hair ſtood erect, her ook grew wild, ſhe foamed at the mouth, and ap-

peared altogether frantic. Virgil, in the ſixth book of his Æneid, repreſents his Cumean Sybil as actuated in the ſame manner. Then ſhe uttered ſeveral indiſtinct words, which the prieſts carefully collected, and afterwards arranged according to pleaſure; for theſe reſponſes were almoſt always dark, obſcure, and capable of different interpretations. Sometimes, indeed, but extremely ſeldom, they were plain; for it was hardly poſſible for the oracle to miſtake the real ſolution of a few among the infinite number of queſtions aſked. It is to be ſuppoſed, too, that the miniſters of the god would employ every ſort of art and deceit to impoſe upon the multitude; and it is clear, from various paſſages in hiſtory, that they have accepted bribes, to return particular reſponſes. Some pious Chriſtians, indeed, fathers of the church, and others, were of opinion, that the devil took ſome concern in the matter, by the permiſſion of the Supreme Being, that the impious inventions of thoſe pagans might turn to their own puniſhment and confuſion.

Augury was another ſpecies of ſuperſtition to which the Greeks, as well as the other heathens, had recourſe; and they honoured it too with the title of *ſcience*, tho' it conſiſted of the moſt ridiculous puerilities. For thoſe who made augury their ſtudy, were exceedingly attentive to the notes of birds; and carefully obſerved whether they appeared on the right or left hand; they took ſpecial notice of the appetite diſcovered by chickens for their food; of the appearance of the intrails of beaſts; of monſters; of prodigies; of eclipſes; and of all other extraordinary phenomena of nature. On ſuch trifling circumſtances did the moſt important affairs of ſtate almoſt always depend. For it is amazing, that not only the vulgar, but even many of the greateſt men among the ancients, paid implicit faith to theſe ridiculous abſurdities. At the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged, that there were ſeveral, who, ſo far from giving credit to this fooliſh farce of divination, laughed at it, and made it the butt of their raillery; ſuch as Hannibal, Marcellus, Cicero, &c.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE.

BOOK II.

Containing the Hiſtory of the SECOND AGE of Greece.

From the time that Hippias took refuge in Perſia, to the end of the Peloponneſian war, a period of about 100 *years.*

THIS ſecond age is the ſame in the whole duration of the Greek nation, that the ſpace from twenty-five to forty years of age is in the life of man, namely, the period of its greateſt ſtrength and vigour. It may therefore be not improperly called the manhood of Greece, being altogether made up of the moſt glorious days which that country ever enjoyed.

The Greeks, hitherto confined within the limits of a narrow country, had found little opportunity of diſplaying, in the ſight of the world, their valour and virtue. But the Perſian invaſion that was ſoon to pour upon them like an impetuous torrent, was deſtined to ſet their merit in the moſt conſpicuous point of view, and to give full ſcope to their wiſdom and bravery. We ſhall by and by ſee a very ſmall army of Greeks marching bold-

ly againſt ſo vaſt a multitude of enemies, that a ſingle diſcharge of their darts is ſaid to have darkened the face of the ſky. We ſhall ſee theſe few Greeks attack with undaunted reſolution this immenſe croud of Perſian troops, and put them fairly to flight. We ſhall find them in like manner engaging their enemies at ſea under the ſame diſadvantage in point of numbers, and with the ſame ſucceſs. In a word, we ſhall have a ſtriking proof of the great ſuperiority of diſciplined valour over the blind impetuous courage of an irregular multitude.

During this ſecond age we ſhall ſee the Spartans, who by the admirable conſtitution of their government and their private virtues, had acquired a pre-eminence over all their neighbours, exerciſing their power with a ſeverity that ſavoured of the auſterity of their manners, and treating their allies with haughtineſs and rigour. In conſequence of this behaviour, we ſhall ſee thoſe allies growing by degrees more and more impatient of the Spartan yoke, and falling gradually under the influence of Athens, who induſtriouſly availed herſelf of ſo favourable a conjuncture. The Athenians, therefore, in their turn take the lead in Greece, and maintain their ſuperiority down to the Peloponneſian war, conſtantly faithful to their engagements, treating the other ſtates as equals, and exerting their power only in doing good.

This period ſo glorious for Athens was of about fifty years continuance. At length, however, the Athenians in like manner diſguſted the other ſtates by their haughtineſs and inſolence; and by the event of the Peloponneſian war, the Spartans became a ſecond time the firſt people of Greece.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

The two Perſian invaſions.

DARIUS I. the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, of whom we have already taken notice, filled at this time the Perſian throne, which he is ſaid to have obtained by the addreſs of his groom. For upon the death of Smerdis the magian, it was agreed among the conſpirators who had murdered him, that he of their number whoſe horſe ſhould neigh the firſt on a certain appointed day, ſhould be elected king. The groom of Darius being informed of this agreement carried a mare in the evening to the place where the meeting was to be holden next day, and then brought his maſter's horſe to the mare. When, therefore, the Perſian noblemen came to the place appointed, the horſe of Darius no ſooner reached the ſpot where he had met the mare the night before, than he immediately neighed, and Darius was thereupon proclaimed king by the reſt *. 521.

The Perſian empire comprehended then not only all that part of Aſia preſently known by the name of Perſia, but likewiſe what we call Turkey in Aſia. It alſo included on the African ſide, Egypt and ſeveral countries on the coaſt of the Mediterranean ſea; and on that of Europe, part of Thrace and Macedonia. Indeed it is true, that ſeveral ſtates in the laſt-mentioned countries were rather tributary, than entirely dependent on the Perſian power: and the ſame may be ſuppoſed to have been the caſe with ſome others of their more remote provinces.

But let us take a brief review of the various cauſes

* This ſtory has a very ludicrous appearance, and will probably ſtagger the belief of many readers. We ſhall only obſerve that it were happy for mankind, if all conteſted ſucceſſions to private eſtates, as well as to kingdoms and principalities, were determined by means as ſimple and inoffenſive.

that

that produced the war between the Greeks and Perſians. We have already obſerved, that Hippias contributed greatly to this event, when, upon finding all his attempts in Europe to reſtore himſelf to the ſovereign power in Athens, ineffectual, he took refuge in Perſia, and having inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the Perſian monarch, practiſed every artifice to prevail with him to attack the Athenians. But this was not all; other cauſes concurred to forward the endeavours of Hippias.

Atoſſa, daughter of Cyrus, and one of the wives of Darius, had uſed all her influence with her huſband to perſuade him to undertake an expedition into Greece, that he might thereby give the Perſians a conſpicuous proof of his courage, and military proweſs. Democedes, a phyſician, a man in high eſteem with Atoſſa, was on account of his being a native of the Greek colony, ſettled at Crotona in Italy, pitched on as the moſt proper perſon for travelling into Greece, to examine its ſituation and the ſtrength of the chief towns along the coaſt. In this journey Democedes was accompanied by fifteen Perſian noblemen, who had private inſtructions to keep a ſtrict watch on his behaviour, and to bring him back again to Perſia. After theſe Perſians had accompanied Democedes through the principal cities of Greece, and made the requiſite obſervations in that country, they next paſſed over into Italy, but were apprehended as ſpies at Tarentum, and thrown into priſon. Here Democedes being ſeized with a ſtrong deſire to reviſit Crotona his native country, found means to eſcape from his Perſian companions, and retired to that city. The other Perſians having in a little time recovered their liberty, returned to Perſia, after endeavouring in vain to prevail with the magiſtrates of Crotona to deliver up Democedes. — Hence we ſee, that Darius had already begun to meditate an expedition into Greece; to the more immediate execution of which he was inſtigated by the following affair.

The Ionians, originally a Greek tribe, as we have mentioned

mentioned above, inhabited a conſiderable part of the ſea coaſt of Aſia Minor, and had now of a long while behaved as tributaries of the Perſian empire. Some wealthy inhabitants of Naxus, one of the Cyclades iſlands, having been expelled their native country, took refuge at Miletus, where they implored the aſſiſtance of Ariſtagoras the Perſian governor of that city, to reſtore them to their native country. This ſuggeſted to Ariſtagoras the deſign of reducing the iſland of Naxus under the Perſian power; hoping at the ſame time that the conqueſt of it ſhould open the way to that of the other Cyclades. This plan he communicated to Artaphernes governor of Sardis, and Darius's brother, who approved of it, and procured the conſent of Darius to attack Naxus. Having made the neceſſary naval preparations, Artaphernes gave the chief command of the expedition to Megabates a noble Perſian. But the people of Naxus made ſo brave a reſiſtance, that the Perſians, after beſieging the iſland for the ſpace of four months, were obliged to abandon the enterpriſe. Megabates attributed the bad ſucceſs of this expedition to the conduct of Ariſtagoras, and endeavoured to ruin him in the opinion of Artaphernes.

Ariſtagoras believing his ruin inevitable, reſolved, in order to avoid the reſentment of the Satrap, to perſuade the Ionians to revolt from the Perſian yoke. With this view, after having ſounded the inclinations of the leading men among the Ionians, and procured their concurrence, he made a tour through the whole country, to diſpoſe the minds of the multitude to promote the projected revolution. Then he made himſelf maſter of the Perſian fleet, of which he had the command; and travelled into Greece to endeavour to prevail with its various ſtates to ſecond his undertaking. He began his negotiations at Sparta, where he addreſſed himſelf to Cleomenes, who was then on the throne, and repreſented to him what a noble occaſion now preſented itſelf to the Spartans, of employing their valour in procuring liberty to their countrymen the Ionians. Cleomenes heſitated

at

at firſt; but a preſent from Ariſtagoras of fifty talents, induced him to aſſent to his propoſal; though, according to ſome authors, the Lacedemonians not only refuſed to hearken to the requeſt of Ariſtagoras, but ordered him to depart from their city. From Sparta Ariſtagoras went to Athens, where the inhabitants, full of indignation againſt the Perſians, for having lately ſummoned them to reſtore Hippias to the regal dignity, were the beſt inclined in the world to liſten to his requeſt. They therefore inſtantly embraced his cauſe, and ſent twenty ſhips to the aſſiſtance of the Ionians.

The firſt attempt of the Ionians was againſt the city of Sardis, of which, being in a defenceleſs ſituation, they quickly got poſſeſſion. But a ſoldier having ſet fire to one of the houſes, the reſt which were all of wood, immediately catched the flames, and by that means the whole city was reduced to aſhes. The Ionians alarmed in the mean time at the approach of the Perſian army, reſolved to retreat to Epheſus, and to betake themſelves to their fleet; but the Perſians overtook them, and cut many of them off. 504.

When Darius was informed of the burning of Sardis, and that the Athenians had aſſiſted the Ionians in their revolt, he was highly enraged, ſwore by a ſolemn oath to take vengeance on the Greeks, and gave orders to repeat in his hearing, every day when he ſat down to table, "Sire, Remember the Athenians."

The Ionians, notwithſtanding their late diſaſter, perſiſted in their enterpriſe; and ſailing towards the Helleſpont took Byzantium. But the Perſians, that they might oppoſe them every where, divided their forces, and beat them in ſeveral engagements, in one of which Ariſtagoras was killed. At laſt, uniting all their troops, the Perſians marched againſt Miletus the ſtrongeſt city of Ionia, hoping that if they could reduce it, the other Ionian cities would ſoon ſubmit. The Ionians, ſuſpecting their deſign, quickly aſſembled their own ſhips and thoſe of their allies, forming altogether a fleet of 350 ſail, which the Perſians not daring to attack, endea-

voured by the way of negotiation to detach the allies from the confederacy, and were ſucceſsful. As ſoon, therefore, as the ſhips of the allies were ſeparated from thoſe of the Ionians, the Perſians fell upon the latter, now reduced to a very ſmall number, and entirely defeated them. Then they attacked Miletus, took it, razed it to the foundation, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. The other cities, terrified by this example, immediately made their ſubmiſſions. Hiſtieus, uncle of Ariſtagoras, and tyrant of Miletus, having gathered together the remains of the Ionian army, made an incurſion into Myſia; but was attacked by Harpagus, who commanded a conſiderable body of Perſian troops in that country, was defeated, taken priſoner, and ſent to Artaphernes, who knowing him to have been very active in promoting the revolt, crucified him, and ſent his head to Darius *.

Darius, in the mean time, was continually meditating an expedition into Greece, that he might gratify the violent reſentment he had conceived againſt its inhabitants. At laſt he gave orders to fit out a fleet of more than 300 ſhips, and to raiſe at the ſame time a powerful land army, that ſo he might cruſh the Greeks at once. Of theſe forces he gave the chief command to his ſon in law Mardonius, whoſe inexperience contributed not a little to the bad ſucceſs of the expedition. In the firſt place, he loſt many of his ſhips, together with a great number of men, in a violent tempeſt, as they were ſailing round the point of land formed by Mount Athos, called at preſent *Cape Santo*; and next, his land-forces in paſſing through Thrace, were by the Thracians attacked in their camp during the night, and a vaſt number of them cut off. Theſe diſaſters obliged Mardonius to relinquiſh this firſt expedition, and to return back again.

* In the year before Chriſt 498, Lartius was elected firſt Dictator at Rome; and, ſix years after, Tribunes of the people were firſt created.

A war breaking out much about the ſame time between the Eginetæ and Lacedemonians, the latter marched to attack the former, but by the miſconduct of Demaratus, one of their kings, who had quarrelled with his brother-king Cleomenes, the enterpriſe miſcarried. Cleomenes, in revenge, called in queſtion the legitimacy of Demaratus's birth; and the matter having been referred to the deciſion of the oracle, the prieſteſs was corrupted by Cleomenes, and gave judgement againſt Demaratus, who was thereupon depoſed. Enraged at this injurious treatment, he retired to the court of Perſia, where he was received in the moſt welcome manner, and loaded with wealth; but all this profuſion of kindneſs could not prevail with him to do any thing prejudicial to the intereſts of his country.

The Athenians having likewiſe quarrelled with the Eginetæ, fitted out a fleet againſt them; and on that occaſion ſeveral engagements enſued, of the circumſtances of which we are ignorant. Theſe inteſtine quarrels, however, gave the Athenians an opportunity of becoming very ſkillful in naval affairs, and prepared them to make that vigorous reſiſtance to the Perſian power, which we ſhall by and by relate.

Athens, in the mean time, enjoyed the ſweets of the liberty procured her by the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ; and produced many citizens of extraordinary wiſdom and valour; among whom Miltiades, Ariſtides, and Themiſtocles, chiefly diſtinguiſhed themſelves. As theſe three illuſtrious Athenians are ſoon to make a great figure in the affairs of Greece, we ſhall here exhibit in few words the chief outlines of their characters. Miltiades was a perfect proficient in the art of war, and no perſon could boaſt of equal ſkill in conducting an army. He had a particular cauſe of hatred againſt the Perſians, by whom, on their entering Thrace, he had been deprived of a government he then held in that country.

Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, though much younger than Miltiades, gave proofs of the greateſt abilities; but

but their different diſpoſitions generally occaſioned a contrariety in their opinions. Themiſtocles was a plebeian by birth, was naturally ambitious, and being attached by prejudice and education to the party of the people, he made it his chief ſtudy to gain the good will of the multitude. For that purpoſe, he behaved on all occaſions with extreme complaiſance to the citizens, whom he ſhewed himſelf ever ready to oblige; and appeared very little ſcrupulous about the means he employed to accompliſh his enterpriſes.

Ariſtides, on the other hand, being noble by birth, and an admirer by principle of the Spartan conſtitution, entertained a ſtrong attachment to ariſtocracy. He was perfectly indifferent about popularity, and made juſtice the governing rule of his whole conduct as well in public as in private life. The public welfare was the chief object of his attention; and his love for his country, his ſingular ſkill in public buſineſs, and his diſintereſted and upright behaviour, procured him the admiration, the confidence, and the eſteem of his fellow-citizens.

While the Athenian liberty nouriſhed ſuch citizens as theſe; and while Sparta, adhering to the rigid inſtitutions of Lycurgus, produced a whole people of the braveſt ſoldiers; Darius reſolved to fall upon Greece with all his forces. But deſirous previouſly to ſound the inclinations of its various ſtates, with reſpect to the ſuperiority he intended to claim over them, he diſpatched heralds through all the cities of Greece, to demand earth and water, a ſymbol which denoted the ſubmiſſion and dependence of thoſe from whom it was required on him that required it. The Eginetæ, and a few other cities, dreading the vaſt power of the Perſians, admitted the ſuperiority claimed. But the Athenians and Spartans, far from agreeing to the demand of the heralds, were ſo provoked at the arrogance of their commiſſion, that through that violent diſpoſition natural to thoſe who live under a republican government, they tranſgreſſed the law of nations in the perſons of the heralds, one of whom they threw into a well, and

another into a deep ditch, telling them with a ſpirit of raillery peculiar to the Greeks, that they might take from thence as much earth and water as they pleaſed.

Darius perceiving that he ſhould meet with the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance in his undertaking, made more formidable preparations for war than before, and increaſed his armament to 500,000 men, and 500 ſhips; the whole commanded by Datis and Artaphernes. Hippias happy in ſo favourable an opportunity of revenging himſelf on the Athenians, acted as guide and conductor of the expedition, under Artaphernes, by whom he had been hitherto treated in the kindeſt and moſt hoſpitable manner. The Perſians quickly reduced all the iſlands in the Ægean ſea; and having taken Eretria, a city in Eubœa, burnt it to the ground. Then they entered Attica, and encamped at Marathon, a ſmall town on the ſea-coaſt, whence they ſent to inform the Athenians of the chaſtiſement inflicted on the obſtinate and diſobedient Eretrians.

Upon this the Athenians applied for aſſiſtance to the Lacedemonians, who granted them 2000 men. But a ſuperſtitious maxim that prevailed at Sparta, prevented thoſe forces from beginning their march till after the full moon, by which means they did not arrive at Athens till four days after the enſuing battle. The terror of the Perſian name reſtrained the other ſtates from furniſhing the expected aſſiſtance. Platea alone ſent 1000 ſoldiers to join the Athenians. In this extremity the Athenians armed even their ſlaves, a meaſure that had never been practiſed before: but, after all, they could muſter up no more than 10,000 men. This ſmall army was commanded by ten generals, each of whom was to exerciſe the chief command in his turn for no longer ſpace than a day at a time. But when it came to be Ariſtides's turn to command, that magnanimous patriot, ſenſible of the ſuperior ſkill and experience of Miltiades as a general, entreated him to accept the command in his ſtead. This example was followed by all the reſt.—

When

When the public welfare is the ſole object in view, great minds never fail to ſacrifice every meaner motive to that higheſt conſideration.

They next deliberated whether they ought to wait for the enemy in the city, or to march out and give them battle: — And indeed how little probability was there, that ſuch a handful of men ſhould in the open field be able to ſuſtain the ſhock of the Perſian multitude? —— Miltiades, however, was of opinion, that they ought to march out and fight the enemy; and being ſeconded by Ariſtides, the other generals aſſented likewiſe. That ſkilful commander deſired to take advantage of the imprudent ſituation of the Perſians, who being hemmed in by the ſea, by a ſteep mountain, and by the moraſs of Marathon, could bring but a ſmall part of their forces into action, and could make no uſe at all of their cavalry.

The Athenians, therefore, to the number of 10,000 men, marched forth againſt an army of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horſe. This memorable day reflected the higheſt glory on Miltiades. To prevent his 490. little army from being ſurrounded by the enemy, he drew it up with a mountain in the rear; extended his front as much as poſſible; placed his chief ſtrength in the wings; and cauſed a great number of trees to be cut down, to keep off the enemies cavalry from charging them in flank. The Athenians ruſhed forwards on the Perſians like ſo many furious lions. This is remarked to have been the firſt time that they advanced to the attack running. By their impetuoſity, they opened a lane through the enemy, and ſupported with the greateſt firmneſs the charge of the Perſians. The battle at firſt was fought by both parties with great valour and obſtinacy; but the wings of the Athenian army, where, as we have juſt ſaid, Miltiades had placed his chief ſtrength, attacking the main body of the enemy in flank, threw them into irretrievable confuſion. Six thouſand Perſians periſhed on the ſpot, and among the reſt the traitor Hippias, the principal occaſion of the

war,

war. The reſt of the Perſian army quickly fled, and abandoned to the victors their camp, full of riches.

Thus the Athenians obtained a victory more real than probable. Animated by their ſucceſs, they purſued the Perſians to their very ſhips, of which they took ſeven, and ſet fire to ſeveral more. On this occaſion one Cynegirus, an Athenian, after performing prodigies of valour in the field, endeavoured to prevent a particular galley from putting to ſea; and for that purpoſe held her faſt with his right hand; which being cut off, he next ſeized her with his left; which being likewiſe cut off, he took hold of her with his teeth, and kept her ſo till he died. Another ſoldier, all covered over with the blood of the enemy, ran to announce the victory at Athens, and after crying out, "Rejoice, we are conque-"rors," fell dead in the preſence of his fellow-citizens. The Greeks, in this engagement, loſt only 200 men. Ariſtides and Themiſtocles diſtinguiſhed themſelves very highly in the battle; but Miltiades gained the chief glory. As a reward for ſo ſignal a piece of ſervice to his country, and to perpetuate the memory of his ſkill and bravery, they made him to be painted in a large picture, repreſenting the battle, in the attitude of giving orders at the head of his 10,000 Athenians. They likewiſe raiſed monuments to the memory of thoſe that had fallen in the engagement, and thereon inſcribed the names both of the deceaſed, and of their particular tribe.

Their ſucceſs at Marathon, as having made the Greeks ſenſible of their own ſtrength, is accounted the principal cauſe of their future victories; and indeed the conſideration of having with ſuch a handful of men defeated ſo vaſt an army, might very juſtly inſpire them with great confidence. But what may not a ſkilful general perform at the head of a ſmall number of ſoldiers, actuated by the moſt ardent love for their country, and ready in its defence to confront death in every ſhape?

The Perſian fleet, in the mean time, attempted to ſurpriſe Athens before the Grecian army ſhould arrive

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to its relief: but the victorious Greeks, by a forced march, fruſtrated the deſign of the enemy.

The Athenians, thus delivered from the Perſians, reſolved to chaſtiſe the iſlands that had aſſiſted their enemies; and for that purpoſe ſent out a fleet under the command of Miltiades, who very ſoon ſubdued a great number of the iſlands, and made them tributary to his countrymen. But he was unſucceſsful at Paros, where, upon a falſe alarm of the arrival of the Perſians, he precipitately abandoned the undertaking, and returned with his fleet to Athens. Being obliged to confine himſelf to his houſe, by a dangerous wound he had received in the courſe of the ſiege, his enemies took advantage of that circumſtance to prepoſſeſs the public againſt him with a belief of his keeping up a traiterous correſpondence with the Perſian monarch. The raſh inconſtant multitude immediately condemned him to death. Every man of ſenſe was aſhamed and ſhocked at the injuſtice and cruelty of this ſentence. In vain did his friends conſtantly remind the people of his behaviour at Marathon: all they were able to obtain, was a commutation of the ſentence from death to a fine of fifty talents. His great exploits had already excited the jealouſy of his fellow-citizens, who either thought that they owed him too much, or were afraid leſt he might aſpire at ſovereign authority; and careleſs of being called ungrateful, they made his late misfortune a crime. Miltiades being unable to pay ſo high a fine, was thrown into priſon; where his grief and indignation at ſuch unworthy treatment rendered his wound incurable, and ſoon brought him to the grave. Thus did this great man afford a ſtriking example of the ingratitude and cruelty of his inconſtant and capricious countrymen.

His ſon Cimon, who afterwards made ſo great a figure, was enabled, with the aſſiſtance of his friends, to diſcharge the fine, and obtained the privilege of burying the dead body of his unfortunate father; whoſe death opened the eyes of the Athenians, and made them

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ſenſible of the injuſtice of their behaviour. But their ſorrow was too late, and could not redeem that excellent commander from the grave, nor even prevent their repeating the ſame cruelty and folly for the future.

The wiſe Ariſtides very ſoon became a ſecond victim to their capricious ungrateful diſpoſition; but his diſgrace was honourable, being confeſſedly occaſioned by his ſteady adherence to juſtice. We have already mentioned, that an extreme contrariety of manners and principles ſubſiſted between him and Themiſtocles. The latter, though of mean extraction, was extravagantly ambitious, very bold and enterpriſing, and of ſo active a diſpoſition, that quiet and repoſe ſeemed a burden to him. He affected to roam through the ſtreets in the night; and when aſked the reaſon, anſwered, That he could not ſleep for thinking on the trophies of Miltiades. He was exceedingly artful in finding out and availing himſelf of the ruling paſſions of men; and was ſo much the more dangerous by being very eloquent. Ariſtides, on the contrary, was of a reſerved, modeſt, ſteady diſpoſition; governed all his actions by the moſt ſcrupulous rules of juſtice; and regarded the lofty projects of Themiſtocles as ſo many ſteps to ſovereign power. Themiſtocles, impatient of being continually thwarted in his ambitious ſchemes by ſo rigid a cenſor as Ariſtides, reſolved to free his hands of him at once. For that purpoſe he applied himſelf privately to form a party againſt Ariſtides; and at laſt got him baniſhed by the ſentence of oſtraciſm. It is ſaid, that on this occaſion a peaſant who did not know Ariſtides, and could not write, having by accident applied to him to write his own name on his ſhell, was aſked by Ariſtides, Whether he had ever received any provocation from the perſon he wanted to baniſh? "None at all, Sir," anſwered the peaſant, "but I cannot bear to hear him "always called the *juſt*." Ariſtides, without ſaying a word, took the ſhell, wrote his own name upon it, and returned it to the man. While going out of the city,

he begged of the gods, that no misfortune might happen to his countrymen which might oblige them to recal him from baniſhment.

Themiſtocles, in the mean time, foreſeeing an approaching ſtorm from the quarter of Perſia, perſuaded the Athenians to employ all the money they drew from their mines in fitting out a powerful fleet for the protection of their country.

Darius, more exaſperated againſt the Greeks than ever, by the defeat of his army at Marathon, reſolved to exert his utmoſt efforts to wipe away that diſgrace, and to reſtore the glory of his arms. He gave orders therefore to make new levies of troops through all his provinces; and conſumed no leſs than three years in preparing for this third expedition againſt Greece, which, though then pretty far advanced in years, he intended to conduct in perſon. But death diſappointed all his projects. — Darius was a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice and the laws of his kingdom; and of a mild humane diſpoſition; though the keenneſs of his paſſions hurried him ſometimes into meaſures of which his calmer reaſon would have diſapproved. He reigned thirty-ſix years, and is known in ſcripture by the name of *Ahaſuerus*.

After the death of Darius, his ſon Xerxes, the eldeſt of his children by Atoſſa his ſecond wife, ſucceeded him in the kingdom of Perſia, and proſecuted the warlike preparations begun by his father. Having ſubdued the Egyptians, he determined in the third year of his reign to carry his arms immediately into Greece.

Xerxes therefore aſſembling his council, informed them of the motives that induced him to undertake this expedition, namely, to puniſh the Athenians for having been acceſſory to the burning of Sardis, to wipe away the diſgrace of the defeat at Marathon, and to execute the intentions of Darius his father. Mardonius, of whom we have made mention above, behaved on this occaſion with all the baſeneſs of a ſervile flatterer, to pleaſe the vanity of his maſter; aſſuring him, that no nation in the world would 484.

dare to oppoſe his power; and affecting to vilify and to deſpiſe extremely the courage of the Greeks. The reſt of the council perceiving the king to be mightily pleaſed with the flattery of Mardonius, did not fail, like well-bred courtiers, to applaud his opinion, and to coincide with him in every particular. So true it is, that princes owe almoſt always their greateſt misfortunes to the complaiſance and adulation of thoſe about them. Artabanus, the uncle of Xerxes, alone ventured to contradict the opinion given. He endeavoured to make the king ſenſible of the raſhneſs of the intended enterpriſe, by putting him in mind of the unfortunate ſucceſs of another of the ſame kind attempted by his father Darius againſt the Scythians, and the imminent danger into which it had brought that prince, who had been utterly undone, if Hiſteius had followed the advice of the other officers and courtiers, to deſtroy a bridge he had thrown over the Danube. He likewiſe reminded Xerxes of the ſhameful defeat of the Perſians at Marathon; and exhorted him not to give ear to the flattering ſuggeſtions of inexperienced courtiers, nor to ſuffer his reaſon to be dazzled with the glaring proſpect of an imaginary glory. He concluded with upbraiding Mardonius for the inſincerity of his advice.

Princes corrupted by flattery are apt to conſtrue an open generous behaviour into a ſeditious boldneſs. Thus Xerxes, inſtead of profiting by the advice of his uncle, was enraged at it, and told Artabanus, that his being brother to Darius was the only conſideration which protected him from the effects of his reſentment. On reflecting coolly, however, he perceived the injuſtice of this treatment of his uncle; and next day acknowledged in open council, that he had been in the wrong.

Herodotus relates a ridiculous ſtory of an apparition, by which he pretends Xerxes was confirmed in his reſolution of invading Greece, and Artabanus deterred from giving further oppoſition to that project. It is generally believed, that if there was indeed any foundation for this ſtory of the apparition, which is extremely improbable, it

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muſt have been ſome trick invented by the children of Hippias, or of thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to kindle up the war. However that may have been, Xerxes perſiſted in his reſolution, and thought of nothing but of executing it. Before ſetting out for Greece, he made an alliance with the Carthaginians, and ſent money to their general Hamilcar, to induce him to make war on the Greek ſtates in Sicily, to prevent them from ſending aſſiſtance to their countrymen on the continent. With this money Hamilcar having levied an army of 300,000 men in Spain and Gaul, invaded Sicily accordingly.

Xerxes departed from Suſa in the fifth year of his reign, for Sardis, the place of rendezvous of his army; giving orders to his fleet to ſail towards the Helleſpont along the coaſt of Aſia Minor, and commanding a paſſage to be cut for it through Athos, a mountain in Macedonia, that ſtretches out into the Helleſpont, in the form of a peninſula. Though it is probable that this order was never complied with, it nevertheleſs gives us a ſurpriſing example of the ridiculous folly of this great monarch, whom ſenſible people will be more inclined to pity than admire. He is even reported to have been childiſh enough to imagine that he could controul the elements; and to have threatened to puniſh them, if they ſhould preſume to oppoſe his deſigns; and in particular it is ſaid he addreſſed a letter in theſe terms to Mount Athos. But candour requires us to remark that this is too groſs to gain implicit belief. 481.

After having paſſed through Cappadocia, he halted at Celene, a town of Phrygia. Here we are told that Pythius, a very wealthy prince, received Xerxes in a moſt magnificent manner, and offered him the uſe of his treaſures; that Xerxes diſdaining to yield to him in generoſity, augmented his riches by large preſents; but that Pythius having begged of Xerxes to leave him one of his five ſons to be the ſupport of his old age, and to take only the remaining four along with him in the ex-

pedition, the cruel monſter ordered the favourite ſon to be put to death in preſence of his father *.

Xerxes paſſed the winter at Sardis, whence he ſent deputies to demand earth and water of all the cities of Greece, except Athens and Sparta, whom he affected thus tacitly to ſingle out for vengeance. In the ſpring he advanced towards the Helleſpont, where he enjoyed the pleaſure of ſeeing the ſea covered with his fleet, and the land with his army. Artabanus took this opportunity to make ſome reflections, in the preſence of the king, on the many miſeries incident to mankind; which it is the firſt duty of ſovereigns to alleviate as much as poſſible. He inſiſted, at the ſame time, on the great uncertainty of human affairs; and could not help applying his obſervation to the preſent enterpriſe of Xerxes, whoſe army was ſo numerous, that no country could for any conſiderable time furniſh it with ſubſiſtence, and whoſe fleet was too large for any harbour to contain.

To tranſport his troops from Aſia into Europe, Xerxes ordered a bridge to be thrown over a ſtrait of the Helleſpont, about a quarter of a league broad, known at preſent by the name of *Gallipoli*. But the work was deſtroyed by a ſtorm. Xerxes, enraged at this accident, vented his reſentment upon the ſea, which, Herodotus ſays, he ordered to be chaſtiſed with 300 laſhes, and chains to be thrown into it, as if to bind it. Then he commanded two new bridges to be conſtructed, one for the army, and the other for the baggage.

* This ſtory again ſhocks the credibility of a conſiderate reader: and it may be obſerved once for all, that the hiſtory of the Perſian expeditions againſt the Greeks reſts entirely on the authority of Grecian writers, who being juſtly prejudiced by theſe invaſions againſt the Perſian tyrants, may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have repreſented facts in the light the moſt unfavourable to their oppreſſors, and the moſt glorious to their own countrymen. In particular the number of the forces ſaid to have been brought againſt the Greeks is ſo extravagantly great, and the temptation to exaggerate is ſo evident, that a judicious reader will be inclined to make conſiderable abatements.

One

One of theſe bridges conſiſted of 360, and the other of 314 ſhips, moored endways acroſs the ſtrait. They were ſecured by large anchors againſt the violence of the winds and waves, and were joined together by ſix large cables, reaching from one ſide of the ſtrait to the other, and faſtened on both ſides to large wooden ſtakes fixed in the ground. The ſhips were covered with a ſort of deck, and the army was ſeven days in paſſing.

When the army arrived at Doriſca in Thrace, Xerxes deſired to review it; and, for that purpoſe, ordered it to be drawn up in the plains in the neighbourhood. By Herodotus's account it was found to amount to 1,800,000 foot, and 80,000 horſe, which, joined with the forces furniſhed him by the nations whom he had ſubdued after paſſing the Helleſpont, formed, altogether, a multitude of 2,100,000 men. His fleet conſiſted of 1207 gallies of three benches of oars, each carrying 200 men; which, when reinforced by 120 more of the ſame ſize furniſhed by the European ſtates, formed a fleet of 1327 veſſels, carrying 301,606 men, excluſive of 3000 tranſports. The army was commanded by ſix generals, of whom Mardonius was the chief. Datis was general of the cavalry; and Hydarnes of the immortal troop, compoſed of 6000 choſen men. Herodotus, who gives this account of Xerxes's armament, lived at the time, and further informs us, that theſe vaſt forces were ſupplied with proviſions by a great number of ſhips, ſolely employed for that purpoſe, which attended the army along the coaſt, and continually brought them freſh ſupplies of all kinds of proviſions. He likewiſe tells us, that beſides the preparations for this expedition made by Darius, no leſs than four years were employed for the ſame purpoſe by Xerxes.

Xerxes, after reviewing his army, deſired Demaratus to tell him, without flattery, whether he thought the Greeks would dare to oppoſe him. That generous Lacedemonian frankly anſwered, That the Greeks, being

ing a people inured from their cradles to poverty and a ſober hardy life, had, by that means, been hitherto enabled to preſerve themſelves free and independent; that as they had been educated, and had always lived in liberty, he believed none of the ſtates of Greece, but particularly his own countrymen, the Lacedemonians, would ever liſten to any terms that might ſeem to encroach upon that invaluable privilege; and that he was perſuaded they alone, though deſerted by all their neighbours, would not decline fighting, let their enemies outnumber them ever ſo much.

The Greeks ſeeing the ſtorm ready to fall upon them, were ſomewhat alarmed at firſt, but by no means diſcouraged. They held an aſſembly in the Iſthmus, where it was agreed to ſuſpend all private conteſts, and to unite their whole forces againſt the common enemy. But the Bœotians, Theſſalians, and ſeveral other ſtates, who were more immediately expoſed to the impending danger, having declared for the Perſians, the whole burden of the war devolved on the Athenians and Lacedemonians. The former applied for aſſiſtance to their allies, to the Argives, to the Sicilians, and to the inhabitants of the iſlands of Corcyra and Crete; moſt of whom declined to join them, under the affected pretence, that they could not be admitted to an equal ſhare in the command; the Sicilians even inſiſted for the chief command. Moſt of them therefore ſubmitted to Xerxes. The ſtates of Theſpia and Platea alone took part with the Athenians and Spartans.

But this general deſertion of the other ſtates ſerved only to make thoſe of Athens and Sparta to prepare for their defence with greater vigour and circumſpection. Themiſtocles, fully ſenſible of the vaſt importance of this war, and of his own capacity to conduct it with all the ſkill and reſolution it required, made it his firſt care to remove out of the way, by the force of money, one Epicides, who pretended to compete with him for the chief command, but whoſe ſole merit conſiſted in an oſtentatious

ſtentatious eloquence, with which he had acquired conſiderable credit with the people. Themiſtocles, therefore, who had on every occaſion given proof of ſuperior parts, and ſhewn himſelf capable of conducting the greateſt undertakings; and had particularly, on former occaſions, diſplayed a ſingular ſagacity in ſeizing the deciſive moment of action, was unanimouſly choſen commander in chief of the Athenian forces. Ariſtides was recalled, after a three years baniſhment, together with all the other baniſhed citizens; no oppoſition having been made to the return of his rival by Themiſtocles, who, on this occaſion, ſet an example highly worthy the imitation of all men of influence in a ſtate, by whom jealouſy and rivalſhip ought, in times of danger, to be ſacrificed to the intereſts of their country.

Themiſtocles having plainly foreſeen, from the time of the battle of Marathon, that the war was nothing leſs than finiſhed by that engagement; and being fully ſenſible, that Athens, poſſeſſing ſuch a barren and narrow territory, was much too weak to make head againſt the powerful forces of the Perſians by land; had therefore from that moment applied all his attention to the increaſe of the naval ſtrength of his countrymen, in which he had ſo far ſucceeded, that they at preſent had a fleet of 100 large gallies, beſides many veſſels of three banks of oars; and on the approach of Xerxes, he perſuaded them to equip 100 more. To this ſmall fleet Greece owed its preſervation.

Eurybiades, a Lacedemonian, was named commander in chief of the united forces of both ſtates. This affords another proof of the moderation of Themiſtocles, who readily ſacrificed his ambition to the advantage of the common cauſe: for although the Athenians were intitled to claim the chief command, as having furniſhed two thirds of the fleet, he nevertheleſs chearfully acquieſced in the appointment of Eurybiades.

The

The firſt ſtep taken by the allies was to diſ-
patch Leonidas at the head of 10,000 men, to 480.
take poſſeſſion of the defile of Thermopylæ, ſitu-
ated at the foot of Mount Oeta, between Theſſaly and Phocis, a paſs no more than 90 feet broad, and the only one by which the army of Xerxes could penetrate into Achaia. In the mean time, the fleet of Xerxes coaſted along the ſhore, regulating its motions by thoſe of the army. Every thing gave way to the Perſians; and the cities through which they paſſed furniſhed them with proviſions in abundance.

Xerxes, after marching through Thrace and Macedonia, came at laſt to the paſs of Thermopylæ, guarded by the Grecian troops; which, according to Pauſanias, amounted altogether to no more than 11,000; and of theſe only 4000 were more immediately deſtined to defend the paſſage. But every man of that number was fully determined to conquer or to die. Xerxes was far from thinking that the Greeks would dare to diſpute his paſſage. But finding himſelf miſtaken, and being informed by Demaratus, that a handful of men might at this place ſtop for a conſiderable time all his forces, he endeavoured to corrupt Leonidas by magnificent preſents, and the moſt tempting promiſes, even that of making him ſupreme lord of Greece. But Leonidas having rejected all his temptations with diſdain, Xerxes thereupon commanded him, by a meſſenger, to ſend him his arms; "Let your king come and "take them," anſwered Leonidas. Then the Medes advanced againſt the Greeks; but being unable to ſuſtain their attack, were obliged to retreat. The troop of Perſians, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *immortal*, next charged the Greeks, and fought with great valour, ſo that the paſs was choked up with the dead. While the beſt troops of Xerxes were thus ſacrificed to the Spartan valour, an inhabitant of the country having diſcovered to the Perſians a ſecret path conducting to an eminence that commanded the paſs, a large detachment was immediately ſent to take poſſeſſion of it.

Leonidas

Leonidas receiving intelligence that the tops of the rocks forming the paſs, were occupied by 20,000 Perſian troops, whoſe darts muſt ſoon overwhelm him and his ſmall party, intreated the greater part of his men to retire and reſerve themſelves for a more advantageous opportunity of ſerving their country; while he himſelf, with about 300 Spartans, and a few Theſpians, would maintain the poſt to the laſt drop of their blood. The reſt having accordingly departed, "Come, my friends," ſaid Leonidas, "let us "dine chearfully, in the hope of ſupping together in "the other world." His brave companions, who are ſuperior to all praiſe, thus encouraged by the example of their chief, thought of nothing now but how to ſell their lives as dearly as poſſible; believing it incumbent on them, ſays Mr Rollin, as the leading people of Greece, to devote themſelves to certain death, thereby to convince the barbarians how much it muſt coſt them to reduce a free people to ſlavery.—In the dead of night, this heroic troop advance directly forwards to the tent of the king, penetrate to the middle of the Perſian camp, cut off all that come in their way, and ſpread the moſt dreadful conſternation among the enemy. But day-light at laſt diſcovering them diſtinctly to the Perſians, they are immediately ſurrounded, and being rather overwhelmed than conquered, breathe their laſt above heaps of ſlaughtered enemies; leaving to after ages an example of intrepidity before unknown, and hardly to be parallelled in hiſtory.—The Perſians are ſaid to have loſt upwards of 20,000 men in this engagement, and, among the reſt, the two brothers of Xerxes.

To the memory of theſe brave defenders of Greece, a ſuperb monument was afterwards erected, bearing two inſcriptions; the one in honour of all thoſe who had fallen on that occaſion, importing, that an army of 4000 Peloponneſian Greeks had, in that place, ſtopped the progreſs of the whole Perſian force; the other in honour of Leonidas, and his 300 Spartans,

expreſſed, in a few ſimple words, to this effect: "Go, "paſſenger, tell at Sparta, that we died here in obe- "dience to her laws."

This famous action at Thermopylæ, in the opinion of Diodorus Siculus, contributed very highly to the ſubſequent advantages obtained by the Greeks. For the Perſians, aſtoniſhed at ſo ſtriking an inſtance of deſperate valour, thence concluded, that it was hardly poſſible to ſubdue a nation of ſuch undaunted reſolution; and the Greeks likewiſe perceived from the ſame example, that valour and diſcipline are capable of vanquiſhing the greateſt multitude, and that therefore it was poſſible to overcome the Perſians.

The very day that Leonidas fell at Thermopylæ, the Athenian fleet, commanded by Themiſtocles, having diſcovered, while cruizing off Artemiſa, a promontory in Eubœa, a detachment of the enemies fleet, amounting to 200 veſſels, attacked them in the night, and ſunk more than thirty of them; and the reſt were that ſame night wrecked on the coaſt of Eubœa by a ſtorm that ſucceeded the engagement.—The Athenians receiving next day a reinforcement of 53 ſhips more, attacked thoſe of the Cilicians, and ſunk many of them. A general engagement enſued the ſame day, in which both parties fought with great bravery; and though neither could boaſt of the victory, yet the loſs was moſt conſiderable on the ſide of the Perſians. From the event of theſe ſeveral actions, the Athenians learned, that victory is not always determined by the greater number of ſhips. Hearing, in the mean time, of what had paſſed at Thermopylæ, the Greeks thought it adviſable to retire nearer home, and therefore ſet ſail for Salamis, a ſmall iſland not far from Attica.—The very ſame day too of the action at Thermopylæ, the Carthaginian army, amounting to 300,000 men, which co-operated with the Perſians, and was endeavouring to reduce the Greek ſtates in Sicily, was totally defeated by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuſe.

Xerxes having now advanced into Phocis, after marking

marking his march all along with the effects of his reſentment, the Peloponneſians reſolved to fortify themſelves within the Iſthmus. The Athenians, therefore, ſeeing themſelves on the eve of being cruſhed under the whole weight of the Perſian power, ſent, in this extremity, to conſult the oracle; who told them, "*That the "only means of preſerving their city was wooden "walls.*" Theſe wooden walls, pointed out by the oracle, were interpreted by Themiſtocles to be their ſhips; and he told his countrymen, that the ſole means of preſervation left was, to abandon the city, and to betake themſelves to their fleet. This advice was not at all reliſhed by the people, who ſhuddered at the thoughts of deſerting their gods, and the tombs of their anceſtors. Themiſtocles, however, ſucceeded at laſt, in perſuading them, that the exiſtence of Athens depended neither on its houſes nor its temples, but on the lives of its citizens; and that the gods themſelves had, by the mouth of the oracle, plainly declared it to be their pleaſure, that the Athenians ought to leave their city for a while. The people, at laſt, convinced by his eloquence, conſented to go aboard their ſhips.

It is difficult to ſay, whether we are more affected on this occaſion by the melancholy ſituation of the Athenians, thus compelled by a barbarous prince to deſert their native country; or by the heroic reſolution of thoſe Athenians to go in this manner into a ſort of voluntary baniſhment, rather than to ſubmit to their oppreſſor.

The Athenians conveyed their women, children, and the greater part of their old men, to Trezene, a ſmall town on the ſea-coaſt of Peloponneſe, where they were received with all the marks of humanity that their ſituation required; but a great number of their oldeſt men were left in the citadel, being unable by reaſon of their great age and infirmities to undergo the fatigue of tranſportation.

Xerxes in the mean time approaching towards Athens, ſent a detachment of his troops to plunder the temple of Delphos, which contained immenſe riches. But Herodotus

dotus and Diodorus Siculus, both tell us, that moſt of the ſoldiers ſent on this errand, periſhed by the way in a violent tempeſt.

The Perſian army arriving at Athens, find nothing but ſilence and ſolitude within the walls. They attack the citadel, which, after the braveſt reſiſtance by its feeble garriſon, is taken by ſtorm, and all within it are put to the ſword. Xerxes ordered the reſt of the city to be ſet on fire.

In the mean time differences are like to ariſe in the Grecian fleet commanded by Eurybiades, one half of them being of opinion that they ought to advance towards the iſthmus of Corinth, to be at hand to ſupport their army; and the other, that they ought by no means to quit the advantageous poſt at Salamis. The latter opinion was ſupported by Themiſtocles, who on this occaſion gave another proof of his extraordinary moderation and coolneſs of temper. For while he was maintaining his opinion with much warmth againſt Eurybiades, who was a man of a very cholerick diſpoſition, the latter flew in a paſſion, and lifted up his cane to ſtrike him. Themiſtocles called out to him, "Strike, "but hear me." His eloquence and firmneſs at laſt prevailed, and the Greeks ſaw that it was moſt adviſeable for them, as being extremely inferior to the enemy in the number, as well as in the ſize of their ſhips, to fight them in ſuch a narrow ſtrait as that of Salamis, where the enemy could not bring all their fleet into action; and that it was of the higheſt importance to avail themſelves of their preſent ſituation. They reſolved, therefore, to prepare to fight the Perſians in this ſtrait.

The Perſians too determined to give battle, contrary to the opinion of Queen Artemiſa, who repreſented to them that the loſs of a ſea fight muſt be inevitably attended with the deſtruction of their army at land. But her advice, though the moſt prudent, was rejected, Xerxes himſelf having declared his ſentiments for their coming to action. Themiſtocles, in the mean time, to put it entirely out of the power of his countrymen

trymen to retire from Salamis, contrived to have falſe intelligence conveyed to Xerxes, of their intention to decline the engagement, and to make their eſcape, and therefore adviſing him to order his fleet inſtantly to advance and block them up. This ſtratagem he communicated to Ariſtides, who undertook to exhort the reſt of the commanding officers with whom he was in great credit, not to be diſmayed at ſeeing themſelves hemmed in, but to behave with their uſual intrepidity. The ſtratagem had the deſired effect, and the Greeks ſeeing no other poſſibility of eſcaping, except by fighting their way through the midſt of the enemy, prepared for the engagement.

Xerxes, who was on ſhore, being deſirous of ſeeing the battle, ordered a ſuperb throne to be erected for him on an eminence.—The fleet of the Greeks conſiſted of 380 ſail.—Themiſtocles who that day commanded it, waited for the riſing of a wind, which regularly began to blow at a certain hour, in a direction exactly in the face of the enemy. The Perſians began the attack with great bravery, but the ſmall fleet of the Greeks acting by the ſkill of its commanders under every advantage, ſoon threw the enemy's firſt line into confuſion, and ſunk the Perſian admiral. Thoſe that followed him, intimidated by his fate, partly betook themſelves to flight, and partly were ſunk. On the wings, however, the action continued very warm and obſtinate, but the wind being againſt the Perſians, the unwieldy ſize of their ſhips rendering them very difficult to be managed, and their great number rather embarraſſing than availing them in ſuch a narrow ſtrait, they could not long ſuſtain the impetuoſity of the Athenians, but fell into a general diſorder. The Ionians, mindful of their Grecian extraction, were the firſt that fled; and they were quickly followed by the reſt of the Perſian fleet, which ſoon appeared ſcattered up and down in flight and diſorder.

Queen Artemiſa ſignaliſed herſelf by a courage far above her ſex. In the height of the battle, perceiving herſelf

herſelf to be on the point of falling into the hands of the Greeks, ſhe immediately hung out Greek colours, attacked one of the Perſian gallies, and ſunk it. The Greek that purſued her, deceived by the ſtratagem, believed her to be one of his own party, and quitted the purſuit. The victory coſt the Greeks 40 ſhips; but of the Perſians 200 were either taken or ſunk.

This engagement, one of the moſt memorable recorded in ancient hiſtory, acquired immortal fame to the Grecian wiſdom and courage.—The renowned Cimon, though yet but a young man, diſtinguiſhed himſelf highly on that occaſion, and gave evident ſigns of his future greatneſs. But as the principal glory of the victory belonged to Themiſtocles, the eyes of all the Greeks were fixed on him as their deliverer; and the higheſt honours were conferred on him. At this time every ſentiment of jealouſy was overlooked, and none exceeded the Lacedemonians in their encomiums on Themiſtocles, whom they crowned with laurel, the reward of wiſdom and valour. When he appeared at the Olympic games, the whole aſſembly roſe up to give him place; every eye was fixed on him alone; and that day was the moſt glorious of all his life.

This important defeat aſtoniſhed and diſconcerted Xerxes in the higheſt degree. Mardonius, however, endeavoured to compoſe his mind by palliating his loſs; but at the ſame time adviſed him to ſet out for Perſia; aſſuring him that with 300,000 of his land-forces, he, Mardonius, did not doubt of being able to conquer the Greeks, notwithſtanding the late diſaſter.—The remains of the Perſian fleet took refuge in Cumes, a harbour in Eolia.

On the other hand, Themiſtocles, in concert with Ariſtides, ſent private intelligence to Xerxes, that the Greeks were preparing to deſtroy his bridge over the Helleſpont. That weak, credulous Prince believed the information, and leaving Greece in a violent hurry, with a ſtrong guard of his beſt troops, arrived, after a very painful march of 45 days, (attended with the double miſery

miſery of famine and diſeaſe, which deſtroyed the greateſt part of his troops) at the bridge, but had the mortification to find it already demoliſhed by a great ſtorm. This mighty Prince, therefore, whoſe numerous fleet had lately covered the ſea, and who had arrogantly preſumed to bind the waves, was reduced to the neceſſity of paſſing the ſtrait in a poor fiſhing bark. Thus was the vanity effectually humbled, and thus ended all the lofty projects of this impious and preſumptuous man, who, before leaving his own dominions, had ordered all the Greek temples of Aſia to be burnt, and the immenſe riches contained in them, to be applied to defray the expences of his expedition.

Mardonius, after wintering in Theſſaly, took the field, and began his operations, by making very advantageous offers to the Athenians, to detach them from their confederacy with the other ſtates, promiſing not only to rebuild their city, and to give them a vaſt ſum of money, but to ſet them at the head of all Greece. Ariſtides, then Archon, anſwered the meſſengers of Mardonius, that all the gold in the world was inſufficient to corrupt the Athenians, or to induce them to deſert the defence of the common liberty of their country; that while the ſun continued to light the world, the Athenians would remain the mortal enemies of the Perſians, and would revenge, to the utmoſt of their power, the miſchief they had brought upon their country, and the burning of their houſes and temples. As ſoon as Mardonius received the anſwer of the Athenians, and thence ſaw that no motive could perſuade them to break their engagements, he ordered his army to advance towards Attica. The Athenians, on the approach of the Perſian army, left their city a ſecond time, and retired to Salamis. Mardonius, thereupon, ſent new deputies to them, with terms ſtill more advantageous than the former, but the Athenians were ſo far from accepting them, that they ſtoned to death one Lycidas, only for ſaying, that they ought to give an audience to the deputies. The Perſian general, provoked at the contempt

with

with which the Athenians treated all his propoſals, entered Athens, and burnt every thing that had formerly eſcaped the fury of Xerxes.

In this ſituation, the Athenians complained to the Lacedemonians, of their not having ſent them the ſtipulated ſuccours. The latter were then ſolely intent on maintaining their ground within the Peloponneſe, and defending the entry of the Iſthmus; but, in compliance with the requiſition of the Athenians, who made a great outcry againſt the ſlowneſs of their proceedings, they ſent to their aſſiſtance 5000 Spartans, each of whom was attended by ſeven Helots. Theſe forces, joined with thoſe of the Athenians and Peloponneſians, formed altogether an army of about 70,000 men; which, after aſſembling at Eleuſis, followed Mardonius into Beotia, and encamped at the foot of Mount Citheron; Pauſanias, ſon of Cleombrotus, and viceroy of Sparta, commanding the Lacedemonian troops; and Ariſtides thoſe of the Athenians.—— The Perſian army then amounted to 300,000 men.

Pauſanias, in the mean time, advanced towards Platea, with his forces drawn up in battle-array;
479. the Athenians on the right wing, oppoſed to the Perſian troops; and the Lacedemonians on the left, oppoſed to the Greek troops, in the ſervice of the Perſians.—The Megareans, who were encamped on the plain, having been attacked by the Perſian cavalry, were after a very brave and long reſiſtance, on the point of giving way, when 300 Athenians ran to their relief. The battle then became more obſtinate than before; but Magiſtius, who commanded the Perſian cavalry, being ſlain, his men betook themſelves to flight. The death of this officer, who was reckoned the ableſt in the Perſian army, ſpread univerſal conſternation through all their troops. Ten days intervened between this action and the general engagement. Artabazus was of opinion, that the Perſians ought to avoid a general battle; but Mardonius, a man of a violent fiery diſpoſition, thought otherwiſe.—Pauſanias and Ariſtides, informed

of the deſign of the Perſians to attack them, drew up their army in battle order near to the city of Platea; which Mardonius perceiving, changed the intended order of his attack. That day was wholly taken up with theſe evolutions. But the Greeks, finding themſelves ſtraitened for water in their preſent ſituation, reſolved to decamp. Mardonius believing this movement to be a flight, immediately advanced with his men, uttering loud ſhouts, and charged the rear of the Greek army, compoſed of the Lacedemonians; who forming themſelves in a column, oppoſed the enemy with their uſual valour, and falling on the Perſians with the greateſt fury, made a dreadful ſlaughter.

Mardonius fell in the beginning of the action. The main body of the Greek army advancing in the mean time to the charge, in ſeparate detachments, completed the overthrow of the Perſians. In another quarter of the field, the 40,000 Greeks in the Perſian ſervice, who were engaged with the troops commanded by Ariſtides, hearing of the flight of the Barbarians, followed their example, and retreated likewiſe; but rallied in their camp, and there intrenched themſelves. The Lacedemonians, however, ſupported by the Athenians, attacked and forced their intrenchments; after which nothing was to be ſeen but a general maſſacre: for the Perſians being too numerous to be made priſoners, received no quarter, and were all put to the ſword. Artabazus, after diſtinguiſhing himſelf both as a ſkilful officer and as a brave ſoldier, collected the ſcattered remains of the Perſian army, amounting now to no more than 44,000 men, and returned with all expedition towards Perſia. —— The loſs of the Greeks in this engagement was about 10,000 men.

The Greeks, as a monument of this memorable victory, erected a ſtatue to Jupiter in the temple of Olympia, inſcribed with the names of all the ſtates of Greece who had fought at Platea. It came next under conſideration, whether the prize of valour ought to be adjudged to the Athenians or to the Lacedemonians. But to

avoid all controverſy on this head, whereby the general joy ariſing from the victory might be diſturbed, the queſtion was, by the influence of Ariſtides, referred to the determination of the other Greeks; who, to prevent all jealouſy between thoſe rival ſtates, adjudged it to belong to the Plateans. Then, after ſending a tripod of ſolid gold to the temple at Delphos, and ſetting apart a tenth of the ſpoil, as an offering to the gods, to be applied to religious purpoſes, they divided, with great juſtice, the reſt of the ſpoil; which was ſo immenſe, that Juſtin is of opinion, it was the firſt great cauſe of the corruption of the Grecian manners.

By the perſuaſion of Ariſtides, the Greeks paſſed a ſolemn decree, obliging all the ſtates to ſend deputies to Platea, to offer ſacrifices to *Jupiter the deliverer*; inſtituting public games at that place every fifth year; and ordering a fleet of 100 ſhips, and an army of 10,000 foot, and as many horſe, to be kept always on foot, for making continual war on the Barbarians.—The Plateans were appointed to celebrate in time coming the anniverſary of all thoſe that had fallen in this battle; which they regularly performed with much pomp and ceremony.

The Perſian fleet having, in the mean time, ſailed towards Samos; that of the Greeks, under the command of Leotychides the Lacedemonian, and Xantippus the Athenian, advanced as far as Delos, upon the earneſt intreaty of the inhabitants of Chios, who begged to be delivered from their ſubjection to the Barbarians; and likewiſe in conſequence of ſecret intelligence received by them, of the intention of the Ionians to revolt. The Perſians hearing of the approach of the Greeks, retired to Mycale, in Aſia Minor, where they drew their veſſels on ſhore, and ſurrounded them with a deep ditch. The Greeks, however, purſued them thither; and, with the aſſiſtance of the Ionians, attacked them. The battle was at firſt bravely fought on both ſides; but the Mileſians and Samians, followed by the reſt of the Aſiatic Greeks, having deſerted from the Perſians, the latter were vanquiſhed, and 40,000 of them cut in pieces.

pieces. The Athenians took poſſeſſion of the enemies camp, burnt the Perſian fleet, and returned to Samos with a vaſt deal of plunder.—This engagement happened the ſame day with that of Platea.

Thus did that memorable day for ever free the Greeks from any further Perſian invaſions, and deliver them from thoſe innumerable armies of barbarians, which, like clouds of locuſts, had conſumed their country for two whole years. Theſe grievous defeats were never forgotten by the Perſian monarchs; and they entirely cured Xerxes of all deſire of undertaking any other enterpriſes of the ſame kind. He thought no more of executing vengeance on the Greeks; and to efface all remembrance of his paſt diſaſters, he gave himſelf wholly up to every ſort of voluptuouſneſs and debauchery. His court became one general ſcene of the moſt ſhameful exceſſes, murder and inceſt ſucceeding each other in a perpetual round. —— This weak licentious prince was at length put to death by his own ſubjects.

The ſevere effects of tyranny formerly experienced by the Athenians, had excited in them ſuch a ſtrong deſire of liberty, that to preſerve it, they boldly hazarded the greateſt dangers. Their bravery, however, was admirably ſupported and conducted by the wiſdom and ſkill of their generals, who were particularly attentive to chuſe ſuch a ſituation for giving battle, that the enemy could not much avail themſelves of their vaſt ſuperiority in point of number.

CHAP. II.

Affairs of Greece, from the final diſappointment of the Perſian invaſion under Xerxes, to the commencement of the Peloponneſian war.

THE Athenians having now recovered perfect tranquillity, brought back their wives and children to Athens; of which they rebuilt the walls, and

conſiderably increaſed the extent. The Lacedemonians taking umbrage at this, from an apprehenſion leſt Athens ſhould become too powerful, repreſented to the Athenians, that it was the general intereſt of Greece to have no fortified place without the Peloponneſe, becauſe, in caſe of a freſh invaſion, it might ſerve for a retreat and warlike magazine to the enemy. Themiſtocles having procured himſelf to be named ambaſſador to Lacedemon, there, to juſtify the conduct of his countrymen, maintained in open ſenate, that it was as much for the common advantage of the allies, as that of the Athenians, that the latter had fortified their city with good walls; that beſides, it was but equitable that they, as well as the reſt, ſhould take proper meaſures for their own ſafety; and, in fine, that they were able to defend themſelves either againſt foreign or domeſtic enemies.

In the next place, Themiſtocles, ſolely intent on increaſing the power of the republic, fortified *Pyreus*, the famous harbour of Athens, in the ſame manner as he had done the city; and perſuaded the Athenians to augment their fleet yearly with twenty ſhips. The object of this ſkilful politician, was to deprive the Lacedemonians of the ſuperiority hitherto poſſeſſed by them over the other ſtates of Greece. But it muſt be confeſſed, that he was not very ſcrupulous with regard to the means employed by him for that purpoſe. An inſtance of this, was his project of burning the Grecian fleet in the harbour of Pegazus, whither it had retired to winter after the defeat of Mardonius; or, according to ſome authors, that part of it only which belonged to the Lacedemonians. But not daring openly to propoſe this ſcheme, he was deſired by the people to communicate the matter privately to Ariſtides; who having been accordingly informed of it, declared to the people, that though the project of Themiſtocles was indeed highly uſeful, yet, at the ſame time, it was moſt unjuſt. Themiſtocles was therefore prohibited from putting it in execution. — How becoming thus to ſee a whole ſtate prefer what was juſt, to what was uſeful! and what a high

high idea of the juſtice of Ariſtides muſt we not conceive, when we ſee him choſen by a whole people, to determine whether a project was juſt or unjuſt!

The Lacedemonians, about this time, propoſed that the deputies who had formerly been admitted to ſeats in the council of the amphyctions, from Theſſaly, from Thebes, from Argos, and from the other ſtates that had ſubmitted to Xerxes, ſhould, as a puniſhment for their defection from the common cauſe, be for the future deprived of that privilege. The propoſal appeared to be equitable, and coincided with the reſentment entertained of the puſilanimous and treacherous conduct of thoſe ſtates. But Themiſtocles, apprehenſive leſt by the propoſed excluſion the Lacedemonian intereſt might preponderate too much in this important council, employed all his eloquence and addreſs to get the propoſal rejected: and his endeavours were ſucceſsful. This ſtep exaſperated the Lacedemonians extremely againſt Themiſtocles, whom they ever after oppoſed in all his ſchemes. In particular they exerted their influence to ſupport the riſing fortunes of Cimon in oppoſition to Themiſtocles, and by their intrigues were very inſtrumental in promoting the ſubſequent perſecution and baniſhment inflicted on him by his ungrateful countrymen.

Ariſtides having nothing in view but the welfare of his country, was continually employed in promoting her intereſts. His prudence prevented diſturbances that were likely to ariſe in Athens by the licentious and turbulent diſpoſition of the people, who finding themſelves now in peace and ſecurity, deſired to take the whole power of government into their own hands. To theſe ſeditious projects they were chiefly inſtigated by Themiſtocles, partly from motives of oppoſition to his rival Ariſtides, who was attached to the nobility; but principally from partiality to the party of the commons, to which his birth naturally attached him. Ariſtides, to quiet them, procured the office of Archon, hitherto confined to the richer ſort, to be rendered attainable by every rank in the ſtate. By this conceſſion, he, for the

preſent,

preſent, ſatisfied the people, and diverted them from a ſcheme that muſt infallibly have occaſioned a civil war.

As the Perſians were ſtill in poſſeſſion of ſome cities in Aſia Minor, the Athenians and Lacedemonians reſolved to deliver thoſe cities from their ſubjection; and, for that purpoſe, ſent out a fleet under the command of Pauſanias, Ariſtides, and Cimon the ſon of Miltiades. This expedition was attended with the deſired ſucceſs, and the Perſian garriſons were expelled from all the cities. Then the fleet ſailed up the Helleſpont, and attacked Byzantium, which Pauſanias had the glory of taking. But the haughty diſpoſition natural to that Spartan, appeared to be greatly encreaſed by his late ſucceſs. He treated the officers in the moſt arrogant and overbearing manner, and ſoon became perfectly unſupportable. This exceſſive pride ſtained the glory of his actions, and at laſt brought on his ruin. For deſiring to become the ſon-in-law of Xerxes, his vanity induced him to betray his country, and he offered to make that monarch maſter of Sparta, and of all the reſt of Greece, on condition of receiving his daughter in marriage, and of being inveſted with ſovereign authority over the country he ſhould thus betray. Xerxes embraced the propoſal, and tranſmitted to Pauſanias large ſums of money, to enable him to make good his engagements. The plot, however, was diſcovered; but as the Lacedemonians could not, for the preſent, procure ſufficient evidence of his treaſon to juſtify a capital puniſhment, they were ſatisfied with depoſing him.

The allies, now weary of their ſubjection to Sparta, which Pauſanias had exerciſed over them with the utmoſt ſeverity, and charmed at the ſame time with the modeſty, mildneſs, and juſtice of Ariſtides and Cimon, conferred on them the chief command of the fleet, and put themſelves under the protection of the Athenians.—Thus did Sparta, by the haughty imperious behaviour of Pauſanias, loſe that ſuperiority over the reſt of Greece, which her juſtice and moderation had at firſt procured her.

As

As Cimon is about to appear in a very intereſting light, as chief commander in Aſia, it is proper here to take notice of a few particulars of his life, previous to his appearing in that character. We have already mentioned his having undertaken to diſcharge the fine impoſed upon his father, to obtain the privilege of burial for his dead body. That act of filial affection had procured him the eſteem of every body. Thenceforward, he daily gave diſtinguiſhing marks of the fineſt parts, and ſoon ſhewed himſelf capable of rivalling his father in valour and military ſkill; Themiſtocles in acuteneſs and prudence; and Ariſtides in integrity and juſtice. The latter conceived the higheſt regard for Cimon, while yet very young; and perceived that he was equal to the moſt important offices of the ſtate. In the two memorable engagements at Salamis and Platea, Cimon ſignalized himſelf remarkably, and quickly attracted the admiration of his countrymen.

After delivering the Greek colonies from the Perſian yoke, he continued to puſh on his conqueſts in Aſia, and reduced ſeveral of the enemy's cities. — He next attacked, near the iſland of Cyprus, with a fleet of 250 ſail, that of the Perſians amounting to 340 ſail, and ſupported by a powerful army encamped along the ſhore. The engagement was deſperately ſupported at firſt. But the Greeks having ſunk ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips, put the reſt to flight. Then Cimon, ſailing towards the Thracian Cherſoneſe, took the city of Eione on the banks of the Strymon. On this occaſion, the Perſian, *Butes*, who was governor of the city, finding it impoſſible to preſerve the city, threw his riches into the river, and then burnt himſelf and all his family on a funeral pile.

After this, Cimon ſubdued the neighbouring ſtates, drove from Syrops the pirates that infeſted the Egean ſea, eſtabliſhed an Athenian colony in their place, and made himſelf maſter of Naxus. Cruiſing along the coaſts of Aſia, he reduced all the maritime cities of Caria and Lycia under the Athenian power, and left not

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the Perſians in poſſeſſion of a ſingle inch of ground between Ionia and Pamphylia. Hearing that the Perſian fleet lay at anchor at the mouth of the river Eurymedon, waiting for a reinforcement of Phenician ſhips, that they might attack him with their united forces; he immediately ſailed againſt the former to prevent their junction; charged them with ſuch vigour, that they were obliged, in ſpite of their great ſuperiority in number, to run their ſhips aground, and took more than 100 of them. Without giving his men time to breathe after their victory, he inſtantly landed them, and attacked the army of the enemy, which was drawn up on the banks of the Eurymedon. The Perſians ſuſtained the firſt attack of the Greeks with great firmneſs. But the troops of Cimon, animated by their late ſucceſs, broke them at laſt, put them fairly to flight, made a great number of them priſoners, and got a vaſt booty. Cimon crowned his victories with the capture of the Phenician fleet which was coming to the aſſiſtance of the Perſians, and by that means gave a fatal blow to the Perſian naval power.

474. The Lacedemonians, importuned by continual complaints againſt Pauſanias, ſummoned him to return home to juſtify his conduct. He obeyed, and was for the preſent acquitted, either through the defect of evidence, or the gratitude of his countrymen for his paſt important ſervices. He returned, therefore, to Byzantium; but immediately renewed his negotiations with Artabazus, to whom Xerxes had referred him, that they might together ſettle the plan of operations. The whole matter, however, was at laſt clearly brought to light. A ſlave, whom he had charged with certain diſpatches for Aſia, having obſerved, that of all his companions formerly diſpatched thither on buſineſs of the ſame kind, none had returned, became apprehenſive of meeting with the ſame fate himſelf. He was therefore tempted to open the letter of his maſter; where, perceiving at once all the importance of his commiſſion, he reſolved to deliver his diſpatches to the E-

phori, who, after maturely weighing every circumſtance, ordered the ſlave to take refuge in the temple of Neptune; and then propagated a report, that the reaſon of his doing ſo, was to beg pardon of the god for having opened a letter of his maſter. Pauſanias haſtens to the temple, where the Ephori being concealed, overhear his whole converſation with the ſlave, are thereby entirely convinced of the full extent of his treaſon, and therefore reſolve to bring him to immediate puniſhment. Pauſanias, perceiving his danger, flies for ſafety to the temple of Minerva. The Ephori, not chuſing to violate the privilege of the temple, but deſiring, at the ſame time, to puniſh the traitor, ordered the entry to be ſhut up with large ſtones, and part of the roof to be uncovered, that he might be ſtarved to death; which happened accordingly.

The ardent paſſion of Themiſtocles for power, at length offended the Athenians, who, provoked at his conſtantly reminding them of his ſervices, baniſhed him from Athens. Themiſtocles was obliged to take refuge at Argos. In the mean time, it was alledged, that ſome paſſages in letters, found in the poſſeſſion of Pauſanias after his death, ſeemed to indicate a ſecret underſtanding between him and Themiſtocles. But the truth of this fact was never properly aſcertained. The Lacedemonians, however, upon whoſe ambition he had been a conſtant check, took advantage of this circumſtance to ruin him, and communicated the pretended diſcovery to the Athenians. Themiſtocles endeavoured to juſtify himſelf by letter. But his enemies, glad of ſo fair an opportunity of accompliſhing his deſtruction, uſed every argument to convince his countrymen of his guilt, and were at laſt ſucceſsful. Themiſtocles, getting notice of theſe proceedings, retired to the iſland of Corcyra, and from thence into Epire. But thinking himſelf unſafe even there, he next took refuge at the court of Admetus king of the Moloſſi. This was a very dangerous and daring ſtep in Themiſtocles. That prince entertained a ſtrong reſent- 471.

ment againſt him, on account of ſome ſuit of his having been harſhly refuſed by the Athenians, while the authority of Themiſtocles was at its height among that people. Touched, however, at ſeeing at his feet, and in his power, the greateſt man of Greece, he gave him a kindly reception, and reſolved to protect him.—— We ſhall, by and by, ſee the fate of Themiſtocles.

Let us now reſume the general hiſtory of Greece, where we ſhall behold the glory of Ariſtides in full ſplendor. The Athenians, at preſent in the undiſputed poſſeſſion of the principal authority in Greece, and, by conſequence, enjoying uncontrolled influence in the management of the public affairs of all its ſtates, reſolved, in compliance with the requeſt of ſeveral of the ſtates, to put the funds furniſhed for the purpoſe of the general defence of the country on a new footing, by impoſing on each city a tax proportionable to its whole revenue. It required a man of great integrity and diſintereſtedneſs to proportion and to collect this tax. Ariſtides was unanimouſly pitched upon for that purpoſe; and diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him to the ſatisfaction of all the parties concerned, and in ſuch a manner as did honour to the choice of his countrymen. The period of his adminiſtration is conſidered as the happieſt in the hiſtory of the Greeks. For, in the ſequel, under the management of Pericles, and his ſucceſſors, the increaſe of unneceſſary expences required the tax to be firſt doubled, and afterwards tripled.

It is hardly poſſible to carry the contempt of riches to a greater length than Ariſtides did; for he even gloried in his poverty. Of his ſentiments on this head, he gave evident proofs in his defence of Callias, one of the richeſt citizens of Athens, to whom it was imputed as a crime, that being rich, and the friend of Ariſtides, he had nevertheleſs ſuffered him to remain in poverty. But of this charge Ariſtides fully juſtified him, by declaring to the judges, that Callias had often preſſed him to accept of conſiderable ſums, but which he had as often refuſed, from a perſuaſion, that the want of riches

prevented

prevented in him all deſire of ſuperfluities, and left him at liberty to apply himſelf entirely to the management of public affairs. What grandeur of ſentiment!

The leading men who ſucceeded Ariſtides, repleniſhed Athens with beautiful porticos, with ſtatues, and with other decorations; but his ſtudy, ſays Plutarch, was to fill it with virtue. He was not always, adds the ſame author, a magiſtrate; but he was always employed in the ſervice of his country. His houſe was a public ſchool for ſound policy, wiſdom, and virtue; and was ever open to all the Athenian youth, who repaired thither as if to conſult an oracle, and were liſtened to and inſtructed by him in the moſt familiar and obliging manner. Though he had, on ſeveral occaſions, given ſignal marks of his courage, as at the battle of Marathon, when he ſupported the opinion of Miltiades, to march out and give battle to the Perſians in the open field, yet equity was his diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic, and procured him the appellation of *juſt*. The perfection of his virtue was an equality of temper which did not deſert him even in his baniſhment, but enabled him to preſerve his affection for his country, and to petition the gods in favour of his fellow-citizens, at the very inſtant when they were treating him with the moſt cruel ingratitude. His only object was the glory of Athens; and provided ſhe were ſucceſsful againſt her enemies, he was little ſolicitous whether it was by his means or thoſe of another. Of this he gave a ſtrong proof with reſpect to Themiſtocles. After ſharing with him the whole danger and conduct of the war, he never offered to diſpute with him the glory of the ſucceſs; but ſuffered him to enjoy it without a rival. In fine, Ariſtides was the perfect model of a good citizen.

The reader cannot fail to be anxious to know the circumſtances attending the laſt part of the life, and the final exit of this great man. But hiſtorians have left us altogether in the dark about this matter; though it is probable that he ended his days in peace. Hiſtory

only informs us, that after poſſeſſing for a long while the ſole management of the public money, he died in ſuch abſolute poverty, as not to leave ſufficient funds to bury him. But the republic charged itſelf with this laſt duty to its beſt citizen; and likewiſe with the care of providing ſuitable matches for his daughters; and his ſon Lyſimachus was maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expence.

455. It was nearly about the time of which we are now ſpeaking, that the Romans, having heard of the wiſdom of the Greek inſtitutions, ſent ten of their citizens to Athens, to inform themſelves of the different laws there eſtabliſhed. It was from the collection made at Athens by thoſe ten citizens, that the laws of the ten tables were compoſed, which formed the baſis of the after ſyſtem of Roman juriſprudence.

Artabanus, captain of the guards to Xerxes, ſeeing his ſovereign diſguſted with all attempts of conqueſt, immerſed in pleaſure, and deſpiſed by his ſubjects, conceived the deſign of dethroning him; and, for that purpoſe, formed a conſpiracy with one of the chief eunuchs. Having accordingly aſſaſſinated Xerxes in his chamber, he runs to find Artaxerxes, ſurnamed *Longimanus*, that prince's third ſon, acquaints him with the murder of his father, and accuſes Darius, the eldeſt ſon of Xerxes, as the murderer. Artaxerxes believing the villain, kills his brother in the firſt tranſports of his rage, and mounts the throne. Artabanus forms a confederacy for dethroning the new king. Artaxerxes getting intelligence of this conſpiracy, puts Artabanus to death. The partiſans of the latter, together with his ſons, to the number of ſeven, all grown men, reſolved to revenge the death of Artabanus. This new confederacy againſt Artaxerxes produces an open war, and a bloody battle. But Artaxerxes prevails in the end, and exterminates the greater part of his enemies. Become at laſt peaceable poſſeſſor of his kingdom, he depoſes all his viceroys of whoſe fidelity he entertained

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any ſuſpicion; reforms many abuſes that had crept in during the late reign; and acquires the character of a great prince.—— We ſhall have occaſion to make mention of him more than once in the ſequel.

Let us once more look back to Themiſtocles. The Athenians, reſolved not to permit him to remain in quiet under the protection of King Admetus, require that prince to deliver him up, under pain of their diſpleaſure. Being informed by Admetus of the dilemma into which he had brought himſelf on his account, Themiſtocles reſolved, without heſitation, to retire to a greater diſtance ſtill from his cruel and ungrateful countrymen. He goes aboard a ſhip; and after eſcaping ſeveral dangers, arrives at Cumes in Armenia. The Perſian monarch having heard of his being proſcribed by his countrymen, had already ſet a price on his head; and iſſued orders, that all perſons who arrived in any part of the coaſt of his dominions ſhould be ſtrictly examined. Themiſtocles, however, found means to reach Eolia undiſcovered; and, by the friendſhip of his hoſt, a man of conſiderable ſubſtance in that country, he was from thence conducted in a covered waggon to Suza; the conductor of the waggon telling thoſe he met, that the perſon conveyed in the waggon was an Ionian lady, whom he was conducting to a nobleman at court. He was permitted therefore to paſs without further inquiry, the ladies in Perſia being always carefully guarded from public view.

As ſoon as he came to the court of Artaxerxes, he told that he was a Greek, and begged an audience of the king. Being accordingly admitted into the royal preſence, he proſtrated himſelf as uſual before the monarch, and made a moſt moving ſpeech to obtain his protection. You ſee at your feet, ſays he, Themiſtocles; a man who has indeed done much harm to the Perſians, but who has it in his power to do them important ſervices. My life is in your power. If you ſave it, you will eternally oblige a man who begs it at your hands; if you deprive me of it, you will deſtroy the greateſt

greateſt enemy of Greece. Artaxerxes was aſtoniſhed at his intrepidity, and could not help admiring him. He made him no anſwer for the preſent; but, on being leſt alone, he gave himſelf up to the higheſt tranſports of joy, crying out from time to time, "I have Themiſtocles in my power." Next day, however, after deliberating coolly on this unforeſeen event, he reſolved to act the generous part, and to bind Themiſtocles to his intereſts, by loading him with favours. He therefore called him into his preſence; received him in the kindeſt and moſt obliging manner; preſented him with 200 talents, and queſtioned him much about the affairs of Greece.

Themiſtocles, that he might be able to converſe more freely with Artaxerxes, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Perſian language, and ſoon learned to ſpeak it. In the mean time, the Perſian monarch was daily giving him ſtill greater and greater marks of favour, and on all occaſions teſtified a particular eſteem for him. He married him to a Perſian lady of the higheſt birth; made him his companion in all his pleaſures, and converſed with him with great familiarity. His credit was ſo high, that he was himſelf amazed at it. It is ſaid, that being one day at table with his children, and reflecting on the magnificence with which he was treated, he could not refrain from exclaiming, "We "had periſhed, my children, if we had not periſhed." He fixed his reſidence at Magneſia, a city of Aſia Minor, and continued there for the remaining part of his life. The revenues of three cities were aſſigned him as a fund of ſubſiſtence.

After Cimon had gained over the Perſians the victories already mentioned, he returned to Athens, and employed part of the ſpoils taken from the enemy in fortifying Pireus, and embelliſhing the city.

Cimon was no leſs admired by the Athenians in time of peace, than he had been during the war. Beſides erecting various public ſtructures, both for the ſtrength and for the ornament of the city, he planted the

the academy with groves; brought water into it, and laid it out in delightful walks. He likewiſe planted plane trees round the forum. He applied his riches to the nobleſt of purpoſes. He ordered his delightful gardens to be at all times open to his fellow-citizens. He kept a very plentiful but plain table, to which all perſons, rich and poor, citizens and ſtrangers, were made welcome; and he aſſiſted with his wealth, not only his particular friends, but the greateſt part of the Athenians. As he walked through the ſtreets of Athens, the ſervants that attended him had orders to put money privately into the hands of all the poor citizens who came in their way; and to give cloaths to ſuch as ſeemed to ſtand in need of them. But all this was done by Cimon without the ſmalleſt oſtentation; and without any intention of courting the favour of the people; for, in point of politics, he was inviolably attached to the party of the nobility.

Being choſen to conduct another expedition againſt the Perſians, he expelled them from the Thracian Cherſoneſe, and laid ſiege to Thaſus, whoſe inhabitants had revolted againſt the Athenians. This ſiege is remarkable for its having continued three years; and for the obſtinate reſiſtance of the beſieged, whereby they expoſed themſelves to the ſevereſt misfortunes of war. It was declared capital for any perſon to talk of ſurrendering; and the women ſeconded the efforts of the men, even cutting off their hair to make ropes. The city, accordingly, ſtood out till famine had carried off moſt of its inhabitants.

Cimon next ſubdued all the country oppoſite to Thrace, as far as Macedonia, of which kingdom, too, he was on the point of attempting the conqueſt.

Under theſe favourable circumſtances the number of inhabitants in Attica appears to have been greatly encreaſed. For notwithſtanding a great loſs of men in the courſe of the war, they ſent out large colonies, to Eion on the river Strymen; to Amphipolis in Macedonia, and to the iſland of Sciros.

Artaxerxes

Artaxerxes hearing of theſe important ſucceſſes of Cimon, and of the increaſe thence derived to the Athenian power, propoſed to Themiſtocles to take the command of a powerful army, which he had reſolved to ſend againſt Attica. Such a propoſal threw that illuſtrious exile into the greateſt perplexity. Agitated on the one hand by the ſtrong affection ſtill retained by him for his native country, and the thoughts of the diſhonour he ſhould draw on himſelf by bearing arms againſt it; and, on the other hand, by the difficulty he found himſelf under of refuſing to comply with the requeſt of a prince who had loaded him with the higheſt favours; he perceived that death alone could deliver him from his diſtreſsful ſituation. He reſolved therefore to ſacrifice his life to his duty to his country, and to his gratitude to Artaxerxes. Aſſembling his friends, he bade them a moving farewell; ſwallowed a draught of bull's blood, and died at the age of ſixty-five years. Artaxerxes was ſtruck with admiration at this inſtance of magnanimity, and highly regreted his dying ſo prematurely. According to Thucydides, he did not die by poiſon, but by a natural diſeaſe. 466.

Themiſtocles poſſeſſed great grandeur of ſentiment, invincible courage, and an inſatiable deſire of glory. He enjoyed wonderful power of memory, uncommon penetration and ſagacity, and a diſpoſition ſingularly active, indefatigable, and perſevering. We have ſeen, that it was the moſt extreme neceſſity which forced him to take refuge with the enemies of his country, on finding himſelf perſecuted in the moſt rigorous manner, by a jealous and ungrateful people, whom he knew by experience to be capable of the greateſt cruelty to thoſe who had done them the moſt ſignal ſervices. Next to Miltiades, whoſe fate was recent in his memory, he was the principal author of their ſafety. He gained the confidence and affection of the allies, by his mild and condeſcending behaviour, and by his inſinuating addreſs. By his prudence he extinguiſhed that ſpirit of diſcord which prevailed among the Greeks at the time

of the Perſian invaſion, the ſubſiſtence whereof might, on that occaſion, have proved fatal to them; and he united them againſt their common enemy. He convinced his countrymen, that their naval ſtrength was their greateſt ſafety, and could alone procure them a ſuperiority over the other Greeks: and to him principally the Athenians owed their ſkill in naval affairs. His acute diſcernment, and his foreſight with reſpect to future events, are hardly to be parallelled. Stratagem, indeed, and cunning, were much employed by him: but even in that reſpect he acted from a principle which, though perhaps wrong, was univerſally adopted by his countrymen, namely, That every thing which contributed to the advantage or glory of the commonwealth was lawful and laudable.

About this time, the moſt violent earthquake ever felt before in Greece happened in Laconia. Not only were moſt of the houſes thrown down by it, but the earth opened and ſwallowed up ſeveral ſpots of ground in the neighbourhood. The Helots, taking advantage of this calamity, attempted to aſſert their liberty; and joining the Meſſenians, made war on the neighbouring cities. The Lacedemonians are reduced to the neceſſity of begging aſſiſtance of the Athenians. Cimon, thinking it ungenerous to take advantage of the misfortunes of a rival city, perſuaded the Athenians to aſſiſt them; and marching himſelf into Laconia at the head of 4000 men, diſperſes the Helots.

This is the proper place * to fix a celebrated
467. epoch.——It was in the ſeventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, that the Iſraelite Eſdras, that monarch's cup-bearer, obtained permiſſion of his royal maſter to return to Jeruſalem, to re-eſtabliſh the Jewiſh religion, and to live according to the law. Thirteen years after, and in the twentieth year of the reign of

* A ſolemn conteſt between the tragic poets firſt inſtituted at Athens. On this occaſion Sophocles, only twenty-eight years old, was preferred to Eſchylus, though then in the zenith of his fame.

Artaxerxes, Nehemiah, another of his cup-bearers, obtained of that prince a decree, permitting the Jews to rebuild the walls of Jeruſalem.

About this time Herodotus began to write his hiſtory. It is remarkable, that the time of Eſdras, the laſt writer of ſacred hiſtory, by whom the ſeveral books of that hiſtory were ranged in their proper order, coincides with that of the firſt writer of profane hiſtory. The ſacred writings, reckoning only from the time of Abraham, had then exiſted for the ſpace of fifteen centuries.

To return to Athens. The celebrated Pericles had lately made his appearance in public buſineſs, and had already acquired great influence in the adminiſtration. Animated with a more ardent deſire of glory than Cimon, he was become jealous of the reputation of that illuſtrious Athenian; who, by his ſervices to the ſtate, and his liberality to his fellow-citizens, had gained their higheſt eſteem. Pericles, therefore, reſolved to oppoſe him. Cimon was connected with the nobleſt families of Athens. Pericles, on the other hand, in imitation of the political conduct of Themiſtocles, embraced the party of the people; and omitted nothing to attract the attention and the favour of the crowd. It muſt be confeſſed, that his extraordinary parts correſponded perfectly with his ſoaring ambition. He had received the moſt important part of his education under the celebrated philoſopher Anaxagoras. From this maſter, beſides natural philoſophy, he learned a chaſte and lofty ſtyle, and acquired uncommon elevation of ſentiment, and a ſtriking dignity of manner and deportment. Pericles had likewiſe ſtudied with much care the art of government among his countrymen; and his ſingular penetration quickly enabled him to manage their paſſions and their prejudices to the beſt advantage. His quality of ſenator gave him an opportunity of diſplaying to the greateſt advantage his talent of eloquence, which he poſſeſſed in a ſupreme degree. His natural elocution was enforced by all the graces of a fine voice, and the

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moſt ſtriking exterior accompliſhments, in ſo much, that he in a manner charmed the imaginations of his audience, and managed them as he pleaſed. The boldneſs, too, and the impetuoſity with which he ſpoke, ſo aſtoniſhed his hearers, that they fancied a reſemblance between his declamation and the thunder of Jupiter. This procured him the appellation of *Olympian*. But finding it neceſſary, in order completely to gain over the multitude to his ſide, to rival Cimon in liberality, his firſt care was to inſinuate himſelf into that branch of the adminiſtration which regarded the management of the public funds. It is apparent, that in this employment he by no means propoſed to act on the rigid principles of Ariſtides. In the firſt place, he obtained the conquered territories to be divided among the citizens; and next procured a certain proportion of the public money to be paid to each of them as a gratuity for their attending the popular aſſemblies; a policy that corrupted the Athenians, and accuſtomed that ſober frugal people to luxury and idleneſs.

In a word, by laviſhing the public money in the moſt profuſe and oſtentatious manner, Pericles ſucceeded in ſeducing the people to his ſide. In the proſecution of this plan, he received no oppoſition from his rival Cimon. That great man being of a mild, candid, and peaceable diſpoſition, and of ſentiments too elevated for little political intrigues, enjoyed in quiet the fruits of his former ſucceſs, and placed his chief pleaſure in ſharing his wealth with his fellow-citizens. Pericles therefore made haſty advances towards the object of his ambition.

The Helots having about this time formed a new confederacy, made themſelves maſters of Ithome. The Lacedemonians by a freſh embaſſy begged aſſiſtance of the Athenians; but, in conſequence of a ſudden change of opinion, they very abruptly diſmiſſed the Athenian troops that had been ſent to their aſſiſtance. This caprice greatly diſguſted the Athenians. Cimon having warmly ſupported the demand of the Lacedemonians, and ſhown himſelf very zealous in their favour, Pericles

and Ephiates availed themſelves of that circumſtance, privately to prepoſſeſs the people againſt him, and to render him ſuſpected. Cimon was deſtined, like moſt of the great men of this republic, to have his ſervices rewarded with the puniſhment of oſtraciſm. He was accordingly baniſhed for ten years.

Pericles took advantage of the abſence of Cimon, and of his own credit with the people, to alter the eſtabliſhed form of government. He deprived the Areopagus of the power of judging in the moſt important queſtions that had formerly belonged to their juriſdiction; and at the ſame time rendered the other courts of juſtice ſubſervient to his pleaſure. In one word, he became ſo abſolute in Athens, that under this republican government he poſſeſt a power almoſt deſpotic.

The conduct of the Spartans at this time to the Athenians was the beginning of the mutual animoſity that conſtantly afterwards ſubſiſted between thoſe two ſtates, and brought to view the ſpirit of rivalſhip, with which they had long been ſecretly animated againſt one another. The ſpirit of diſcord broke out much about the ſame time among the other ſtates of Greece, and ſet them all in arms. It were equally unneceſſary and inconſiſtent with our plan, to take notice of the particulars of all the petty wars that were the conſequence of theſe diſputes. We ſhall, therefore, content ourſelves with the bare mention of the wars themſelves. We do this the more willingly, becauſe a particular detail of the miſery and ſlaughter of which they were productive would ſhock the humanity of moſt readers, without conveying any preciſe or diſtinct ideas to thoſe who take pleaſure in the ſtudy of military operations.

The inhabitants of Megara had formed a ſpirited reſolution to render themſelves independent of the Argives; but being totally defeated in an engagement by their oppreſſors, their city was beſieged, and, in ſpite of the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, taken and razed to the ground.

The Helots, after defending themſelves in Ithome for ten

ten years againſt the whole Spartan power, were at laſt obliged to ſurrender; and being expelled the Peloponneſe, ſettled at Naupactus.

The Megarians, by renouncing their connection with the Spartans, and ſiding with the Athenians, excited the jealouſy of the Corinthians, who on that account fought two battles with the Athenians, in which each party remained conqueror in its turn.

The inhabitants of Egina, actuated by the ſame motives of jealouſy, likewiſe declared war againſt the Athenians, but were defeated in a ſea-engagement by Leocrates, who blockaded their town. The Corinthians having laid waſte the territory of Megara, were totally routed by the Athenians, who had come to the relief of that country.

A war likewiſe breaking out between the Dorians and Phoceans, the former, ſupported by the Spartans, remained the conquerors.

About the ſame time a ſharp engagement happened between the Spartans and Athenians in the neighbourhood of Tanagra in Bœotia. Cimon, who was then in baniſhment, came to the field of battle, and begged permiſſion of his countrymen to ſhare with them in the danger of the engagement.—But this they refuſed him, on pretence of ſuſpecting his intentions. He exhorted, however, thoſe of his tribe who were preſent, and lay under the ſame ſuſpicion of favouring the enemy, to give proofs of their loyalty and fidelity. They obeyed his injunctions ſo effectually, that every one of them fell, fighting bravely. Two months after, the Athenians had their revenge for this defeat. Under the command of Myronidas, one of the beſt generals of Greece, they totally vanquiſhed the Spartans, deſtroyed Tanagra, and laid waſte Bœotia.

Egina having in the mean time capitulated, had its walls razed to the foundation.—About the ſame time, the Athenian commander Tolmedes ſurpriſed Giltheus, a ſea-port town of Laconia, burnt the Lacedemonian fleet, and defeated the inhabitants of Sicyon in battle.

While

While the ſtates of Greece were in this manner employed in the mutual deſtruction of each other,
463. the Athenians, by the inſtigation of Inarus king of Lybia, undertook an expedition into Egypt, which had lately revolted againſt the Perſian power. On their junction with the king of Lybia, they gave battle to the Perſians, put them to flight, and got poſſeſſion of a part of Memphis. Next year, however, the ſcene was greatly altered: for after ſeveral fruitleſs aſſaults, they were at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege of that city on the approach of the enemy, and to retire to Biblis, an iſland in the Nile. In this place they withſtood an eight months ſiege. But their fleet happening to lie at anchor in the Nile, the Perſians, by changing the courſe of the river, rendered the ground round the ſhips dry, took every one of them, and put the greateſt part of their crews to the ſword. The army being thus diſabled from oppoſing the enemy any longer, partly periſhed, and partly diſperſed. Such was the event of this unfortunate enterpriſe, in which the Athenians conſumed ſix years.

During the Egyptian expedition, Pericles, deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the character of a ſoldier, as well as in that of a ſtateſman, ravaged the coaſts of Laconia, and beat the Sicyonians in two engagements.

The Athenians becoming ſenſible at laſt of the want of Cimon, recalled him after five years baniſhment. Soon after his return, that great man ſucceeded in bringing about a peace between his countrymen and the Lacedemonians; and with a view of diverting the Athenians, grown preſumptuous by their late good fortune, from making war on their neighbours, he reſolved to find occupation for their arms abroad.
450. Departing, therefore, for Cyprus with a fleet of 140 veſſels under his command, and being there joined by 60 more from Egypt, he attacked Artabazus, the admiral of Artaxerxes, and took 100 of his ſhips. He next made a deſcent upon Cilicia, and totally defeated Megabazus, another officer of that Prince, and

and then returned to Cyprus to form the ſiege of Citium. In the courſe of this ſiege, Cimon fell ſick. Perceiving his end approaching, he beſeeched his 449.
men to keep his death a ſecret. They followed his advice, and proceeding with their operations as before, obtained a ſignal victory, in which they took 100 of the enemies ſhips, and then ſailed back in triumph to Attica.

Cimon's death was much regretted by the Athenians. Plutarch beſtows on him the higheſt encomiums. He deſcribes him as having been an affectionate ſon, a faithful friend, a zealous citizen, a moſt ſkilful commander, and ſo extremely liberal, as never to have been equalled in generoſity. We muſt add, that he very much increaſed the naval power of the Athenians; and that he was concerned in all the important exploits of his time. It appears to have been a principal object with Cimon to keep his countrymen in unremitting action, while at the ſame time he readily admitted the ſlighteſt pretences to excuſe their allies from perſonal ſervice. His motive for this is obvious. The Athenians would daily become more warlike, while their allies would grow effeminate and unacquainted with the uſe of arms. When young, he was a great favourite of Ariſtides, who reclaimed him from his extravagances. In the ſequel Cimon imitated his friend in his diſintereſtedneſs and love of juſtice *.

The Spartans having driven the Phoceans from the temple of Delphos, the Athenians replaced 447.
them in it after beating the Bœotians. But in an after engagement the Bœotians, with the aſſiſtance of

* A remarkable inſtance of Cimon's diſintereſtedneſs is recorded by Plutarch. A Perſian of diſtinction having incurred the reſentment of his king, withdrew with great riches to Athens. Here, to procure Cimon's protection, having offered that illuſtrious Athenian a magnificent preſent, Cimon aſked him "whether he "deſired to have him for his friend or for his mercenary?" — "For my friend unqueſtionably," anſwered the Perſian. — "Then," ſaid Cimon, "retain your preſent, *for if I be your "friend I may command your money whenever I want it.*"

their

their neighbours, cut the Athenian army in pieces, and killed their general Tolmedes. Megara revolts; and the Spartans make an irruption into Attica. Pericles desirous to bring the war to a concluſion, privately corrupts Pliſtonax king of the Lacedemonians, and having by that means ſecured the ſafety of Attica, ſails againſt Eubœa, and ſubdues that iſland. The ſtates of Greece weary of ſuch an exhauſting war, uſe their united endeavours to reſtore peace, which is at length concluded between the two republics of Athens and Lacedemon, and their reſpective allies, for the ſpace of thirty years *.

Let us now turn our eyes to the adminiſtration of Pericles. To counterbalance his exorbitant power in Athens, the better ſort ſet up in oppoſition to him Thucydides, the brother-in-law of Cimon, who exerted his utmoſt endeavours to confine Pericles within reaſonable bounds, and to maintain the balance between the nobility and people. Pericles, on the other hand, to retain the affection of the populace, entertained them with ſhows and feaſts; took into his pay a great number of them to ſerve aboard a fleet he was fitting out; and eſtabliſhed ſeveral colonies in the Cherſoneſe, both with a view to diſburden the city of a great number of ſuperfluous idle people, and likewiſe to hold the allies in awe. —In all theſe undertakings he pretended to have no other aim than the public good. After the example of Themiſtocles he annually augmented their navy with 60 ſhips, a policy that, by diſplaying the power and ſtrength of the Athenians, rendered them formidable to their enemies, and reſpectable among ſtrangers. He divided the lands conquered by the republic, among the old diſbanded ſoldiers.

Pericles, by a judicious diſtribution of proper rewards, excited a noble ſpirit of emulation among the profeſſors of the fine arts; and adorned Athens with the maſterpieces of the moſt ſkilful artiſts. It muſt be acknow-

* In the year before Chriſt 444 military tribunes with conſular power were created at Rome: — and next year cenſors were for the firſt time elected there.

ledged,

ledged, to the honour of Pericles, that whatever works of Greece either in architecture, ſculpture, or painting, have attracted the admiration of after ages, were the fruit of his government, and of the attention beſtowed by him upon the moſt elegant ſubjects. For the greater part of theſe maſterpieces we are chiefly indebted to Phidias the celebrated ſtatuary, of whom the famous ſtatue of Pallas, ſo highly valued by the beſt judges, was a capital work. In a word, Pericles repleniſhed the city of Athens with ornaments that attracted the admiration of ſtrangers, and inſpired them with a high idea of the Athenian genius and power. — Athens aſſumed a new face. Pomp and magnificence ſupplied the place of its original ſimplicity. But the beſt and moſt ſenſible citizens diſcerned, in this ſuperb diſplay, an approaching corruption of manners. Pericles, according to Cicero, was by theſe men blamed for having exhauſted the public money to fill the city with ſuperfluous decorations.

The allies in the mean time, and the enemies of Pericles, complained loudly of his wantonly laviſhing away in this manner the funds that ought to remain appropriated for the exigencies of war. Pericles anſwered, that the Athenians were by no means accountable for their conduct in this reſpect to their allies, who ought to be ſatisfied with the protection afforded them againſt the irruptions of the barbarians; and that theſe works at which they were pleaſed to take umbrage, furniſhed employment and ſubſiſtence to a vaſt number of citizens.

But this was not all, the orators of the oppoſite faction attacked him with great acrimony. Of theſe, Thucydides was the perſon who handled him the moſt ſeverely; his invectives being ſharpened by perſonal animoſity. The contention between them roſe to ſuch a height, that it became neceſſary that the one or the other ſhould be baniſhed the city. Pericles's addreſs prevailed in the end, and brought about the baniſhment of his rival. Become now ſole maſter in Athens, he diſ-

poſed of the whole power of the republic at his pleaſure, and reigned abſolute in its moſt flouriſhing days.

Pericles perceiving his authority to be at laſt firmly eſtabliſhed, and that the favour of the people was now leſs neceſſary to him, gave another turn to the government, and inſenſibly circumſcribed the power of the democracy. In this undertaking he met with his uſual ſucceſs, by means of his admirable ſkill in managing the minds of the multitude, and bringing them to the temper he deſired, by the force of his eloquence. His conduct, too, was perfectly irreproachable; and his only aim ſeemed to be the public advantage. He poſſeſſed indeed a noble diſintereſted ſoul; for, during the long ſpace that he enjoyed the entire diſpoſal of the public money, his private eſtate did not appear to have been at all increaſed; and excepting the largeſſes procured by him for the people, and his expences in embelliſhing the city, his management was guided by the moſt wiſe and prudent œconomy.

The fixed object of Pericles's whole conduct, was, to raiſe Athens inſenſibly to an unrivalled ſuperiority over the other ſtates of Greece. But though of diſtinguiſhed perſonal bravery, he appears on the whole to have been rather averſe to war from the moſt amiable of all motives, humanity: and when unavoidably engaged in it, he ſeems to have been careful, from the ſame motive, never to undertake doubtful or hazardous enterpriſes. He conducted his meaſures ſo prudently as hardly ever to venture an engagement without a certainty of ſucceſs. All his warlike operations were managed with conſummate ſkill, particularly his ſucceſsful expedition into the Cherſoneſe, during which he fortified the Greek cities in that country; and by building a ſtrong wall acroſs the Iſthmus, ſecured it againſt the inroads of the Thracians. He conducted an expedition as far as the kingdom of Pontus. He re eſtabliſhed, by force of arms, the Phocians in the management of the temple of Delphos, whereof they had been diſpoſſeſſed by the Lacedemonians,

nians. He entirely ſubdued Eubœa. In a word, he rendered the Athenian power every where reſpectable.

In the diſpute between the Samians and Mileſians, the Athenians ſided with the latter, by the perſuaſion of Pericles; who ſetting out for Samos with a fleet of 40 ſhips, there eſtabliſhed democracy, and 441. left a garriſon in the town. After his departure, the citizens, who had withdrawn themſelves on his approach, having received a reinforcement from the governor of Samos, entered the town by night, and put all the garriſon to the ſword. Pericles, on receiving this intelligence, returned with a greater force than before, defeated the Samian fleet, and blockaded the town. In vain did the Phenicians come to its relief. Pericles having received an additional reinforcement, battered the walls with ſuch vigour, that he obliged the Samians to capitulate, and to pay the expences of the war. This exploit added greatly to the reputation and glory of Pericles.

The Corcyreans likewiſe, finding themſelves unable to make head againſt the Corinthians, who had attacked them, implored the aſſiſtance of the Athenians. The Corinthians too, on their part, ſent deputies to Athens, which for a conſiderable time kept the public reſolutions in ſuſpenſe. But the Corcyreans ſo far prevailed at laſt, as to procure themſelves to be received into alliance with the Athenians; who did not, however, chuſe openly to declare war againſt the Corinthians, being by no means diſpleaſed to ſee thoſe two powerful maritime ſtates weakening each other by their mutual quarrels.

The Athenians, grown inſolent from their ſucceſs, wantonly attacked every ſtate which they even ſuſpected to be an enemy. They commanded the inhabitants of Potidea not only to demoliſh the walls of their city on the Pallenus ſide, but likewiſe to diſmiſs the magiſtrates, whom, as a Corinthian colony, they had received from Corinth. The Corinthians, provoked at this inſtance of the Athenian injuſtice, declared war againſt them,

and ſent an army into the territory of Potidea. An engagement enſued, in which victory declared for the Athenians. In this battle Alcibiades, as yet a very young man, and his maſter Socrates, chiefly diſtinguiſhed themſelves. That philoſopher was obſerved to ſupport the fatigues of war, with an eaſe that muſt have been the conſequence of the hardy temperate life to which he had inured himſelf. In the action he behaved with a courage that would have done honour to the braveſt veteran. On this occaſion he procured the prize of valour to be adjudged to his ſcholar Alcibiades, intending by that means to inſpire him with a love of glory.

This advantage of the Athenians did not at all ſubdue the reſiſtance of the Potideans, who reſolved to complain to the Spartans. Theſe readily eſpouſed their quarrel, and ſecretly prevailed with Perdiccas king of Macedon to take arms in their behalf. A battle enſued, in which the Athenians having broken the main body of that prince's army, obtained the victory, and laid ſiege to Potidea. The Corinthians having likewiſe complained at Sparta, obtained, like all thoſe who had been injured by the Athenians, a very favourable hearing from the Lacedemonians, who at laſt declared the peace to be infringed on the part of the Athenians, and proclaimed war againſt them.

It is certain, that the overgrown power of the Athenians; the preſumption inſpired by their victories over the Perſians, of which they attributed the whole honour to themſelves; their affectation of ſuperiority over the Spartans; and their overbearing behaviour to their allies, by aſſuming to themſelves an excluſive power of judging in all matters that concerned the whole confederacy; had at this time offended all their neighbours. The Lacedemonians, therefore, and the other ſtates of Greece, thought it now highly neceſſary to humble their pride; and for that purpoſe made uſe of every pretext to juſtify an open declaration of war.

During their hoſtile preparations, the Lacedemonians were

were induſtriouſly inventing pretexts, to cover their reſolutions with the appearance of equity. Among other old ſubjects of diſpute revived by them, they required the Athenians to reſtore liberty to the cities over which they had aſſumed an authority; and particularly to abrogate a law made by them againſt the inhabitants of Megara. Pericles anſwered their complaints with great ſtrength of argument; demonſtrated, that theſe were by no means ſufficient grounds for a war; and at the ſame time convinced the Athenians, that they had no reaſon to be alarmed at the threats of the Lacedemonians, being in a much better ſituation to ſupport a war than they.

At this time the enemies of Pericles, not daring openly to attack himſelf, vented their reſentment againſt his friends; and framed accuſations againſt Phidias, Aſpaſia, and Anaxagoras. The firſt was accuſed of having embezzled large ſums of money, deſtined for the conſtruction of his ſtatue of Minerva. But this aſſertion they were unable to make good. Then he was accuſed of having engraved repreſentations both of Pericles and of himſelf, upon the part of the ſhield of that goddeſs which exhibited the battle of the Amazons; a piece of vanity ſurely very pardonable. For no greater crime, however, was Phidias condemned to an impriſonment, in which he ended his days; though ſome authors believe that he was only baniſhed.

The ſecond, Aſpaſia, was accuſed of impiety, and a diſorderly life. This lady was renowned for her wit, her beauty, her eloquence, and her extraordinary political abilities. The moſt diſtinguiſhed men at Athens took pleaſure in liſtening to her converſation. Socrates himſelf uſed to ſay, that of her he learned rhetoric. Pericles, in particular, was extremely fond of Aſpaſia; in ſo much, that he was even believed to have married her. He therefore charged himſelf with the care of her defence; and pled her cauſe with ſuch force of argument, and ſo pathetically, that the judges were affected with his tears, and pronounced her innocent.

The

The laſt, Anaxagoras, was accuſed of maintaining doctrines contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion; becauſe he taught and pretended to account for the motion of the heavens; and affirmed, that the regular and beautiful order viſible in the diſpoſition of the univerſe, muſt be the work of *one* ſupreme Being, poſſeſſed of perfect intelligence. That philoſopher, ſenſible how difficult it is to eradicate prejudices from the minds of a bigotted populace, thought it his wiſeſt courſe to ſecure himſelf by flight.

It was at preſent the intereſt of Pericles to engage the Athenians in a war; for they had already paſſed a law obliging him to render an account of the public funds. To avoid the ſtorm that threatened him, he indulged the Athenians in their inclination for war, which, by employing them about a buſineſs more urgent, and more directly intereſting, ſhould not only divert them from prying minutely into his preceding management of the public funds, but ſhould likewiſe give him additional importance in the ſtate, by obliging them, in the conduct of the war, to have frequent recourſe to his counſel and direction.

The people, in the mean time, held an aſſembly to deliberate on the demands of the Lacedemonians. Pericles, on this occaſion, juſtified the meaſures of the Athenians with admirable eloquence. He demonſtrated the demands of the Lacedemonians to be no other than affected pretences, under which they hoped to conceal their jealouſy, the real motive of their conduct, as they could not behold, without an envious eye, the Athenians poſſeſſed of the ſuperiority in Greece; that it would be diſgraceful in the Athenians to have their meaſures controuled by ſuch enemies; and that the ſword was the ſhorteſt and the only method to ſettle the controverſy. Still further to encourage the Athenians to undertake this war, he gave them a flattering deſcription of their ſtrength, their army, their navy, and their funds. This deſcription made a ſtronger impreſſion, and animated them the more, becauſe they knew certainly

certainly that it was juſt. For there were at that time in the public treaſury 9600 talents; the contributions of their allies amounted to 460 more; and they had an army of 30,000 men, and a fleet of 300 gallies. Pericles, after giving his opinion for the war, proceeded next to deliver his ſentiments with reſpect to the conduct of it. He adviſed the Athenians never to hazard a general battle, eſpecially far from home; to make the defence of the city their principal object; and by all means to preſerve their ſuperiority at ſea. Laſtly, he laid before them the plan of operations for their firſt campaign.

CHAP. III.

Containing the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war.

THE war that now enſued among the Greeks, is known in hiſtory by the name of the *Peloponneſian war*. It was of twenty-ſeven years duration; and was attended with an immenſe expence, and an incredible effuſion of blood. In the courſe of it, each party experienced the moſt cruel reverſes of fortune; and diſplayed a courage that might have procured them, if united, the greateſt advantages over their common enemies. Thucydides writes the hiſtory of the firſt twenty-one years of this war, and it is continued by Xenophon.

It has already been obſerved, that the jealouſy, conceived by the other ſtates of Greece, of the exorbitant power of the Athenians, was the more immediate occaſion of this war. All the ſtates within the Peloponneſe, except the Argives alone, joined the Lacedemonians, who were further ſupported by the Megarians, Locrians, Bœotians, and ſome others. The Athenians, on the other hand, were ſupported by the inhabitants of Chios, of Leſbos, and by the city of Platea, and all their tributary countries, ſuch as, Ionia, the Helleſpont, the cities of Thrace, &c.

Hoſtilities

Hoſtilities were begun by the Thebans, who
431. attacked Platea, a city of Bœotia, in alliance, as we have juſt mentioned, with Athens. All Greece was immediately in motion. The Lacedemonians march towards the iſthmus of Corinth, a narrow neck of land, about ſix miles broad, which joins the Peloponneſe to the country properly called *Greece*. Archidamus, one of the Spartan kings, before advancing further, diſpatches an ambaſſador to the Athenians, to require of them to relinquiſh their pretenſions. But the Athenians commanded the meſſenger to retire, without deigning even to give him an audience. The Lacedemonians thereupon advance towards Attica with an army of 60,000 men, while that of the Athenians amounted to no more than 18,000; but, to make up the odds, the latter had a fleet of 300 gallies. On the approach of the Lacedemonian army, the inhabitants of the country abandoned their habitations, and carrying away every thing they could, took refuge in Athens.

The plan of operations purſued at this time by the Athenians, on the ſuggeſtion of Pericles, was, to weary out the enemy, by protracting the war. The Lacedemonians, in the mean time, entering Attica, laid ſiege to Enoe; but being obliged, after a few fruitleſs aſſaults, to relinquiſh that attempt, they advanced ſtill nearer to Athens, and encamped within half a league of the city. Pericles, unwilling, while ſo much inferior in point of numbers, to hazard the fate of the republic in a general battle, had great difficulty to prevent the Athenians, exaſperated at the ſight of the ravages committed on their country, from ſallying forth upon the enemy. But by means of his admirable art in managing the multitude, he kept both the ſenate and people from aſſembling to deliberate, though at the expence of numberleſs inſults from his enemies; in ſpite of which he perſiſted in his plan, unmoved either by threats or entreaties. In the mean time, he diſpatched a fleet of 100 ſhips to ravage the coaſts of the Peloponneſe, which being joined by that of the allies, made a deſcent upon

Laconia, and laid waſte the territory of Sparta. The Lacedemonians, finding all their endeavours to draw the Athenians out of their city ineffectual, and receiving intelligence of the ravages committed in Laconia by the Athenian fleet, found themſelves under the neceſſity of withdrawing from Attica.

On the ſetting out of the expedition againſt the coaſt of Laconia, an extraordinary eclipſe of the ſun happened, juſt as Pericles was going aboard his galley. Pericles perceiving the Athenians to be terrified at this phenomenon, which they conſidered as an unlucky preſage, threw his cloak over the face of the pilot, and aſked him if he ſaw? The pilot anſwering in the negative, Pericles explained to the byſtanders, that the body of the moon, being in like manner interpoſed at that inſtant between their ſight and the ſun, prevented them from ſeeing his light.

Upon the Lacedemonians retiring out of Attica, the Athenians appropriated 100 talents of money, and 100 of their beſt ſhips for the more immediate defence of their country, in caſe of a freſh invaſion, prohibiting any perſon, under pain of death, from propoſing a different application of thoſe reſources. Then they expelled from the iſland of Egina its preſent inhabitants, to whom they imputed the principal cauſe of the war; and they divided that iſland by lot among the citizens of Athens. They made an alliance with the kings of Macedon and Thrace; ſubdued the iſland of Cephalonia; laid waſte the territory of Megara; and took the harbour of Niſeum. This concluded the firſt campaign.

The Athenians next celebrated funeral rites to the memory of thoſe who had fallen ſince the beginning of the war. For this purpoſe, a large tent was conſtructed, wherein they expoſed the bones of the ſlain, which were covered with flowers and perfumes thrown on them by thoſe that went to ſee them. Then the bones were carried with much pomp and ſolemnity to a ſuburb of the city called *Ceramicus*, where they were depoſited in a monument deſtined to be the tomb of thoſe

who fell in war. And, laſtly, one of the citizens pronounced a funeral oration in their praiſe; a charge which on this occaſion was undertaken by Pericles himſelf. Though always ſuperlatvely eloquent, he at this time ſeemed to outdo himſelf; and in pronouncing the eulogium of thoſe who were no more, he omitted no argument that might inflame the courage of thoſe who remained. Thucydides has preſerved this famous oration, of which the beautiful expreſſions, and lofty ſentiments are equally admired *.

The army of the Lacedemonians, and their allies, returned into Attica, and laid every thing waſte with fire and ſword. But the plague that then raged among the Athenians, was ſtill more formidable and hurtful to them, depriving them of their beſt citizens, and braveſt ſoldiers; and Athens exhibited nothing but a melancholy ſcene of ſickneſs and death. Hippocrates hath left us a deſcription of this terrible plague. That famous father of the healing art, who was a native of Cos, having been ſent for by the Athenians, employed every reſource of phyſic to ſtop the infection. As the ſame plague was then raging in Perſia, where Greek phyſicians were in high eſtimation, Artaxerxes hoped to prevail on Hippocrates, by the moſt ſplendid offers, to come to his court. But all his promiſes were ineffectual; for that celebrated phyſician, poſſeſſing a ſoul that looked on gold with contempt, anſwered the Perſian monarch, That his ſkill and care were devoted to the relief of his fellow-citizens, not of the enemies of Greece; and without regarding the reſentment denounced againſt him and his country by that prince, continued in Athens till the plague had entirely ceaſed. The Athenians, as a reward for his uſeful care, preſented him with the freedom of their city, aſſigned him a handſome maintenance for life in the Prytaneum, and gave him a crown of gold, of the value of about L. 200 Sterling.

Pericles, in the mean time, ſent out a detachment of

* Meton and Euctemon begin the nineteen years cycle of the moon on the 15th of July in the year 432 before Chriſt.

4000

4000 foot, and 300 horſe, aboard a fleet of 100 gallies, with orders to ravage the Peloponneſe. This diverſion obliged the Peloponneſians to return home to the defence of their own country. But the Athenians, diſtreſſed by the waſte committed on their territories by the enemy, murmured bitterly at the conduct of Pericles, and ſent propoſals of peace to Sparta. The Lacedemonians having refuſed to hearken to any accommodation, the complaints were renewed againſt Pericles, who at laſt aſſembled the people, and endeavoured to juſtify his meaſures. But their preſent ſufferings outweighed his eloquence; and they not only deprived him of all power, but likewiſe impoſed on him a large fine.

Nor were the diſtreſſes of that great man confined to his public ſtation alone. They were heightened by others of a domeſtic nature. His own ſon Xantippus, a young man of an expenſive turn, unable to bear the ſtrict œconomy of his father, was the firſt to complain of his conduct; as if it were not the duty of a ſon to ſubmit with patience to the meaſures of his father, even although he ſhould carry his frugality to an extreme. Pericles had the misfortune to loſe this ſon, with ſeveral other of his relations and friends, by the plague. But amidſt all his afflictions, his firmneſs never forſook him.

The Athenians beginning to be hardened by their ſufferings, repent of their ſevere treatment of Pericles; and finding by experience, that they had at preſent no other perſon capable of directing their affairs, they entreat him once more to ſtep forth and undertake the adminiſtration *.

Potidea, in the mean time, unable any longer to ſupport the miſeries of famine, which had produced the moſt dreadful calamities among its inhabitants, is obliged to ſurrender. Its few remaining citizens are forced

* About this time the Athenians, to repair the devaſtations occaſioned by the plague, paſſed a law, allowing all the male citizens to marry each two wives. Socrates is ſaid to have been the firſt who took the benefit of this law.

to abandon it for ever; and the place is repeopled with Athenians.

The Peloponneſians, about this time, inveſted Platea, a city in alliance with Athens. This ſiege is not only remarkable for the obſtinate reſiſtance of the beſieged, but for being the firſt recorded in hiſtory which was conducted with any ſort of regularity. Both parties here made uſe of mounds of earth and ramparts, the one to attack, the other to defend. The Peloponneſians burnt a part of the town, by means of bundles of ſticks, to which they ſet fire. On the other hand, the beſieged neglected no expedient to fruſtrate the various attempts of the enemy. But the moſt ſurpriſing circumſtance of all is, that ſo ſmall a place as Platea, which contained no more than 400 inhabitants, and 80 Athenians, was capable of making ſo vigorous a reſiſtance againſt a powerful army. The enemy at laſt changed the ſiege into a blockade, and ſurrounded the town with two ditches. The Bœotians were left to guard theſe entrenchments, and the bulk of the army marched away.

About the ſame time the Athenians were beaten in an engagement with the Chalcidians, a people of Thrace, and purſued to the very gates of Athens. But their victory at Naupactus made amends for that diſaſter. Phormion attacked, near that place, a Peloponneſian fleet of 46 veſſels, took 12 of them, put the reſt to flight, and entered Athens in triumph. Braſidas and Cnemus, two Spartan officers, about the ſame time ſailed againſt Salamis with a fleet of 40 veſſels, made a deſcent upon that iſland, and laid it waſte.

This year was rendered remarkable by the
429. death of Pericles. Plutarch ſays he died of the plague; but other authors write, that he was worn out by a languiſhing conſumption. It is reported of him, that a little before his death, on hearing ſome of his friends extolling his victories, (for he had erected no fewer than nine trophies), he told them, that they overlooked a more glorious circumſtance ſtill, namely, that

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he had never, on any private perſonal account, given cauſe to any one citizen to wear mourning. His death was univerſally regretted by the Athenians. He was unqueſtionably one of the greateſt men that Athens ever produced; having diſplayed on all occaſions uncommon magnanimity; and ſhewed himſelf perfectly qualified for every office that he undertook. The abſolute power that he enjoyed in this republic for the ſpace of 40 years, was wholly attained by his admirable eloquence, which was ſo powerful, as to triumph even over the prejudices and paſſions of his oppoſers, and to bring them over to his views,—the perfection of that excellent talent. Athens flouriſhed while Pericles held the helm of government.

Although no oration of his own compoſing has reached to our times, yet, from the effects of his eloquence, and what is reported of it by hiſtorians, he may be juſtly placed at the head of the Grecian orators. By Cicero's account, it was he that introduced into Athens a taſte for perfect eloquence. He had learned of Anaxagoras all the principles of perſuaſion; and his own genius directed him to employ thoſe principles to the greateſt advantage. On account of the force and vehemence of his declamation, he was ſaid to thunder and lighten; and to denote the beauty of his language, and his ſtrength of argument, the goddeſs of perſuaſion, with all her graces, was ſaid to dwell on his lips.

It was this power of eloquence that enabled him boldly to oppoſe the unreaſonable deſires of the Athenians; preſerved to him, for the ſpace of forty years, an abſolute power among that moſt fickle and capricious people; and procured him ſuch vaſt influence over their minds, that he changed even their ſyſtem of government at his pleaſure, and erected Attica into a kind of monarchy of which his own extraordinary merit rendered him, in effect, the king. But he uſed this extenſive authority with ſuch mildneſs and lenity, and conducted himſelf with ſuch extreme caution and reſerve,

as to prevent his adminiſtration from wearing the appearance of tyranny. His talents for war were univerſally acknowledged; but it was obſervable, that he cautiouſly avoided undertaking any expedition till he was almoſt ſure of ſucceſs. He depended more on ſtratagem than on deſperate courage. —— His application of the large revenues of the ſtate, prove him to have been a man of the moſt refined taſte, a lover of real glory, and far above any little ſordid views of ſelf-intereſt. He employed them in what he reckoned the good of the commonwealth, in promoting the liberal arts, and in decorating and ornamenting the city. —— The Athenians became daily more and more ſenſible of the great loſs they had ſuſtained by his death; for his ſucceſſors in the government, at the ſame time that they wanted his experience, were much inferior to him in point of natural abilities, and appeared to be more concerned about their private intereſts, than the good of the commonwealth *.

Anaxagoras

* I thus diſmiſs with regret the character of this moſt illuſtrious Greek, the nature of my work having obliged me to ſpeak of him much more conciſely than his extraordinary merit appears to me to deſerve. Every circumſtance of his life is deeply intereſting, and claims the moſt minute and attentive inveſtigation. For I am inclined to regard him as the moſt accompliſhed character that occurs in the hiſtory of all antiquity.

As a ſtateſman his conduct affords a moſt inſtructive pattern to all who apply to public buſineſs. His life was totally exempted from the ſmalleſt tincture of diſſipation. He ſtudied with unremitting aſſiduity the affairs of the commonwealth, and underſtood every branch of them with the utmoſt preciſion. He managed the revenues with irreproachable diſintereſtedneſs ſo far as reſpected his private fortune: and his public expenditure, for which he has been ſo harſhly cenſured by ſome rigid hiſtorians, furniſhes incontrovertible proof of elevated ſentiments, and an elegant taſte. His decorations of the city diſplayed all that was beautiful and ſublime in ſculpture and in architecture, and by the encouragement beſtowed by him on men of diſtinguiſhed genius, he rendered Athens the reſidence of all the fine arts. At the ſame time too, that, as an admirer of the drama, I feel my breaſt full of gratitude to Pericles as its chief patron, I cannot ſeverely blame, even in a political light, his partiality for theatrical repreſentations.

Anaxagoras the philoſopher died the ſame year, and before his ſcholar, in extreme poverty. It is reported, that when Pericles was informed of his ſituation, and of the reſolution he had formed to ſtarve himſelf to death, he went to ſee him, with an intention to diſſuade him from his deſign. But Anaxagoras anſwered him in theſe words: "Thoſe who need the light of a lamp, "take care to feed it with oil." Inſinuating, by this compariſon, that though Pericles had taken care of his fortune, while he had occaſion for his inſtruction, yet when that purpoſe was ſerved he had ſuffered him to languiſh in poverty.

The Peloponneſians ravage Attica for the third time. ——All the inhabitants of Leſbos, thoſe of Methymné alone excepted, reſolve to break their alliance with Athens. The Athenians, ſenſible how great a loſs to their affairs the defection of this iſland muſt be, ſent out a fleet of 40 gallies to attack that of the Mitylenians, who finding themſelves repulſed, propoſed terms of accommodation; which were liſtened to by the Athenians. A ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities being agreed on, the Mitylenians diſpatched ambaſſadors both to Athens and to Lacedemon at the ſame time. The ambaſſadors were told by the Lacedemonians, that they ſhould be fully heard at the approaching Olympic games, where the other allies would have an opportunity of aſſiſting at the conference. Thucydides has tranſmitted to us the import

preſentations. To divert his reſtleſs countrymen from diſturbing his adminiſtration by their cabals, he found it neceſſary to furniſh them with other amuſements. For this he cannot be blamed: and if ſo, with what amuſement could he have indulged them, at once ſo inoffenſive, ſo elegant, ſo inſtructive.

It muſt however be admitted, that the ſtate of the times, and the unreaſonable deſires of the Athenian mob; or, in other words, that *political neceſſity*, ſometimes forced Pericles to adopt meaſures which his own ſuperior good ſenſe muſt have condemned, and which, without ſuch compulſion, he would not have adopted. But it is truly admirable, that, on ſuch occaſions, his comprehenſive genius enabled him to make ſuch meaſures the leaſt pernicious, and the moſt ſubſervient to public utility that their nature could poſſibly admit.

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of what was urged by thoſe ambaſſadors; from which we ſee, that they admitted the treaty anciently concluded between the Leſbians and Athenians, and aſſigned the ambition of the latter, not their preſent misfortunes, as the reaſon that induced them now to relinquiſh that treaty. The allies were ſatisfied with their reaſons, and admitted them into their confederacy.

It was likewiſe reſolved in this aſſembly, to proſecute the war more vigorouſly than ever againſt the Athenians, who receiving information of the great preparations making againſt them, fitted out a fleet of 100 ſail, appeared all of a ſudden off the promontory of the Iſthmus of Corinth, and made a deſcent upon the Peloponneſe, while another fleet protected the coaſts of Attica. Never had they raiſed ſo formidable an armament before; and it ſo overawed the Lacedemonians, that they hurried back to the defence of their own country. The Athenians, in the mean time, puſhed on the ſiege of Mitylene, whither they ſent a detachment of 1000 ſoldiers, and the town was blocked up both by ſea and land. The inhabitants receiving no aſſiſtance from the Lacedemonians, and being preſſed by famine, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The authors of the revolt, to the number of more than 1000, were conveyed to Athens, and there put to death. Orders were at the ſame time iſſued to maſſacre the reſt of the inhabitants, by way of example. But the people, ſhocked at ſuch horrible cruelty, cauſed the decree to be revoked, and diſpatched counter-orders; which luckily arrived at the inſtant they were proceeding to put the firſt in execution. Then the town was diſmantled, and the whole territory of the iſland, except Mitylene alone, was divided by lot among the inhabitants of Athens.

Let us now look back to the ſiege of Platea. The beſieged having loſt all hope of ſuccour, reſolved to attempt to make their eſcape out of the town; which the half of them accordingly effected by a very daring ſtratagem, ſuggeſted and executed by deſpair. The remaining half, diſmayed at the dangers attending the at-

tempt, continued in the town; but finding themſelves unable to defend it any longer, they were at laſt obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Eight Spartans were ſent to decide their fate. The miſerable Plateans pled in vain, that they had been forced, through mere neceſſity, to ſide with the Athenians, in order to obtain their protection againſt the Thebans, by whom they were grievouſly oppreſſed. They were all murdered in cold blood; their wives were carried into ſlavery; and their town was razed to the ground. Such were the miſerable effects of the violent hatred with which the Athenians and Lacedemonians were now animated againſt each other, that each party, when conqueror, carried their revenge to an extreme. This was the melancholy fate of the Plateans, who, during the Perſian war, had done the moſt important ſervices to Greece.

About this time, a diſſenſion between the magiſtrates and common people of Corcyra, produced a horrible maſſacre in that place. The people had aſked aſſiſtance from Athens; and the magiſtrates deſired to retain them in the intereſts of Sparta. But the former, on ſeeing 60 Athenian ſhips arrive to their ſupport, of inſolent became furious, and falling upon the magiſtrates and their adherents, nothing was to be ſeen but an univerſal ſlaughter; the inhabitants murdering one another even in their houſes and temples.

The plague breaks out afreſh at Athens, and carries off multitudes. — The Lacedemonians invade Attica, and the Athenians make a deſcent on the 426.
Peloponneſe. Each campaign was opened in that manner. The war proceeds more vigorouſly than ever. Demoſthenes the Athenian general being ſent with 30 ſhips to make a deſcent on Ætolia, is engaged by the Ætolians, and defeated. In returning home, however, he throws a reinforcement into Naupactus, and defeats the Ambraciotæ. Then joining his fleet with that deſtined againſt the Peloponneſe, he takes Pylus, a ſmall town of Meſſenia, and there fortifies himſelf. The Lacedemonians, deſirous to recover this place, beſiege

it by ſea and land, and it becomes the ſcene of extraordinary feats of bravery. But the Lacedemonians having thrown a detachment of 400 of their beſt troops into the little iſland of Sphacteria, the Athenians ſurround the iſland, and cut off all ſupplies of proviſions. The Lacedemonians, anxious to ſave theſe troops, ſee themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of ſending ambaſſadors to Athens with propoſals of peace.

The ambaſſadors frankly owned the extreme neceſſity that had obliged the Lacedemonians to ſubmit to ſo humiliating a ſtep, put the Athenians in mind of the uncertain fate of arms, and exhorted them to embrace this opportunity of reſtoring tranquillity to Greece. But the Athenians grown preſumptuous by their good fortune, as well as by the flattering orations of their favourite demagogue Cleon, required, as a preliminary condition, that the troops confined in the iſland ſhould lay down their arms, and be conducted to Athens, upon the promiſe of the Athenians to ſet them at liberty, as ſoon as the Lacedemonians had delivered up the places conquered by them from the Athenians. The Lacedemonians refuſing to comply with this hard condition, both parties prepared themſelves for war.

The Athenians, in the mean time, were very vigilant to prevent any proviſions from paſſing into the iſland. The Lacedemonians, on the other hand, engaged the whole country round to contribute their utmoſt efforts to relieve the beſieged troops, and promiſed to ſet free all the ſlaves who ſhould ſucceed in carrying them proviſions, which many did, at the extreme hazard of their lives. In the mean time, the Athenians in Pylus began, on their part, to be ſtraitened for proviſions. Cleon perſuaded the people, that the ſlowneſs of the ſiege was owing to the inactivity of their commanders, and maintained, that a little vigour muſt very ſoon reduce the iſland, which he offered to accompliſh himſelf. Having been accordingly ſent thither, and having joined Demoſthenes, they landed together in Sphacteria, and beat the enemy to the extremity of the iſland. The Lacedemonians,

cedemonians, however, took poſſeſſion of a fortification, and defended, with the moſt deſperate courage, the only paſſage by which they could be attacked. But the general of the Meſſenians having diſcovered a difficult paſs that led into the fortification, marched that way, and appearing unexpectedly on the rear of the Lacedemonians, called aloud to them to lay down their arms. The Lacedemonians, exhauſted with heat and fatigue, obeyed the ſummons, by laying their ſhields on the ground; and, after a ſhort conference, they ſurrendered at diſcretion. The Athenians, after erecting a trophy, reimbarked aboard their fleet. This ſiege continued 62 days. Cleon is ſaid to have cauſed 128 of thoſe unhappy Spartans to be murdered. The reſt were conveyed to Athens, and thrown into priſon till peace ſhould take place, the Athenians threatening, at the ſame time, to put them all to death, if the Lacedemonians made any more incurſions into their country.

Upon the death of Artaxerxes king of Perſia, his ſon Xerxes mounted the throne in his ſtead; but had hardly enjoyed his dignity 45 days, when he was aſſaſſinated by a ſon of one of the concubines of Artaxerxes, named *Sogdianus*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom. But the bloody diſpoſition of Sogdianus ſoon rendered him the terror of the nation, which revolted againſt him, put him to death, and raiſed his brother Ochus to the throne. Ochus, finding himſelf ſecure in the kingdom, inſtead of the name of *Ochus*, aſſumed that of *Darius*; but hiſtorians, to diſtinguiſh him from other kings of Perſia of that name, ſuperadded the title of *Nothus*, ſignifying baſtard. This prince committed the whole power of the ſtate to three Eunuchs. His reign was diſturbed with continual troubles. The Egyptians, in particular, revolted, and expelled the Perſians from their country.

Nicias being choſen one of the Athenian commanders, reduced the iſlands of Cythera and Thyrea, and exterminated all the Eginetæ, who had taken refuge there.

—Theſe Eginetæ were the profeſt enemies of the Athenians.

The war of Sicily begins. It was occaſioned by a diſpute between the cities of Syracuſe and Leontium; the latter of which having procured the ſupport of the Athenians, prevailed with them to ſend out a fleet of 20 ſhips to their aſſiſtance. But, in the mean time, the Greeks of Sicily growing jealous of the Athenians, whom they ſuſpected of a deſign to make themſelves maſters of their iſland, under the pretence of aſſiſting one of the parties, made peace with each other.

The ſedition of Megara happened next. The inhabitants of that town, after expelling their magiſtrates, quarrelled among themſelves, one party being for recalling their magiſtrates, the other for delivering their town into the hands of the Athenians. Braſidas, in the mean time, the beſt officer the Lacedemonians then had, having come before Megara, its gates are immediately thrown open to him. The exiled magiſtrates returning ſoon after, and reſuming their authority, condemn to death 100 inhabitants of the oppoſite faction. Braſidas advances into Thrace, ſubdues ſeveral cities, and lays ſiege to Amphipolis, a place of much importance to the Athenians, who thence got the greateſt part of their wood. They therefore diſpatched Thucydides, the famous hiſtorian, to its relief; but the place was taken before his arrival. His countrymen, however, imputed to him the loſs of the place, and baniſhed him at the inſtigation of Cleon. The Athenians having, about the ſame time, advanced into Bœotia, under the command of Demoſthenes and Hippocrates, were defeated near Delium by the Thebans, who, after their victory, beſieged and took that town.

No deciſive advantage had been hitherto obtained by either party. The Athenians and Lacedemonians, therefore, agreed on a truce for a year; which Braſidas, who had been ſucceſsful in all his enterpriſes, bore with great impatience. Cleon, on the other hand, who had acquired much authority in Athens, by means of

his

his bold and vehement eloquence, incited his countrymen to reſume the war. Being more preſumptuous than ſkilful in the art of war, he reſolved to attempt the retaking of Amphipolis, hoping to be aſſiſted by a body of troops from Perdiccas king of Macedon. But Braſidas got the ſtart of him, and threw himſelf into the town. To increaſe the preſumption of Cleon, the Spartan general, who was well acquainted with his character, affected to be afraid to encounter him. But after making the proper diſpoſitions, Braſidas ſallied forth unexpectedly, and attacked the left wing of the Athenians, which being the flower of their army, made a vigorous reſiſtance. Braſidas, however, at laſt broke them, and killed 600 of them, with very little loſs on his own ſide. This attack diſconcerted and terrified Cleon, who was killed by a Spartan ſoldier as he was flying from the battle. Braſidas was of the number of the ſlain on the ſide of the Lacedemonians. He was an excellent officer, equally brave and prudent, and deſerves to be ranked among the Lacedemonian heroes. It was the mother of this general, who, on hearing the exploits of her ſon commended, anſwered, "It is true my ſon was "a brave man; but I doubt not but Sparta has many "citizens as brave as he." As for Cleon, he did not deſerve to be regretted, being no more than an inſolent boaſter, of a cruel overbearing diſpoſition, and very avaritious.

The Lacedemonians, in the mean time, apprehenſive leſt the Helots ſhould take advantage of the preſent bad poſture of their affairs, and revolt, uſed them with the moſt barbarous perfidy. Having decoyed the braveſt of them to Sparta, under pretence of giving them their liberty, they are ſaid to have murdered no fewer than 2000 of them; a ſtriking inſtance, to what exceſs of barbarity a people, that is guided by no other motive than a blind hard-hearted policy, will proceed!

The Athenians, ſince their late diſaſter, began to think ſeriouſly of peace; to which the Lacedemonians were likewiſe well diſpoſed, being deſirous to recover

from

from captivity their brave citizens who had been taken at Sphacteria. Accordingly, after mutual conferences, a peace was agreed on for the ſpace of fifty years, 421. between the two republics, and their reſpective allies. This work was greatly forwarded by Nicias, who was as worthy a citizen as he was a ſkilful general.

The war was nothing leſs than concluded by this peace. Before the expiry of the firſt year, diſcord ſprang up afreſh between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, both ſides breathing nothing but war. Alcibiades, who was now beginning to appear in the public aſſemblies of the Athenians, was principally active in oppoſing the means of reconciliation propoſed by Nicias.

Alcibiades had been educated by his uncle Pericles, who diſcovered in him, while very young, extraordinary natural parts, and a ſingular mixture of good and bad qualities. Socrates too entertained the moſt tender friendſhip for him, and took delight in inſtilling into his mind the moſt valuable branches of every kind of knowledge. That beſt of philoſophers laboured chiefly to inſpire his ſcholar with the pureſt maxims of morality, to fortify him againſt the power of the paſſions, and to preſerve him from the dangerous allurements to vice, to which his youth and wealth expoſed him. Alcibiades, ſenſible of the affection of Socrates, and charmed with the graces of his converſation, liſtened attentively to the leſſons of his maſter; though his natural inclination for pleaſure, and the ſeduction of his companions, made him frequently forget them.

At his firſt appearance in public, Alcibiades diſplayed a daring factious genius capable of the boldeſt and moſt hazardous deſigns. Though addicted to pleaſure, even to debauchery, he was ſo perfectly maſter of his paſſions, that he could accommodate himſelf, with eaſe, to the humour and way of life of every perſon with whom he had occaſion to converſe, however different from his own. He was a rake in Ionia, — temperate and auſtere

ſtere in Sparta, —and, in Perſia, exceeded the natives in luxury and magnificence. Never did any man deſerve ſo well the name of *Proteus*. Ambition, however, was his ruling paſſion; and, in every diſpute, he aſpired at victory with the utmoſt eagerneſs. He was, indeed, in all reſpects, intitled to pre-eminence in Athens; for he poſſeſſed every qualification requiſite in a leading man. His ability in buſineſs; his illuſtrious deſcent; the beauty of his perſon, which was calculated to procure him the love and admiration of all who ſaw him; his immenſe riches, which he ſpent with the moſt oſtentatious profuſion; the public feaſts furniſhed by him to the people; and the high magnificence in which he lived, dazzled the eyes, and attracted the reſpect and confidence of his fellow citizens. When, to all theſe advantages, are added his admirable eloquence, and his ſingular knowledge in the art of war, we clearly ſee, that he muſt ſoon become the idol of the people. His faults were overlooked; thoſe airs of ſuperiority, which, in this republic, would have been accounted criminal in any other perſon, were excuſed in him; and his wild exceſſes were called by the ſofter name of youthful frolics.

It has been already obſerved, that he exhibited the firſt proofs of his bravery at Potidea. Having been flattered, on that occaſion, with predictions of his ſoon eclipſing the ableſt generals of Greece, he conceived a deſire for war; and becoming jealous of the high reputation of Nicias, he exerted his utmoſt efforts to prevent the peace concluded by that wiſe Athenian, between his countrymen and the Lacedemonians, from taking effect. He laboured underhand to detach the Argives from the Spartan intereſt, and to exaſperate the Athenians againſt the Spartans, on account of the latter having delivered up the fort of Panactus in a ruinous condition, and not fortified as it ought to have been in terms of the treaty. He endeavoured, at the ſame time, to make Nicias ſuſpected.

While theſe intrigues are going on, ambaſſadors from Sparta

Sparta arrive at Athens. Alcibiades, by ſtratagem, or rather by a piece of unjuſtifiable roguery, provokes the people to ſuch a degree againſt the ambaſſadors, that they diſmiſs them in a very contumelious manner. The ambaſſadors return to Sparta, full of indignation at the inſolent uſage they had received at Athens; and the war is immediately renewed. The Athenians conclude an alliance with the Mantineans and Eleans, name Alcibiades general, and ſend an army to ravage Laconia.

Nicias and Alcibiades enjoy between them all authority in Athens. The former had diſguſted the people, by oppoſing their unreaſonable deſires; the latter had provoked them by his haughty behaviour, and diſſolute life. Each of them, however, was ſupported by a faction, and they reciprocally ran the hazard of being baniſhed by oſtraciſm; for Hyperbolus, a very wicked citizen, who poſſeſſed ſome influence in the republic, uſed every art to irritate the people againſt them, flattering himſelf with the hope of ſucceeding to the place and power of him that ſhould be baniſhed. But Nicias and Alcibiades uniting their intereſts, procured the baniſhment of Hyperbolus. As this puniſhment of oſtraciſm had never before been employed, except againſt perſons of ſuperior merit and diſtinction, it fell into diſuſe ever after this time, on account of its having been exerciſed upon ſo unworthy a ſubject.

Alcibiades, in the mean time, indulged himſelf, without reſerve, in his pleaſures. The luxury in which he lived, made every virtuous Athenian aſhamed. He was engaged in a continual round of feaſting and debauchery; and the wiſer ſort became apprehenſive, leſt by means of his extravagant profuſion to the people, and of the daily ſhows with which he entertained them, he ſhould arrive at laſt at ſupreme and abſolute power, and become their tyrant.

Since the death of Pericles, the Athenians had maintained a ſtrict alliance with the Leontines in Sicily, who, on being attacked by the Syracuſans, had ſent an embaſſy to Athens, at the head of which was the celebrated

orator Gorgias, who pleaded the cauſe of the Leontines in ſo elegant and pathetic an oration, that the requeſt of the ambaſſadors was complied with; and the Athenians ſent a fleet to Rhegium to aſſiſt the Leontines. Next year they ſent thither a more numerous fleet ſtill, under pretence of aſſiſting the towns oppreſſed by the Syracuſans, but, in fact, to open to themſelves a way to the conqueſt of Sicily. Alcibiades, by his harangues, inſtigated the Athenians ſtill more and more to this undertaking, and talked of nothing leſs than extending the conqueſts of Athens over Africa and Italy.

While the minds of the Athenians were full of theſe mighty projects, ambaſſadors arrive from the Egiſtains, to implore their aſſiſtance againſt the Selinontines, who were ſupported by the Syracuſans; offering, at the ſame time, to pay the troops that ſhould be ſent to their aſſiſtance. The Athenians, tempted by theſe promiſes, named Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus, to command a fleet deſtined to ſuccour the Egiſtains. Nicias remonſtrated againſt this expedition in the ſtrongeſt terms, and painted out, in the moſt lively colours, what ruinous conſequences might thence reſult to the republic. He repreſented to the Athenians, that they had but too many enemies on their hands already, without going abroad to ſeek for more; and that though they were hardly beginning to recover from the misfortunes occaſioned by the late war, and plague, they were wantonly expoſing themſelves to a greater danger ſtill.

Nicias, in this harangue, likewiſe reflected indirectly on the luxury of Alcibiades, who had now carried his extravagance to an incredible pitch. The expence of the furniture of his houſe, and of his retinue, was prodigious. His table was as ſumptuous as that of any prince; and he contended at the Olympic games with ſeven different ſets of horſes. To ſupport ſo expenſive a life, it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to poſſeſs vaſt ſunds; and Nicias, no doubt, meant to inſinuate, that Alcibiades expected to have an opportunity, by this expedition, to repair his private fortune, which muſt have

been greatly diſſipated by ſuch enormous expences. — Alcibiades anſwered the harangue of Nicias, by telling the audience, that his magnificence was intended to reflect honour on his country. He put them in mind of his ſervices to the commonwealth; aſſured them that the cities of Sicily were ſo weary of the oppreſſion of their petty ſovereigns, that they would inſtantly open their gates to the firſt power which ſhould appear to deliver them from their preſent ſlavery; and concluded with telling them, that to carry their arms abroad, was the ſureſt way to damp the courage of their enemies, and that the Athenians muſt always continue maſters at ſea, in ſpite of the Lacedemonians.

The Athenians, delighted with this flattering ſpeech of Alcibiades, entirely diſregarded that of Nicias, who was a man of a ſoft puſillanimous diſpoſition, and whoſe eloquence was his chief merit. They therefore perſiſted in their reſolution to undertake this expedition, and began to make the neceſſary preparations for it with the utmoſt diſpatch.

Juſt as the Athenian fleet was on the point of ſetting ſail, ſeveral evil preſages fell out that threw their minds into very great perplexity. *1ſt*, The feaſt of Adonis happened at this time, which was celebrated by the women, uttering piteous groans and lamentations; and it was cuſtomary for all the inhabitants on that occaſion to wear mourning. *2dly*, The ſtatues of Mercury, one of which ſtood before the entry of every houſe, were all maimed in the ſame night, and the author of this piece of ſacrilege could not be diſcovered. The wild libertine character of Alcibiades expoſed him to ſuſpicions of having been concerned in this miſchief. But the affection entertained for him by the ſoldiers and ſailors, who declared, that they would not proceed on the expedition, if the ſmalleſt violence were offered to his perſon, preſerved him at preſent from any trouble on that head.

Alcibiades demanded to be tried, that he might have an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf before his departure.

But

But the people, impatient for the expedition proceeding, obliged him to ſet ſail. The view of the fleet under ſail, attracted the admiration both of the citizens and of ſtrangers; for never had a ſingle city in the weſtern world diſplayed ſo grand and magnificent an armament. It conſiſted of 136 veſſels, carrying 6280 ſoldiers, of whom the greater part was heavy armed. Beſides theſe, there were 30 veſſels loaded with proviſions; and the whole was attended by 100 barks, without including merchant ſhips, or the after augmentations of the fleet. Beſides the ſea forces, there was a body of troops for the land ſervice, and among theſe a few horſe. All the forces were equipped in the moſt complete manner: and, upon the whole, there could hardly be a grander or more beautiful appearance.

When the troops were embarked, the whole fleet, on a ſignal given by a trumpet, weighed anchor, attended with a general ſhout of the ſpectators, pouring out their moſt earneſt vows for the ſucceſs of their fellow-citizens. The fleet directed its courſe towards Rhegium, whither they diſpatched ſome ſhips before the reſt, to ſee that the money promiſed by the Egeſtains was ready; of which, however, they found no more than thirty talents provided. Nicias availed himſelf of this circumſtance, to inforce the reaſons he had inſiſted on againſt the expedition, and adviſed to terminate the diſpute between the Egeſtains and Selinonteins in an amicable manner; to oblige the former to fulfil their engagements; and then to return to Athens. Alcibiades, on the contrary, ſaid it would be diſgraceful to return without performing ſome ſignal exploit with ſo powerful an armament; that they ought to endeavour to detach the Greeks in Sicily from their connection with Syracuſe, to bring them over to their own party, and after obtaining from them reinforcements both of troops and proviſions, to attack Syracuſe. Lamachus adviſed to march immediately againſt Syracuſe; but the opinion of Alcibiades prevailed. They, 415.

therefore, ſteered for Sicily, where Alcibiades took Catana *.

Let us now look back to Athens. The enemies of Alcibiades, intent alone on gratifying their reſentment, without regarding the public intereſt, took advantage of his abſence to renew againſt him an accuſation of having in a debauch profaned the myſteries of Proſerpine and Ceres; and they maintained the accuſation with the moſt inveterate malice and animoſity. Many perſons were accuſed, and thrown into priſon, without being even permitted to be heard; and a veſſel was diſpatched to bring Alcibiades to ſtand trial before the people. To this he apparently conſented, and went on board the galley; but on arriving at Thurium he diſappeared. Not having therefore obeyed the ſummons within the limited time, he was condemned to death for contumacy, and his effects were confiſcated.

Nicias finding himſelf, by the abſence of Alcibiades, inveſted with the ſole command, managed matters in that ſlow irreſolute manner that was natural to him, waſting the ardour of the army in fatiguing, inſignificant marches along the coaſts; and at laſt he retired to Catana, without performing any greater exploit than ruining a ſmall village.

Alcibiades arriving at Argos, applied to the Spartans for permiſſion to live in their city, and under their protection, making them in return an offer of his beſt ſervices. The Spartans, overjoyed to have in their power ſo able a general of their enemy, received him with the higheſt marks of good will and eſteem. By means of his ſingular faculty of accommodating himſelf to the way of life of every country in which he had occaſion to live, he imitated, with the greateſt eaſe, the Spartan temperance and auſterity, and, by that means, quickly gained their ſincere affection.

The Syracuſans, in the mean time, made vigorous preparations for an obſtinate defence, and began to up-

* In the year 416 before Chriſt, the Agrarian law was firſt propoſed at Rome.

braid

braid the Athenians for remaining ſhut up in Catana. Nicias ſtung with theſe reproaches, reſolved at laſt to attack Syracuſe by ſea and land.

As this ſiege of Syracuſe is one of the moſt remarkable recorded in hiſtory, it is proper, in very few words, to give ſome idea of the ſituation of that city. It was originally founded by Archias the Corinthian, on the eaſtern coaſt of Sicily. It had a greater and leſſer harbour; the circumference of the greater being about ſix miles. The town itſelf was one of the moſt beautiful and powerful poſſeſſed by the Greeks; and conſiſted of three principal diviſions: 1*ſt*, The iſland, which lay on the ſouth ſide, and communicated with the main land by a bridge; 2*dly*, Achradina, which lay along the ſea, and was the moſt beautiful and ſtrongeſt quarter; and, 3*dly*, Tyche, which ſtretched along Achradina on the land ſide.

The firſt news of the arrival of the Athenian fleet in Sicily, produced the greateſt conſternation among the Syracuſans, who immediately applied themſelves, with the utmoſt diligence, to make the neceſſary preparations for repelling the attack of the enemy. The backwardneſs of Nicias, contributed not a little to revive the courage of the Syracuſans; and a party of their horſe approached to the very ſkirts of the Athenian camp. Nicias, not daring to diſembark his troops in the face of an enemy prepared to receive them, got falſe intelligence conveyed to the Syracuſans, who, hoping to ſurpriſe his camp, marched all their forces towards Catana. But Nicias, in the mean time, reimbarked his men, ſailed near to Syracuſe, landed them at Olympia, and there pitched his camp.

The Syracuſan troops finding themſelves deceived, returned to Syracuſe, and drew themſelves up in battle order before the walls of the city. Nicias did not decline the combat, which proved long and obſtinate; the Syracuſans, however, were at laſt obliged to give ground, and under cover of their cavalry, to retreat into the city. The Athenians being too weak to attack the

the city, ſailed back to Catana, where they took up their winter quarters, intending to return to Syracuſe in the ſpring; but being in want both of money and proviſions, they ſent to Athens for both. The Syracuſans, in the mean time, acquired freſh courage; and choſe for their general, Hermocrates, a man of diſtinguiſhed bravery, and very ſkilful in the art of war. By his advice, they diſpatched ambaſſadors to Corinth and Sparta to renew their former alliances, and to beg aſſiſtance, which accordingly they obtained. Alcibiades, who was then at Sparta, meditating vengeance againſt his ungrateful countrymen, ſupported the requeſt of the Syracuſans, and perſuaded the Lacedemonians to ſend Gylippus as general into Sicily, and, at the ſame time, to make a diverſion to the Athenian arms, by attacking them in Attica.

The Syracuſans, in the mean time, are diligently fortifying their city. They raiſe a wall along one ſide of the Epipolis, (a riſing ground commanding the only paſſage whereby the enemy could penetrate into the city); and getting intelligence that the Athenians were at Naxus, order their army to march and burn the Athenian camp at Catana.

Nicias having received 300 talents, and a reinforcement of ſome troops of horſe, advanced towards Syracuſe. Though this general was very ſlow in entering upon action, yet when once in motion, he proceeded with much ſpirit and diligence. Sailing from Catana, he arrived within leſs than a mile of the Epipolis; and having there landed his forces, he retired with the fleet towards Thapſus, a part of Syracuſe that forms a peninſula, of which he ſhut up the entry. A body of Syracuſans, to the number of 700 men, having attacked the Athenians, were repulſed, after loſing 300 of their number on the ſpot. The victors erected a trophy, and formed the deſign of throwing up a fortification on the top of the Epipolis. Nicias, at the ſame time, received a reinforcement of 300 horſe from the Egeſtains, which, joined to 250 lately ſent him from Athens,

Athens, and the few he had before, formed, altogether, a body of 650 horſe.

Encouraged by this aſſiſtance, he raiſed a line of circumvallation on the Tyche ſide, to ſhut up the city all the way from Tyche to the ſea on the north. This work advanced very briſkly, in ſpite of repeated attacks made by the Syracuſans, in one of which their cavalry was routed. The Syracuſans, on the other hand, began to erect a fortification that might prevent the Athenians from carrying on their line of circumvallation. But the Athenians attacked thoſe who guarded it, purſued them into the city, and then deſtroyed the fortification. Having completed the line along the north ſide, the Athenians proceeded to conſtruct another that might completely ſhut up the city. The Syracuſans, to prevent their extending this ſecond wall to the ſea-ſide, threw up a ditch acroſs a marſh, and lined it with paliſadoes; but the Athenians deſcending ſuddenly from Epipolis, filled up the ditch. It was on this occaſion that they had an engagement with the Syracuſans, in which being at firſt ſucceſsful, and attempting to cut off the flight of the enemy, their right wing was charged by the Syracuſan cavalry, and thrown into diſorder; and Lamachus advancing to its aſſiſtance with the Argive auxiliaries was killed. The Syracuſans, animated by this advantage, determined to attack the Athenian fort on Epipolis. But Nicias, though then ſick, ſaved it by a ſtratagem; giving orders to ſet the wood between the entrenchments on fire; the flames of which deterred the Syracuſans from their enterpriſe.

In the mean time, the Athenian fleet, which lay at anchor at Thapſus, having received orders to come before the city, entered the large harbour, and obliged the Syracuſans to ſhut themſelves up within the walls. The Athenians, not ſatisfied with their fortifications on the top of Epipolis, threw up two walls at the bottom of it, one for a defence againſt the Syracuſans within the city, and the other againſt their army, which was encamped without the walls. When all theſe works

were

were completed, Nicias entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of taking Syracuſe; and his expectations were confirmed on his being joined by ſeveral of the ſtates of Sicily, and receiving a freſh ſupply of proviſions. The Syracuſans now looked upon themſelves as loſt; and a rumour prevailed that the Athenians were become maſters of the whole iſland. But the arrival of Gylippus with ſuccours from Lacedemon, gave a new turn to their affairs.

Nicias, from too great a confidence in his own ſtrength, was not at all alarmed at his arrival, nor took any trouble to oppoſe his landing. The event, however, was deciſive, for Syracuſe was capable of making no further reſiſtance, and its citizens were conſulting about the articles of capitulation, when they received notice, that Gylippus was come to their aſſiſtance
414. with ſeveral gallies. They immediately ſent out a body of troops to cover his landing, which was no ſooner effected, than they advanced in order of battle towards Epipolis. The Athenians, though taken unprepared, make diſpoſitions for fighting; but, in their confuſion, Gylippus attacks the fortification on the top of Epipolis, and carries it by aſſault.

Nicias's whole hope being now confined to his naval force, he thought it neceſſary to fortify the promontory of Plemmyrus, which narrows the entrance into the great harbour, and for that purpoſe erected three different forts on it. But a large detachment of his ſoldiers and ſailors having gone in queſt of wood and water, were intercepted by the enemy's horſe. Gylippus, on his part, completed the fortification which had been begun by the Syracuſans; and daily offered battle to the Athenians. He was beat in the firſt engagement, chiefly on account of the narrowneſs of his ground. But having next day drawn up his men on a more extenſive ſpot, he charged the left wing of the Athenian army, broke them, and purſued them to their camp. This ſucceſs raiſed the courage of the Syracuſans, whoſe horſe ſallied out upon the enemy, and took ſeveral

ral priſoners. After this victory, they fitted out ſome gallies, and ſent to Lacedemon and Corinth to implore more ſuccours.

Nicias finding his troops diminiſhing every day, wrote to Athens a very preſſing letter, in which he ſet forth the unfavourable ſituation of his affairs, ariſing from the ruinous condition of his gallies, whoſe crews were conſtantly decreaſing; and the number of his ſoldiers daily killed and carried off by the Syracuſan horſe. He likewiſe repreſented, that Gylippus, with a view to prevail on all the ſtates of the iſland to unite againſt the Athenians, was urging thoſe who were yet neuter to declare for one ſide or another. He concluded with entreating them either to recall him, or to ſend out another armament as powerful as the firſt, with money and proviſions in proportion, and in any event, to look out for a ſucceſſor to him in the command, his infirmities incapacitating him to diſcharge that duty any longer.

This letter ſpread an univerſal dejection over Athens. After ſeveral deliberations, they appointed two officers, Menander and Euthydemus as aſſiſtants only to Nicias, not to ſuperſede him in the command; and other two, Eurymedon and Demoſthenes, to ſupply the place of Lamachus. Eurymedon ſet out before the reſt with 10 gallies, and ſome money.

Let us for a moment look back to the war of the Peloponneſe. The Lacedemonians, under their king Agis, made a freſh incurſion into Attica, laid waſte the country, and fortified Decelia, an important poſt, within eighteen miles of Athens, whence they commanded the whole country, and prevented the Athenians from working their ſilver mines, or deriving any advantage from their lands, which they durſt not labour. To add ſtill further to the diſtreſs of the Athenians, they were obliged to watch day and night, being kept in a continual alarm, by the daily incurſions of the enemy. Beſides, as all proviſions, before arriving at the city, were brought a great way about, they became very dear; and many of their ſlaves deſerted to the enemy for want

of victuals. Money, too, was very ſcarce, neither their mines nor lands yielding them any thing; ſo that, on the whole, the Athenians found themſelves in a moſt diſtreſsful ſituation.

To return to Syracuſe. Gylippus having raiſed in Sicily a great number of recruits for their army, perſuaded the Syracuſans to exert all their reſources in the equipment of a powerful fleet, that ſo they might be able to attack their enemies both by ſea and land. In a very little time 80 Syracuſan gallies appearing off Plemmyrus, the Athenians got on board their fleet, and ſailed againſt the enemy. A very obſtinate engagement enſued, which however was not deciſive for either party. But Gylippus, in the mean time, attacked the forts on Plemmyrus, and carried them by aſſault, after killing a good many Athenian ſoldiers, and taking ſeveral priſoners. In theſe forts Gylippus found a great deal of money and ammunition, with the furniture of many gallies; and by putting the Syracuſans in poſſeſſion of that important poſt, he rendered it difficult for Nicias to receive any convoys. The Athenians, therefore, were ſeized with great conſternation.

But this ſucceſs of the Syracuſans received about this time a conſiderable check; for their ſhips having fallen foul of one another at the entrance of the leſſer harbour, the Athenians attacked them, ſunk 11 of them, and obtained the victory; in memory of which, they erected a trophy on a ſmall iſland.

Several other inſignificant engagements, which it would be tedious to recount, happened between the two parties. The Syracuſans, however, conſidering that it would be prudent for them to hazard another battle before the arrival of the reinforcements expected by the enemy from Athens, began to prepare themſelves for it with all poſſible diligence. Nicias, on the contrary, ſenſible how dangerous it was to venture another engagement, his men being ſo much diminiſhed in point of numbers, and exhauſted with fatigue, reſolved to decline fighting till the expected aſſiſtance ſhould arrive. But

Menander

Menander and Euthydemus, actuated by jealouſy againſt Nicias, maintained, that the honour and reputation of Athens would ſuffer by their declining the combat; and they inſiſted with ſuch obſtinacy on his giving battle, that Nicias was forced to comply.

The fleets at firſt only engaged in ſmall ſkirmiſhes. But towards the end of the third day, the Syracuſans, after making a feint of retiring, as they had done the two preceding days, turned all of a ſudden upon the Athenians, who being thus taken unawares, and not having time to form, were obliged to fly, after loſing ſeven gallies, and a great number of ſoldiers. The miſerable ſituation to which Nicias ſaw his affairs now reduced, by ſuffering himſelf to be over-ruled by his colleagues, threw him into deſpair.

The day after the battle, the expected Athenian fleet, conſiſting of 73 gallies, commanded by Demoſthenes, all richly ornamented, and carrying about 8000 ſoldiers, came in ſight, and advanced with an air of triumph. The Syracuſans were confounded at their appearance, believing the reſources of the Athenians to be inexhauſtible, and that they were to be expoſed to greater calamities than ever.

Demoſthenes reſolved to avail himſelf of the conſternation into which his arrival had thrown the Syracuſans, flattering himſelf with the perſuaſion of taking the city at once. But his deſign was raſh. Nicias repreſented to him in vain, that the Syracuſans being reduced to the laſt extremity for want of money and proviſions, would very ſoon ſurrender; which he knew certainly by the information of ſome perſons within the town, who adviſed him to wait patiently a little longer. But as he did not chuſe to mention thoſe from whom he received this intelligence, his remonſtrances were diſregarded; for not only Demoſthenes and the other commanders, but even the inferior officers, believed this opinion of Nicias to be entirely ſuggeſted by fear. Demoſthenes even proceeds to upbraid his backwardneſs; his re-

proaches are applauded by the reſt, and all diſcover the utmoſt impatience for fighting.

Demoſthenes immediately reſolves to attack Epipolis. Having led thither all his forces at night, he himſelf begins the attack of the entrenchments, kills thoſe who guarded them, and at the ſame time repulſes the troops that had ſallied out upon him from the city. The Athenians, animated by their ſucceſs, hurry forward in diſorder, and bear down every thing that oppoſes them. But all of a ſudden the Bœotian troops ſtop their career, and, attacking them with levelled ſpears, put them to flight, and make a great ſlaughter. The whole army is ſeized with a panic, which is increaſed by the darkneſs of the night. Some in their flight fall from the tops of the rocks, and are daſhed in pieces; others wander into the country, and are either killed or taken by the Syracuſan horſe. Upon this occaſion the Athenians are ſaid to have loſt in all upwards of 2000 men.

This grievous diſaſter entirely diſcouraged the Athenians, whoſe number, too, was continually diminiſhing by the diſeaſes that prevailed in the army, occaſioned by the unwholeſome vapours of a moraſs near which the army was encamped. Demoſthenes therefore adviſed to raiſe the ſiege immediately. But Nicias, though of the ſame opinion, thought an abrupt departure would but expoſe their weakneſs too much; and that, at any rate, they ought to wait for orders from Athens. On this point Demoſthenes was obliged to ſubmit to his colleague. But Gylippus having, in the mean time, brought a freſh ſupply of troops to the aid of the Syracuſans, the apprehenſions of the Athenians were ſo much increaſed, that they reſolved to depart immediately.

The Syracuſans getting notice of this reſolution, prepared to attack them by ſea and land. They fell firſt upon their entrenchments, which they carried; and then their gallies ſailed againſt thoſe of the Athenians. Eurymedon having ſeparated himſelf from the reſt of the fleet, with an intention to ſurround the Syracuſans, was purſued by them to the bottom of the gulf, defeated,

ed, and killed, and the gallies under his command were driven on ſhore. But Gylippus having attacked the Athenian ſoldiers, as they were making their eſcape out of the gallies to the land, was repulſed with loſs. In the mean time, however, the Syracuſans took poſſeſſion of 18 of thoſe gallies, after cutting off their crews.

This blow threw the Athenians into the deepeſt dejection. The Syracuſans, on the other hand, promiſed themſelves a complete conqueſt over their enemies; and began to deviſe new obſtacles to their departure; for which purpoſe they ſhut up the mouth of the great harbour with iron chains. The Athenians finding themſelves thus hemmed in, and ſtraitened for proviſions, reſolved to hazard another ſea fight. With this view Nicias embarked the flower of his foot-ſoldiers on board 110 gallies, and drew up the reſt of his troops along the ſhore.

The generals on both ſides, after uſing the moſt powerful arguments to encourage their men, led them on to the engagement, which proved extremely bloody. The Athenians advancing to the mouth of the harbour to break the chains, and the Syracuſans likewiſe hurrying thither to prevent them, the gallies were ſo crowded together, that they could neither move backwards nor forwards, nor fight in any ſort of order, and the battle grew extremely furious. Nothing was to be ſeen but the ruins of ſhips, and numbers of dead bodies. The uproar and confuſion was ſo great, that the orders of the commanders could no more be heard. The Athenians ſtill endeavoured to break the chain, and their enemies to defend it. At laſt, however, after a very long and obſtinate conteſt, the Athenian fleet was driven on ſhore by the enemy, and victory declared in favour of the Syracuſans.

The unfortunate Athenians, not daring to attempt the paſſage a ſecond time, had now no other reſource left, than to retreat in the night by land, and to abandon their fleet to the enemy. Harmocrates gueſſed their deſign, and procured falſe intelligence to be conveyed

to

to Nicias, of the enemy having ſeized the paſſes. The Athenians, therefore, inſtead of ſetting out in the night, delayed their march till the ſecond day after; ſo that in the interval the Syracuſans had time really to poſſeſs themſelves of the moſt difficult paſſes, to break down the bridges, and to poſt their cavalry along the plain.

The departure of the Athenians exhibited one of the moſt melancholy ſcenes that can well be imagined; for they were obliged to leave behind them their ſick and wounded, who conjured them by every tender name to carry them with them; and called on the gods to witneſs the cruelty of their fellow-ſoldiers. Terror appeared in every countenance. Nicias, though worn out with ſickneſs, and deprived of common neceſſaries, exerted his utmoſt efforts to keep up their drooping ſpirits, telling them, that they were ſtill formidable by their numbers, and that fortune muſt at laſt ceaſe to perſecute them.

The army was diſpoſed in two different columns; and the retreat was at firſt conducted with pretty good order; but being able to diſcover no free paſſage, the troops were continually galled by the Syracuſan cavalry. Their proviſions failing in the mean time, they altered their plan, and reſolved to march in the night. This expedient proved fatal to them. For one half of the rear guard, with Demoſthenes at their head, having loſt their way in the dark, were next day overtaken by the Syracuſans, who ſurrounded and attacked them in a narrow defile. The Athenians, however, defended themſelves with the moſt deſperate bravery, till exhauſted with hunger and fatigue, they were at length compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion, together with Demoſthenes, their commander, though amounting ſtill to about 6000 men.

Nicias, after paſſing a river, and encamping on a riſing ground, was likewiſe overtaken by the enemy, who ordered him to lay down his arms. In this ſituation he offered to deliver them hoſtages, as a ſecurity for his repaying them all the expences they had incurred by the war, provided they would permit him and his men to depart

depart from Sicily. The Syracuſans rejected his propoſals, and immediately attacked his troops, who ſtill defended themſelves with great bravery. Arriving at laſt at the river Aſſinarus, his ſoldiers, half dead with thirſt, greedily plunged into it to drink. But the Syracuſans immediately renewing the attack, entered the river along with the Athenians, and cut them off while quenching their thirſt. Nicias ſeeing this ſlaughter, agreed to ſurrender himſelf to Gylippus, if he would ſpare the reſt of his men. They were accordingly all taken priſoners, and conducted into the city in triumph. 413.

Next day the Syracuſans deliberated about the fate of the priſoners, and their two commanders. Diocles adviſed to confine the other priſoners in the public priſons, and to put the two generals to death. This laſt article ſhocked the wiſer part of the citizens extremely; and one of them, named *Nicholaus*, a venerable old man, mounting the ſpeaker's place, pronounced a moſt pathetic and ſenſible ſpeech, telling his countrymen, that ſuch a groſs act of inhumanity muſt make them abhorred and deteſted by all nations, more eſpecially as the gods had already ſufficiently puniſhed the Athenians. This ſpeech, which was enforced by many other powerful arguments, made a great impreſſion upon the citizens, who ſeemed to be mercifully diſpoſed, till ſome of them who were more exaſperated than the reſt againſt the Athenians, by the loſs of children and relations, ſtood up, and repreſented in the ſtrongeſt colours the numberleſs miſeries brought upon their country by the Athenians. The recital of thoſe miſeries ſo inflamed the reſentment of the people, that they inſtantly followed the advice of Diocles, and condemned to death the two Athenian commanders; who were executed accordingly. The tragical fate of thoſe two unhappy generals was commiſerated by every moderate perſon, particularly that of Nicias, who had always oppoſed this fatal expedition. The reſt of the priſoners were confined in the public priſons, where they underwent the cruelleſt hardſhips,

receiving

receiving every day a very ſmall allowance of only meal and water for ſuſtenance. At the end of eight months, they were taken out of thoſe dungeons, and ſold for ſlaves; but in the mean time many of them had died.

We may eaſily conceive the conſternation of the Athenians, when they heard of the miſerable event of their Sicilian expedition, and the entire ruin both of their army and fleet. This unfortunate enterpriſe gave a fatal blow to their power. Never before had they been reduced to ſo diſtreſsful a ſituation, without money, without an army, without a fleet. However, after having vented their reſentment againſt thoſe who had been principally inſtrumental in engaging them in that expedition, they reſumed their courage, uſed every means to procure money, and applied themſelves with all poſſible diligence to equip a new fleet.

It was very difficult to ſtruggle with all the misfortunes that then threatened them; for even their Greek allies, particularly thoſe of Eubœa, Chios, and
412. Leſbos, weary of furniſhing contributions to carry on the war, thought this diſaſter preſented them with a favourable opportunity for aſſerting their independency, and throwing off the Athenian yoke. They applied therefore to the Lacedemonians to take them under their protection.

But this was not all. Tiſſaphernes, the Perſian governor of Lydia and Ionia, provoked at the oppoſition made by the Athenians to his levying the uſual contributions in his province, promiſed to furniſh the Lacedemonians with the neceſſary expences of their warlike preparations, to incite them to proceed againſt the Athenians with more diligence and alacrity; and Pharnabazus, the Perſian governor of the Helleſpont, made them a like offer. Alcibiades, however, perſuaded the Lacedemonians to reject the propoſals of Tiſſaphernes. That famous Athenian had been a long while uniformly employed in plotting miſchief againſt his countrymen, in revenge of their unjuſt treatment of him; and with that view he had made a journey to Chios, and had pre-

vailed on ſeveral cities of Ionia to revolt. Nothing was done in Sparta but by the interpoſition of Alcibiades. But his exorbitant power in that city at laſt drew upon him the jealouſy of its king Agis, and the principal Spartans, who deviſed a plan for the deſtruction of ſo active an adverſary.

Alcibiades, informed of his danger, fled to Sardis, and put himſelf under the protection of Tiſſaphernes. His engaging manners, and the charms of his converſation, ſoon procured him the friendſhip of that ſatrap, who, though of a haughty fierce diſpoſition, and a barbarian, freely communicated all his ſecrets to Alcibiades. But of what value are wit, bravery, and the fineſt exterior accompliſhments, when they cover a bad heart? Alcibiades, on this occaſion, ſhewed himſelf to be a man of no principle, and void of all affection for his country. He adviſed Tiſſaphernes to keep up the animoſity between Athens and Sparta, and to aſſiſt them againſt each other, that they might exhauſt their reſources in their mutual deſtruction, and ſo become in the end an eaſy prey to the Perſian monarch. Tiſſaphernes adopted his plan; and from that time forward, the Perſians, who durſt not now attack the Greeks with open force, employed their money and influence to foment quarrels among the different ſtates; ſending conſiderable ſums ſometimes to Athens, ſometimes to Sparta, as the neceſſities of each required, to keep the balance even between the two, and to enable them to ruin each other.

The Athenians hearing of the great credit of Alcibiades at the court of Tiſſaphernes, repented heartily of their harſh uſage of him; for though by means of their fleet they had lately been able to reduce the revolted iſlands to obedience, yet they entertained ſtrong apprehenſions of Tiſſaphernes, who was ſoon to receive 150 veſſels from Phenicia. Alcibiades being no ſtranger to their ſentiments with reſpect to himſelf, had it privately hinted to them, that he was deſirous to return to Athens, and would procure them the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of

Tiſſaphernes, provided they would aboliſh the popular form of government, and reſtore ariſtocracy. This met with great oppoſition at firſt, particularly from the enemies of Alcibiades. But as there appeared no other means of ſaving the republic from utter ruin, the people at laſt conſented, though much againſt their inclination.

Piſander, accordingly, with ten other deputies, were appointed to go and treat with Alcibiades and Tiſſaphernes. But the latter, apprehenſive of rendering the Athenians too powerful, and chuſing rather to adhere to the plan laid down by Alcibiades, of fomenting the war between the two republics, inſiſted upon it as a preliminary condition, that the Athenians ſhould relinquiſh all their poſſeſſions in Ionia; and made other demands of ſuch an extravagant nature, that the deputies broke off the treaty in diſguſt, convinced, that Alcibiades had only meant to make them ridiculous. Tiſſaphernes, at the ſame time, concluded an alliance with the Peloponneſians, by which he agreed, on their ceding all their provinces in Aſia in favour of his maſter, the king of Perſia, to defray the expence of the Lacedemonian fleet, till the arrival of that of the Perſians. Theſe tranſactions happened in the eleventh year of the reign of Darius Nothus.

At Athens but too much deference was paid to the opinion of Alcibiades. In conſequence of his advice, the popular government was aboliſhed, and ariſtocracy ſet up in its place. The whole magiſtracy was thrown into the hands of 400 perſons, who were inveſted with abſolute power. Theſe new rulers ſoon diſcovered their tyrannical diſpoſition. Entering the ſenate armed with poniards, and ſurrounded with guards, they diſſolved it, after paying the 500 members of it the ſalaries due to them. Their adminiſtration was uſhered in with ſentences of baniſhment, proſcriptions, and poiſonings of thoſe from whom they expected oppoſition. But this violent behaviour quickly exaſperated all the citizens againſt them; and the army which was then lying at Samos, hearing of their proceedings, was ſo highly enraged,

ged, that they reduced ſuch of their officers as they ſuſpected to be connected with the ariſtocracy, appointed Thraſylus and Thraſybulus in their ſtead, and anxiouſly entreated Alcibiades to take the chief command.

Alcibiades obeyed; and putting himſelf at the head of the Athenian forces, proceeded to Miletus, to preſent himſelf in his new dignity before Tiſſaphernes, and to ſhew the ſatrap, that the power of his countrymen was ſtill formidable. Returning to Samos, he found there meſſengers from the 400 waiting for him. But the ſoldiers would not even deign to hear them, inſiſting to be inſtantly led againſt the tyrants. Alcibiades, however, conſidering, that by departing with the army from Samos, he ſhould leave Ionia expoſed in a defenceleſs ſituation to the attempts of the enemy, and fearing, beſides, leſt his appearance at Athens might be productive of a civil war, in which his countrymen would exhauſt their ſtrength againſt each other, refuſed to comply with the requeſt of the ſoldiers; but at the ſame time declared it to be his opinion, that it was neceſſary to aboliſh ariſtocracy, and to reſtore the ſenate.

The fleet which Tiſſaphernes had promiſed to ſend to the aſſiſtance of the Peloponneſians, arriving in the mean time at Aſpendos in Pamphylia, Alcibiades ſailed to oppoſe its proceeding any further. But the Lacedemonians having defeated the fleet ſent by the 400 to the relief of Eubœa, and having taken poſſeſſion of that iſland, the Athenians were thrown into the greateſt conſternation, as Eubœa furniſhed them with the greater part of their proviſions. Had the Lacedemonians profited, as they ought to have done, by the confuſion produced by this event at Athens, and advanced with their victorious fleet againſt that city, the fate of the Athenian republic might in all probability have been determined. But the ſlowneſs with which the Lacedemonians conducted all their enterpriſes, gave time to the Athenians to put themſelves in a proper poſture of defence. They immediately recalled Alcibiades, deprived the 400 of their authority, and fitted out another fleet,

of which they gave the command to Thraſylus and Thraſybulus. Theſe commanders accordingly ſet ſail, and falling in with the enemies fleet on the coaſt of the Helleſpont, totally defeated it.

Alcibiades, naturally fond of glory, and deſirous of performing ſome exploit before returning to Athens, that might render his arrival more welcome to his countrymen, cruized with his fleet about the iſlands of Cos and Cnidus; and getting intelligence that the other Athenian fleet was on the point of coming to a ſecond engagement with that of the Peloponneſians near Abydos, he hurried to the aſſiſtance of the former, and arrived juſt as they were beginning the battle. He immediately falls on the enemy with eighteen ſhips, takes thirty of theirs, deſtroys many of the remainder, makes a great ſlaughter of their ſoldiers while endeavouring to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, and erects a trophy. Proud of his ſucceſs, he reſolves to appear once more before Tiſſaphernes in all the glory of a conqueror. But the ſatrap, apprehenſive leſt the Lacedemonians ſhould complain of his conduct to the Perſian monarch, ordered Alcibiades to be apprehended and conveyed to Sardis, informing him at the ſame time, that he had received orders from his maſter to make war on the Athenians. Alcibiades, however, found means to eſcape from his confinement, and to get on board the Athenian fleet, where he was quickly joined by Theramenes, with twenty ſhips; and ſoon after by Thraſybulus, with twenty more. Finding himſelf now at the head of a powerful fleet, of no fewer than eighty veſſels, he reſolved to proceed to Cizicus to attack Mindarus, commander of the Peloponneſian fleet, and Pharnabazus, who had joined him there. A heavy ſhower of rain, attended with thunder, concealed his approach from the enemy. As ſoon as it was fair, he ſuddenly advanced to the attack with forty ſhips. The enemy, deſpiſing the ſmall number of his veſſels, began the engagement with great bravery, but on ſeeing the reſt of his fleet come up, they were ſeized with a panic, and fled.

But

But Alcibiades availing himſelf of their confuſion, landed his troops, charged thoſe of Pharnabazus, put them to flight, and killed Mindarus with his own hand.

In Attica, Thraſylus fell upon the rear guard of the Spartan army, which had been led up to the walls of Athens by their king Agis, and defeated them. Then he ſailed to Samos with fifty ſhips; and having taken Colophon, advanced to Epheſus. But being repulſed by Tiſſaphernes, he returned on board his fleet, and intercepted four Syracuſan veſſels. About the ſame time a battle happened between Tiſſaphernes and Alcibiades, in which the former was defeated.

By theſe exploits, Alcibiades rendered the Athenians maſters of the Helleſpont. The Lacedemonians informed of this, ſent ambaſſadors to Athens with propoſals of peace. The wiſer part of the citizens adviſed their countrymen to embrace this opportunity of making peace; which, in the preſent poſture of their affairs, muſt be greatly to their advantage. But this was keenly oppoſed by thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to continue the war.

In the next campaign, Alcibiades, whom ſucceſs conſtantly attended, reſolved to add Chalcedon to his conqueſts. He accordingly laid ſiege to that town, and obliged the Bythinians to deliver to him the proviſions they intended for the Chalcedonians. The inhabitants attempted a ſally, but were repulſed, and obliged, in ſpite of the approach of Pharnabazus to their relief, to ſurrender the town. The Athenians afterwards took ſeveral other places.

After ſo many exploits, Alcibiades deſired to experience the gratitude of his country; and for that purpoſe ſet ſail for Pyreus. The day of his arrival there was the moſt glorious of his life. All the people of Athens went out to meet him, and conducted him in triumph to the city. His fleet was loaded and ornamented with the ſpoils of the enemy; was attended by a great number of the ſhips they had taken; and diſplayed, in

triumph,

triumph, the colours of thoſe they had ſunk and
407. deſtroyed. He landed, amidſt repeated ſhouts of all the citizens, who thronged about him to welcome him home, regarding him as a ſort of tutelar deity, who had brought them back victory in his train. They gazed upon him therefore with admiration, reflecting on the miſerable ſituation of the republic when he undertook its defence; and the many important ſervices performed by him, by which he had rendered her triumphant both at ſea and land.

Then Alcibiades aſſembling the people, proceeded to juſtify himſelf from the crime laid to his charge, and imputed all his misfortunes to his bad fortune. The Athenians, charmed with his eloquence, decreed him a crown of gold; and by way of reparation of the ill uſage formerly received by him, they reſtored to him his eſtate, and named him chief commander by ſea and land. The populace, too, always prone to fall into extremes, began to talk of beſtowing on him ſovereign authority. But the principal citizens, to prevent the effects of their folly, cauſed a fleet to be equipped with all poſſible diligence, and urged his departure. Alcibiades, before ſetting out, reſolved to celebrate the Eleuſinian myſteries.

The Athenians had been obliged for a long while to conduct this proceſſion by ſea, becauſe the Lacedemonians had poſſeſſion of the roads leading to Eleuſis. But Alcibiades reſolved to have it performed in the uſual manner; and for that purpoſe poſted troops along both ſides of the way, ready to repulſe any attack of the enemy. Thus protecting the prieſts and the *initiated* with his ſoldiers, he conducted the proceſſion in great order and ſolemnity all the way to Eleuſis, and back again, without any accident. By this he intended to wipe out the ſuſpicions of irreligion formerly entertained againſt him. The affection entertained for him by the Athenians, was ſo much increaſed by this action, that they would have chearfully made him king. But the principal citizens, not chuſing to give Alcibiades time

time to explain himſelf on that head, haſtened his departure, granting him every thing he deſired. Accordingly, he at laſt ſet ſail towards Andros, with a fleet of 100 ſhips.

The Lacedemonians, alarmed at the late ſucceſſes of the Athenians, thought it neceſſary to oppoſe one of their beſt generals to Alcibiades, and therefore elected Lyſander chief commander of their fleet. Lyſander, although of noble birth, being lineally deſcended of the Heraclidæ, was nevertheleſs educated with all the rigour and ſeverity of the Spartan diſcipline. He was brave, artful, and inſinuating; and to his ruling paſſion, ambition, could ſacrifice every other pleaſure or conſideration whatever.

About this time Darius, the Perſian monarch, had appointed the youngeſt of his ſons, Cyrus, to be governor of Sardis; and had adviſed him, on ſetting out for his government, to ſupport the Lacedemonians in all events rather than the Athenians. This was very different from the policy of Tiſſaphernes, and the other Perſian governors; who, as we have ſeen before, made it an invariable rule, to hold the balance even between thoſe two ſtates, by aſſiſting them alternately, as their reſpective neceſſities required; thus enabling them to work out their mutual deſtruction.

Lyſander ſoon put to ſea, and directed his courſe to Sardis, where, by means of his ſupple inſinuating behaviour, he ſoon puſhed himſelf into favour with young Cyrus, to whom he complained of the partiality of Tiſſaphernes to the Athenians. Cyrus told him, that he had orders from the king his father to aſſiſt the Lacedemonians; and, for that purpoſe, had received from him 500 talents of ſilver. Lyſander then perſuaded him to augment the pay of the ſailors to four oboli a day, and to order all the arrears due them to be immediately paid up. This augmentation of pay greatly contributed to weaken the Athenian fleet. For their ſailors, tempted by the high pay, deſerted to the Lacedemonians. After having obtained theſe advantages from

Cyrus,

Cyrus, and fixed him in the intereſts of his country, Lyſander returned to his fleet, in the neighbourhood of Epheſus. That city was at this time plunged in indolence and luxury; the Perſian ſatraps uſually making it their winter reſidence. Lyſander, therefore, laboured to revive induſtry among the inhabitants; and by a ſkilful application of rewards, ſucceeded in making the arts to flouriſh among them, and eſtabliſhed in their city an arſenal for building gallies. This was one of the principal cauſes of the ſubſequent aggrandiſement of Epheſus.

Lyſander, however, awed by Alcibiades, declined coming to an engagement. But the Athenian general having departed into Ionia to raiſe money, and having committed the charge of his fleet to Antiochus, with poſitive orders to avoid a battle; his ſubſtitute, deſirous to diſplay his courage, ſailed with two gallies into the harbour of Epheſus, to brave the enemy. Lyſander immediately went in purſuit of him; and the Athenians, at the ſame time, advancing to protect their commander; the fleets on both ſides fell in with each other inſenſibly, and came to a general action. Lyſander gained a complete victory, and took fifteen Athenian gallies.

When Alcibiades heard of this diſaſter, he reſolved to repair it, and aſſembling the remains of his fleet before Samos, offered battle to Lyſander, which the latter, ſatisfied with his late advantage, thought proper to decline. Thraſybulus, in the mean time, the declared enemy of Alcibiades, availed himſelf of the late misfortune to ruin his credit with the people, to whom he accuſed him of neglecting the public buſineſs, that he might have leiſure to indulge himſelf in his debaucheries. Obſerve the inconſtancy of this moſt ungrateful and capricious people! Believing theſe inſinuations, they accounted the loſs of the battle under Antiochus criminal in Alcibiades, though fought in contradiction to his expreſs directions. Such indeed was the opinion entertained of his parts by the Athenians, that they imagi-

ned no enterprise in which he was any ways concerned could fail, unless by his own treachery. They therefore suspected his fidelity; and Alcibiades, lately the idol of his countrymen, was obliged to secure himself from their resentment by a voluntary banishment into a district of the Chersonese.

Lysander, in the mean time, was employed in establishing aristocracy in all the towns he had subdued. With a view to the accomplishment of the ambitious project he was now meditating, he singled out from the chief men of each city those whom he discovered to be of the most daring and resolute spirit, put the whole power into their hands, enriched them by presents, and, by these means, rendered them entirely devoted to his interests. His command being expired, Callicratidas was appointed his successor; and the Athenians chose Conon to supply the place of Alcibiades.

Callicratidas equalled Lysander in his military capacity, and was greatly his superior in probity and magnanimity. He possessed all the ancient Spartan virtue, without its extravagancies, and was a declared enemy of every species of low cunning, or falsehood. Lysander, unable to disguise his jealousy on seeing him arrive, behaved in the meanest manner imaginable, sending back to Sardis all the money that remained for the pay of the troops, and telling Callicratidas, that he must apply for more to the great king. To Callicratidas, a man of a noble soul, and of the most elevated independent spirit, it was the greatest hardship in the world to be obliged to fawn and cringe to the deputies of the Persian monarch for a supply of money. Compelled, however, by necessity, he at last condescended to go all the way to Lydia, to apply to Cyrus. But being constantly prevented, under one pretence or another, from obtaining an audience, he at last departed, full of indignation against those who were at first mean spirited enough to pay court to the barbarians; and vowing to use his utmost endeavours to effect a reconciliation a-

mong the Greeks, that ſo they might be no longer under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to ſuch baſeneſs.

It was now the twenty-ſixth year of the Peloponneſian war. Conon having been purſued into the harbour of Mytilene by Callicratidas, who there kept him blocked up, gave notice of his danger to the Athenians, who diſpatched to his aſſiſtance a fleet of 110 gallies, which was reinforced at Samos by 40 more, furniſhed by their allies. Callicratidas falling in with this fleet before Arginuſæ, off the promontory of Leſbos, made a vigorous attack upon them, notwithſtanding their ſuperior number, and ſunk ſeveral of their ſhips. But being himſelf oppoſed by the galley of Pericles, ſon of the famous Athenian of the ſame name, which he had pierced with the beak of his, and being unable to diſengage himſelf from his antagoniſt, he was ſoon ſurrounded by ſeveral other Athenian gallies, and in ſpite of the moſt heroic bravery with which he defended himſelf, fell at laſt, overpowered by numbers, though not without great ſlaughter of the enemy. The Lacedemonians, diſcouraged by the loſs of their commander, gave way on the right wing; and their left, after fighting ſome time longer with great valour, fled likewiſe. The Athenians, after their victory, retired into an iſland, and there erected a trophy. Their loſs, in this engagement, amounted to 25 gallies; but that of their enemies to no fewer than 70.

Plutarch, after beſtowing the higheſt encomiums upon the virtue of Callicratidas, blames him for having ſo imprudently hazarded an engagement; and, on that occaſion, obſerves how highly dangerous it is for a general to give way to the impetuoſity of his courage, as he thereby not only endangers his own ſingle life, but likewiſe that of all under his command. The ſame ſentiment is adopted by Cicero, who, talking of thoſe that, from a falſe opinion of glory, chuſe to hazard the fate of their country, rather than in any degree to ſully their own reputation, cites this very example of Callicratidas, who, when exhorted to decline the engagement in which

which he fell, anſwered, "That Sparta might get a "new fleet in caſe this were deſtroyed, but that his "flying would overwhelm him with everlaſting diſ-"grace."

The Athenian generals, in the mean time, gave orders to Theramenes and Thraſybulus, to carry home the ſlain in 50 gallies, that they might be buried with the accuſtomed ceremonies. But a violent tempeſt ſupervening, prevented them from executing their orders. The reſt of the fleet proceeded towards Mitylene, to diſengage Conon.

The Athenians, among whom the rites of burial were ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that they regarded the omiſſion of them as an inexpiable crime, grew furious, on hearing that the citizens who had fallen in the late action, were deprived of that ſo neceſſary ſolemnity; and though the omiſſion of it in the preſent caſe was unavoidable, they nevertheleſs treated it as a capital offence. Theramenes became the accuſer of the generals, though it is inconceivable how he came to undertake that charge, and more eſpecially, how he puſhed it with ſuch cruel obſtinacy. When the Generals arrived at Athens, they related all the circumſtances of the caſe, and called upon every man who had been preſent, to vouch the truth of what they aſſerted. But the matter having been carried before the ſenate, it was there determined, that it ſhould be referred to the deciſion of the people, who were ordered to report the opinion of each tribe diſtinctly; and if, upon the whole, the generals were found guilty, they were to ſuffer death. The famous Socrates oppoſed this unjuſt ſentence with all his might. He himſelf undertook the defence of the accuſed, and maintained, with invincible force of argument, that as by giving orders to carry off the dead bodies in order to burial, they had diſcharged the duty incumbent on them; and as the ſupervening tempeſt had rendered it impoſſible for thoſe that had received theſe orders to put them in execution, neither party was guilty of any fault; and that, therefore,

it would be the moſt groſs and cruel injuſtice, to put to death men who had ſo glorioufly and ſucceſsfully exerted themſelves in the defence of their country.

The accuſers, however, had inflamed the reſentfentment of the people to ſuch a pitch, that in ſpite of theſe remonſtrances, they condemned ſix of the ten generals to death; and they ſuffered accordingly.—What an unreaſonable ungrateful people!—And how ſurpriſing it is, that any man could be perſuaded to command their fleets and armies!—Plato takes occaſion from this event, to maintain, that the populace is an inconſtant, ungrateful, cruel, jealous monſter, utterly incapable of being guided by reaſon.—A ſentiment confirmed by the univerſal experience of all ages, and of all nations.

The Peloponneſians, overwhelmed by their grievous loſs at Arginuſæ, ſent to Sparta, to require the chief command to be conferred on Lyſander; which was immediately granted. This choice gave great joy to thoſe who poſſeſſed the chief authority in the reſpective cities, who being, as before obſerved, the creatures of Lyſander, nothing could correſpond better with their ambitious views.

It was about this time that the young Cyrus, now grown preſumptuous and vain, by reaſon of his great power, and the mean adulation of his courtiers, wantonly put to death two noble Perſians, his own couſins-german, for no greater crime than their omitting to cover their hands in his preſence; an action calculated to give us but an unfavourable opinion of that prince's heart and underſtanding. But it ſhows us, at the ſame time, that power can confound the judgement even of ſome of the wiſeſt of men, and render them capable of the moſt extravagant exceſſes. Darius, when informed of the tragical fate of his two nephews, was much grieved; and conſidering this action of his ſon as an attack on his own authority, he ſent for him under the pretence of a deſire to ſee him, as he was then ſick. Cyrus, before his departure, tranſmitted to Lyſander large

large ſums of money to maintain his fleet, aſſuring him, that rather than let him want money, he would ſupply him out of his own pocket; impowering him, at the ſame time, to levy the revenues of the towns under his government, and promiſing to bring him a numerous fleet.——Lyſander was too wiſe not to avail himſelf fully of theſe favourable diſpoſitions of Cyrus.

Lyſander, full of the moſt ſanguine expectations, ſets ſail towards the Helleſpont, lays ſiege 403.
to Lampſacus, takes it by aſſault, and abandons it to pillage.—The Athenians, on hearing this, advance, with a fleet of 180 ſail, againſt the enemy, halt at a place called *Ægos Potamos*, oppoſite to Lampſacus, and make diſpoſitions for attacking the enemy next day. On this occaſion, Lyſander made uſe of ſtratagem, pretending to decline the engagement; and contenting himſelf with drawing up his gallies in battle array, in ſuch a ſituation that they could not be attacked, except at a diſadvantage. The Athenians, perſuaded that he ſeriouſly avoided coming to action through fear, careleſsly landed from their ſhips in the evening, and embarking again in the morning, offered battle afreſh. In this manner they paſſed four days.

Alcibiades, who was then in exile, happening to be in that part of the country, came up to the Athenian commanders, and repreſented to them the danger of their ſituation on an inhoſpitable coaſt, without either harbours or cities to which they might retire in caſe of neceſſity. He offered, at the ſame time, to co-operate with them, by falling upon the enemy at land, with ſome Thracian troops under his command; but the generals deſpiſed his advice, and refuſed, out of jealouſy, to accept of his ſervice.

Lyſander, in the mean while, was making preparations for attacking the Athenians, as ſoon as they ſhould land, in the uſual manner. When the expected moment arrived, he immediately commands his fleet to advance in great pomp. Conon, one of the Athenian commanders, perceiving the enemy approaching, cries aloud

aloud to his men to come on board, but in vain, the ſoldiers being all diſperſed here and there among the tents. In this critical moment, he reſolves to ſave himſelf by flight; and taking along with him nine gallies, ſets ſail for Cyprus. Lyſander arriving in the mean time, falls upon the ſhips that remained, cuts in pieces thoſe who were on board, as well as thoſe who attempt to come to their aſſiſtance; and then landing his men, completes the deſtruction of thoſe on ſhore. In fine, Lyſander takes poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the fleet, makes 3000 priſoners, takes three of their commanders, and plunders their camp. This terrible defeat threw the Athenians into the moſt miſerable ſituation they had ever experienced, and determined the fate of the Peloponneſian war, after twenty-ſeven years continuance.

This had been a very bloody war from the beginning, and continued ſo to the end. It was their ſuperiority at ſea that enabled the Athenians to ſupport it for ſo long a time, and conſtantly to recover from their loſſes at land; and the Lacedemonians prevailed at laſt, merely by means of the immenſe ſums furniſhed them by the Perſian monarch. The 3000 priſoners taken in the laſt battle, were, by the Peloponneſian council, condemned to death, and were accordingly all murdered in cold blood. Lyſander viſits the maritime towns, changes their former government, from democracy to ariſtocracy, and beſtows the whole power in them on creatures of his own. Where-ever he found any Athenians, he commands them, under pain of death, to betake themſelves to Athens; his plan being to reduce that city by famine.

We may eaſily conceive the terror and conſternation occaſioned by the news of the laſt defeat at Athens, which now found itſelf without either army or fleet, on the brink of being expoſed to a ſiege, and of ſuffering all the miſeries of famine. The dread of theſe misfortunes overwhelmed them with deſpair. In the mean time, however, they made the beſt preparations in their

power

power againſt the ſiege, of which they had ſo certain a proſpect.—In effect, they ſoon found themſelves beſieged both by ſea and land. The two kings of Sparta, Agis and Pauſanias, ſurrounded them with their army by land; and Lyſander blocked up Pyreus with all his fleet.

The Athenians, deprived of all further reſource, and labouring under the miſeries of famine, ſent deputies to treat with Agis, requeſting only to be left in poſſeſſion of their city and harbour, and reſigning every thing elſe. Agis ſends the deputies to Sparta, where the Ephori inſiſt on demoliſhing all the fortifications of their city. In this melancholy ſituation, Theramenes offers to go, and employ his influence with Lyſander. Being ſent accordingly, he was induſtriouſly detained, for the ſpace of three months, by that crafty Spartan, who was reſolved to oblige the Athenians by famine, to agree to every particular that might be demanded. At laſt, Theramenes, and the other ambaſſadors, are again referred to the Ephori by Lyſander, and make another journey to Sparta, where a council is called to deliberate on the fate of Athens. No leſs than the utter deſtruction of that city is there talked of. The Thebans particularly were of that opinion. But Lyſander oppoſed it: and the wiſer part of the aſſembly declared, that they would not incur the infamy of extinguiſhing one of the eyes of Greece, by deſtroying a city, which had rendered ſuch ſignal ſervices to their common cauſe.

After deliberating for three months, it was at laſt reſolved to demoliſh the fortifications of Pyreus, and the long walls that communicated between that harbour and the city; to leave the Athenians only twelve gallies; to deprive them of all the cities of which they had taken poſſeſſion; to oblige them to engage in an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the Lacedemonians; and to ſerve under them by ſea and land. On theſe terms peace was granted them. The deputies having returned to Athens, and reported theſe reſolutions, the Athenians, of whom great numbers were daily periſhing by famine, found themſelves

themſelves under the hard neceſſity of agreeing to them without heſitation. In conſequence of theſe con-
404. ditions, Lyſander entering Pyreus, ſaw the fortifications demoliſhed, amidſt the ſound of a variety of muſical inſtruments. — Thus ended the Peloponneſian war.

The Athenians, by accepting the conditions dictated to them by the Lacedemonians, had, in a manner, reſigned themſelves to their diſcretion. Of this they ſoon became very ſenſible. Lyſander entered their city, managed every thing according to his pleaſure, obliged the people to aboliſh democracy, and eſtabliſhed thirty Archons, who have been juſtly diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory by the name of "*The thirty Tyrants.*"

From Athens Lyſander proceeded to Samos, which he ſoon reduced: and the other cities, on being informed of the fate of Athens, voluntarily opened their gates to the victors. In each of thoſe cities, Lyſander put the government into the hands of a decemvirate, compoſed, for the greater part, of creatures of his own, entirely devoted to his intereſt; and, by that means, he procured to himſelf a ſort of ſovereignty in the cities.

Reſolved, at laſt, to return to Sparta, there to enjoy the fruits of his ſucceſs, he diſpatched Gylippus before him, with all the money amaſſed by him in the courſe of his laſt command, which is ſaid to have amounted to 1500 talents. Of this money, Gylippus is reported to have ſtolen about a fifth part, by opening, in the night, the bottoms of the bags in which it was contained. But his diſhoneſty being diſcovered, he fled to avoid his merited puniſhment, and became a voluntary exile from his native country. On this occaſion it was debated in Sparta, whether it were not an infringement of the laws, to admit this ſilver into the city. The wiſer ſort highly blamed Lyſander for introducing among them that pernicious metal, which had always proved the bane and corruption of mankind; and they preſented very ſtrong remonſtrances on the ſubject to the Ephori, who ordered the ſilver to be carried out of the city, and of

new enjoined the uſe of the ancient iron coin. But this ſentence was oppoſed by the friends of Lyſander, who propoſed, as a conciliating expedient, that the ſilver ſhould not be uſed in ordinary currency, but depoſited in the public treaſury, to be applied ſolely to the ſervice of the ſtate. Plutarch, however, ridicules this expedient. It was not, ſays he, gold and ſilver of which Lycurgus was apprehenſive, but avarice, the conſequence of gold and ſilver. —— The event ſhewed, that the prohibition of uſing them commonly, had the effect of making them to be more paſſionately deſired; and the Lacedemonians becoming ſoon as ſenſible of the value of them as any of their neighbours, employed the moſt tyrannical means to extort them from thoſe under their ſubjection, impoſing a tribute on all the ſtates that were dependent on their authority.

Lyſander, now in the zenith of glory, eclipſed all mankind in the eyes of the Greeks, who carried their flattery ſo far, as to erect altars to him: and the man himſelf being naturally vain, ordered his own ſtatue to be caſt in braſs: even the poets, encouraged by his bounty, employed their talents to celebrate his praiſe.

Eminent Writers, Philoſophers, Artiſts, &c.

Meton was a famous aſtronomer, and the inventor of the cycle made uſe of by the Greeks and Romans, for calculating the times of new and full moon.

Anaxagoras was a native of Clazomené, and one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed philoſophers of antiquity. The ſtudy of natural philoſophy was his paſſion, to which that he might apply with the greater freedom, he renounced the large poſſeſſions tranſmitted him by his anceſtors, declined all public honours or employments, and refuſed himſelf the conveniency of marriage. He inſtructed the great Pericles in his philoſophy, and aſſiſted him likewiſe in public affairs with his advice. The ſcholar is reproached for having neglected his maſter, when oppreſſed by want in his old age. —— His prin-

cipal reſidence was at Athens, where he taught for a long while; but he ended his days at Lampſacus. When on his deathbed, the chief perſons of that town having aſked him, whether he deſired any thing to be done by them after his death; he anſwered, that he had no other requeſt to make, except that the anniverſary of his death might be eſtabliſhed as a holiday for the boys.

Empedocles, a Pythagorean philoſopher, applied himſelf to reform the morals of his fellow citizens, the inhabitants of Agrigentum, who were remarkable for their luxury and effeminacy; over whom having acquired great authority, he made no other uſe of it than to eſtabliſh good order. He was univerſally holden in high eſteem; and a poem of his, upon the moral duties of mankind, had the honour to be rehearſed at the olympic games. It is reported of him, that deſiring to paſs for a god, he diſappeared all of a ſudden, by jumping into the gulph of mount Ætna. But this is a fable; for, according to the moſt credible authors, and Ariſtotle among the reſt, he died in the Peloponneſe, in the year of the world 3576.

Anacreon, the Lyric poet, was born at Teos a town of Ionia. He was much eſteemed by Polycrates tyrant of Samos, in whoſe court he paſſed a conſiderable part of his life. His poems contain an exact repreſentation of his life, where eaſe and jollity ſhine throughout. He ſpent his whole time, either over his bottle and in his amours, or in compoſing his verſes, of which the tender paſſions were the only theme.

Pindar was another famous Lyric poet. His diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic is, grandeur, ſublimity, and enthuſiaſm. When he has once taken his flight, he diſdains all ſubjection to ordinary rules, neglects the connection and tranſition of common diſcourſe, and ſoars, like an eagle, into the regions of thunder and tempeſt. It is no longer the language of men that he ſpeaks, but that which we imagine of the gods. But this diſorder

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conſtitutes the chief beauty of the ode, the aim of which is not to form our judgement, but to warm our imagination. Pindar may be ſaid to occupy a diſtinct place among the poets, and to be entirely without a rival; for, according to Horace, it is temerity to attempt to emulate him. His odes diſplay the utmoſt ſublimity and enthuſiaſm of which poetry is capable. His ſentiments are ſtrong and ſtriking, his language pompous, and his verſification rapid.

Eſchylus was a famous tragic poet. Before diſcovering his talents for tragedy, he had given proofs of his bravery in the engagements of Marathon and Salamis. He is conſidered as the father of tragedy, of which he had imbibed a juſt idea from the poems of Homer. Under his hands it received an entire new form. He confined the repreſentation to a particular place, inſtead of being ambulatory as before. He dreſſed his actors in long robes, buſkins, and maſks; which laſt diſguiſe muſt however have greatly diminiſhed the force of the action. He made choice of grand and intereſting ſubjects; infuſed life and ſpirit into the dialogue; dictated the language of paſſion; and excited terror and compaſſion. By introducing a chorus between the acts, he procured a ſort of relaxation to the audience. His language is pompous and ſublime, but ſometimes obſcure, and bordering on bombaſt.

Sophocles was born at Colonna, a conſiderable village in Attica, and was a tragic poet likewiſe. While yet but young, he was ſo ſenſible of his own merit, as to attempt to rival Eſchylus, and to ſhare with him the applauſe of the public. He carried his point on his firſt eſſay, and came off the conqueror of his maſter. Eſchylus ſurvived his defeat but a ſhort while; for having retired to Sicily, he died ſoon after. Sophocles retained his genius, in all its vigour, to a very old age, in the courſe of which he received the crown of victory no fewer than twenty times. Of all his works ſeven tragedies have only reached us. He was more eloquent

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and clear than Eſchylus, and managed the paſſions with greater art. In his pieces, terror and pity were more ſkilfully produced, and affected the audience with more lively impreſſions. The ſweetneſs of his numbers procured him the appellation of *The Bee*. His exceſs of joy, on account of the ſucceſs of his laſt piece, occaſioned his death.

Euripides, another tragic poet, was born at Salamis, flouriſhed much about the ſame time with the former, and was equally ſucceſsful in the ſame purſuit. He is more laboured and more ſententious than Sophocles. The beautiful predomines in his pieces were not admired in Attica only. At Syracuſe, after the defeat of the Athenians, ſome priſoners received their liberty, as a reward for having recited a few of his verſes. The admirable moral maxims with which his pieces abound diſcover a great deal of the philoſophical ſpirit, to the ſtudy of which he had given much application.

Father Brumoy has been at great pains to point out the characteriſtical diſtinctions of theſe three celebrated poets. Eſchylus, ſays he, carried the language of tragedy to a grandeur bordering on bombaſt. His ſtyle is more pompous than even that of the Iliad. —— Sophocles hit upon the juſt theatrical grandeur. He unites dignity and preciſion in his diction. His ſtyle is noble and majeſtic. Tenderneſs and elegance diſtinguiſh the productions of Euripides; but they are leſs nervous and ſublime than thoſe of Sophocles. —— The firſt is a torrent that precipitates over rocks and through foreſts. The ſecond is a pompous rapid river, whoſe waves roll along with majeſty and force. The third is a gentle ſtream, not always flowing in an even courſe, but conſtantly meandring through beautiful flowery meadows. —— Shakeſpear poſſeſſes a great deal of the ſpirit of Eſchylus and Sophocles; Otway and Rowe ſomewhat of Euripides.

Ariſtophanes, the comic poet, was cotemporary with Socrates and Euripides. We have yet preſerved to us eleven of his comedies, in which he ſtands forth as a cenſor

cenſor of government. His elegance and delicacy of expreſſion, and, particularly, that Attic ſalt, of which the ancients were ſo fond, are moſt valued. He excelled in the ridiculous, and amuſed the Athenians with his ſatirical jokes; but his buffoonry is often extremely groſs, and his obſcenity ſtill more ſo.

Herodotus is called the father of hiſtory, becauſe he is the moſt ancient author whoſe writings of that kind have been handed down to poſterity. He was a native of Halicarnaſſus, a city of Caria; but having retired to Samos, he there compoſed, in the Ionic dialect, his hiſtory of the Greeks and Perſians. He takes it up at Cyrus, and carries it on to the battle of Mycale under Xerxes, comprehending altogether a ſpace of 120 years. But he has intermingled with it that of ſeveral other nations, particularly the Egyptians. His ſtyle is ſo flowing, and ſo pure, that his books, on being publicly read at the Olympic games, obtained the names of the nine muſes. It is true, that he is full of digreſſions, and is reproached for his credulity, and the pleaſure he takes in relating fables *. But it does not at all appear to have been his intention

* Here I cannot avoid taking notice of a very curious circumſtance mentioned by Herodotus, which, whatever other inference ſome readers may deduce from it, furniſhes a ſtrong proof of the fidelity with which Herodotus reported what he heard. The paſſage to which I allude occurs in his Euterpé, p. 164. of the 2d folio edition of his Hiſtory, by Stephanus. He is there relating the accounts received by him from the Egyptian prieſts, concerning the duration of their country. Of this paſſage the meaning is in Engliſh this: "That during the period aſſigned "by the Egyptians for the duration of their country, they aſ-"ſured Herodotus, that four remarkable alterations had hap-"pened in the courſe of the ſun, which had riſen twice in the "ſame point where he was then ſetting, and had ſet twice in the "ſame point where he was then riſing"——Herodotus reports this tradition, without intimating his own opinion, either as to the poſſibility or impoſſibility of what the Egyptians aſſerted.—It is apparent that the Egyptians themſelves derived this notion merely from tradition, without underſtanding the reaſon of the phenomenon of which they ſpoke. For if they had comprehended the

intention to confine himſelf to *undoubted certain* facts. He had formed himſelf on the model of the firſt poets, and thought it ſufficient if he kept within the bounds of probability. It muſt be confeſſed, however, that he always carefully diſtinguiſhes between certainty, probability, and fable. In his time flouriſhed the moſt famous poets; and the praiſes of Sophocles and Euripides were every where reſounded. Herodotus, on his ſide, purſued a new path to the temple of fame; and propoſed to charm his countrymen with the beauty of his proſe. It is reported of Thucydides, that on hearing the works of Herodotus read, he was ſo ſtruck with admiration, that he ſhed tears of joy, and was ſeized with a noble emulation to acquire reputation by the ſame means.

Thucydides was likewiſe a celebrated hiſtorian. He was a native of Athens. We have already ſeen, that he was bred to the military life, and ſerved as a ſoldier in the Athenian armies. It was about the commence-

the cauſe of the phenomenon, they muſt have clearly underſtood, that it furniſhed incontrovertible evidence of the duration of their country from a period amazingly more remote than what they aſſigned to it. In fact it is now well known and univerſally admitted, that in a very long period of time, no leſs indeed than 25920 years the phenomenon here aſcribed to the ſun actually takes place, in conſequence of a motion called by aſtronomers the *preceſſion of the equinoxes*. Thus at the diſtance of 12960 years from the preſent time the ſun will appear to riſe in the ſame point of the heavens where he now ſets, and to ſet where he now riſes; and in 12960 years more, or in the whole period of 25920 years he will complete his revolution, and riſe and ſet exactly where he riſes and ſets at preſent.

Hipparchus, on comparing an aſtronomical obſervation made by him 146 years before Chriſt, with an obſervation made 149 years before his, by Timocharis and Ariſtillus, found ſo ſtriking a diſcrepancy, that he was led to ſuſpect a peculiarity in the ſun's apparent courſe, which had not before been adverted to. Hipparchus's opinion, however, went no farther than ſuſpicion. Ptolemy, of Peluſium, having repeated the ſame obſervation about 300 years after Hipparchus, diſcovered, from the reſult of his obſervation, compared with the two preceding obſervations, that Hipparchus's ſuſpicion was well founded: and poſterior aſtronomical obſervations aſcertained the fact even to demonſtration.

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ment of the Peloponneſian war, that he conceived the deſign of writing his hiſtory. Of the events of that war he had been an eye witneſs till the eighth year of its continuance; when, upon an accuſation of having failed to relieve Amphipolis, he was ſent into baniſhment. During the period of his diſgrace, which laſted twenty years, he compoſed his hiſtory. He is ſaid to have ſpared no pains to obtain faithful and exact accounts of the moſt minute circumſtance that occurred in each campaign. He carried on his hiſtory to the twenty firſt year of that war; but we are indebted for that of the remaining ſix years of it to Theopompus and Xenophon. He made uſe of his native Attic dialect, not only as the moſt pure, but likewiſe as the moſt nervous and expreſſive. He diſtributed his hiſtory into years. The ſubject of this war is not indeed ſo intereſting as that of Herodotus, which deſcribed the united efforts of all Greece againſt the formidable power of the Perſians, while that of Thucydides is confined to the quarrels of the Grecian ſtates among themſelves, in which they exerted their utmoſt efforts to ruin one another. But it was not the fault of the hiſtorian, that he was witneſs only to ſuch melancholy events. It is likewiſe true, that this hiſtorian has not imitated Herodotus, by interweaving epiſodes and digreſſions in his hiſtory; for truth being his ſole object, he did not think himſelf at liberty to mix it with fable. With reſpect to his ſtile, it is elevated, maſculine, and correct; his diction is cloſe and nervous; every word being almoſt a ſentence.

As the ſtyle of Herodotus is ſweet and flowing, ſo that of Thucydides has a great deal of preciſion and vehemence. The firſt, according to Cicero, is like a ſmooth river, rolling its waters along with eaſe and majeſty; the ſecond, like an impetuous torrent, hurrying on with rapidity and force. —His reaſoning is ſtrong and profound; his reflections are juſt, and always ſeaſonable. Unprejudiced in favour of his native country, one would imagine him to be of neither of the coun-

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tries whoſe actions he deſcribes; for never did hiſtorian write leſs from prejudice or paſſion. His preciſion, it is ſaid, renders him often obſcure; but this fault is overlooked in favour of his veracity, there being no Greek hiſtorian more exact or more impartial.

He is further found fault with, for having put into the mouths of his heroes, orations too finiſhed and regular, to have been produced in the hurry and heat of action. But they are ſo eloquent and characteriſtical, that we are at little pains in examining minutely, whether they were ſpoken preciſely in that form or not.

Of *Xenophon* we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak at great length in the body of our hiſtory. He was born at Athens. Having engaged, when very young, in the army of the younger Cyrus, the brother of Artaxerxes, he had the honour of being the chief conductor of the famous retreat of the 10,000 Greeks back to their native country. After his return, he ſerved as a ſoldier, till the time of Ageſilaus, when he was baniſhed by the Athenians, on an unjuſt ſuſpicion of favouring the Lacedæmonians; becauſe he always expreſſed a high opiniion of the Spartan laws. Xenophon having thereupon retired to Scyltonte, there compoſed his works; namely, The Cyropedeia, or, Hiſtory of Cyrus the Great; The Expedition, or, Retreat of the 10,000 Greeks; and, The Continuation of the Hiſtory of Thucydides, from the return of Alcibiades into Attica, to the battle of Mantinea, comprehending a ſpace of forty-eight years. Theſe works diſplay a vaſt extent of genius and learning; and clearly evince the writer to have been a ſkilful commander, a judicious philoſopher, and an elegant hiſtorian. His ſtyle is ſo pure, ſo harmonious, and ſo ſweet, that he merited the appellation of the *Athenian Bee*: it is, at the ſame time, wonderfully ſimple. But notwithſtanding this ſimplicity, he has ſuſtained all the hiſtorical dignity. Cicero pronounces the eulogium of this admirable writer in theſe ſix words! "*Xenophontis voce muſas quaſi locutas ferunt;*" ſo many graces did that great orator diſcover in the ſtile of this

author! It is a queſtion among the learned, whether his Cyropedeia ought to be looked upon as a real hiſtory, or only as a philoſophical romance. The laſt opinion is maintained by the ableſt critics; and, indeed the arguments adduced by them appear ſo ſolid and convincing, that we are ſurpriſed the matter ſhould continue longer doubtful. He died at the age of ninety years.

Iſocrates, the celebrated orator, was a native of Athens, and received his education under the greateſt maſters. The weakneſs of his voice, and his natural baſhfulneſs, not permitting him to ſpeak in public, he applied himſelf at firſt to private compoſition, chuſing, for his ſubjects, queſtions of polity and government. He likewiſe compoſed pleadings for the uſe of others. Afterwards he opened a ſchool of eloquence, in which the greateſt orators of Greece were formed. The ſucceſs of this eſtabliſhment procured him both a high reputation and a great fortune; for he was attended by a number of ſcholars, who rewarded his pains with very handſome gratuities. He likewiſe received large preſents. Nicocles, king of Cyprus, for one oration that bears his name, gave him twenty talents. The character of his ſtyle has been excellently pointed out by Cicero. "Iſocrates's eloquence," ſays he, "is "ſweet and agreeable, replete with ingenious argu-"ments, and harmonious periods;" but, in his opinion, it is more proper for imaginary compoſition than for real practice. He was the firſt that introduced into the Greek language, numbers, cadence, and harmony. He was extremely careful, perhaps too much ſo, about the arrangement of his words. It muſt be confeſſed however, that the love of probity and virtue diſtinguiſhes his orations, which are uniformly calculated to inſpire both princes and ſubjects with truth, honour, and a love for the public happineſs. The grief which the loſs of the battle of Cheronea gave him, put a period to his life in an extreme old age. His connections with Philip may be juſtified from his ignorance of his real

character. Plutarch blames Iſocrates for having conſumed that time, which he ought to have dedicated to the ſervice of the commonwealth, in arranging words and ſentences. But this criticiſm is rather too ſevere. Iſocrates had by no means received from nature talents proper for public buſineſs. He was indeed the beſt rhetorician of his time; but he was rather qualified for the college than for the camp.

Of the orator *Eſchines* we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully in the ſequel.

Lyſias, another famous orator, ſhone at Athens in the time of Socrates; and was ſo much intereſted in the fate of that wiſe man, that, upon his being brought to trial, he inſiſted with him to make uſe of an oration that he had compoſed for him with the utmoſt care and ingenuity. He was always conſidered as one of the fineſt orators of Greece. Lyſias, ſays Cicero, wrote with extreme elegance and preciſion; and Athens might boaſt of poſſeſſing in him a perfect orator.

Iſeus, another orator, was a ſcholar of Lyſias, and imitated his maſter's ſtyle very exactly. His merit did not appear till after the Peloponneſian war: and, indeed, his chief glory ſeems to ariſe from his having taught the famous Demoſthenes.

Phidias, the celebrated Athenian ſculptor, was the firſt that inſpired the Greeks with a taſte of beautiful nature in ſtatuary, and taught them to imitate it. By the ſtrength of his genius he had formed, in his imagination, a model of ideal beauty, at which he conſtantly aimed. His chief merit lay in the propriety and dignity with which he repreſented the gods. His maſter pieces were, *1ſt*, A ſtatue of Minerva of gold and ivory, thirty-nine feet high, which was placed in the temple of that goddeſs. *2dly*, Another of Olympian Jove, accounted one of the ſeven wonders of the world, and of which he is ſaid to have taken the idea from Homer.—This work procured him an immortal fame: It ſtruck the ſpectators with aſtoniſhment. He excelled likewiſe

likewiſe in painting, and drew at Athens the portrait of the famous Pericles.

Myron was another renowned Athenian ſculptor. His copper cow is looked upon as his maſter-piece.

Zeuxis, the famous painter, was a native of Heraclea. He excelled in colouring. It was he who painted ſome grapes ſo naturally, that upon the picture's being expoſed in public, the birds came and picked at them. Tranſported with joy, he immediately challenged Parrhaſius, another celebrated painter, to produce any of his works that was comparable to this. Parrhaſius painted a piece, apparently covered with a kind of ſtuff by way of curtain. *Come, draw that curtain*, cried Zeuxis, *that we may ſee this maſter-piece.* The piece was no other than the curtain itſelf. Zeuxis acknowledged himſelf ſurpaſſed; for, ſays he, *I only deceived the birds; but Parrhaſius has deceived even me.*

Parrhaſius was by birth an Epheſian, and the cotemporary and rival of Zeuxis, as has been juſt mentioned. They two paſſed for the moſt ſkilfull of their time. Parrhaſius excelled in deſign, in the juſtneſs of his proportions, in the airs of his heads, both lively and languiſhing, and in the dignity of his faces. His picture of the people of Athens, expreſſive of their good and bad qualities, acquired him great reputation.

Timanthus of Sicyon was another cotemporary of Parrhaſius. His diſtinguiſhing talent was invention, and his maſter-piece the ſacrifice of Iphigenia. In this picture, after exhibiting, in the face of the aſſiſtants, the different degrees of affliction felt by each, being unable to expreſs that of Agamemnon, the father of Iphigenia, he covers his face with a veil, leaving to the imagination of the ſpectators to figure his diſtreſs. He is ſaid to have borrowed this idea from the Iphigenia of Euripides; where the poet makes Agamemnon, on ſeeing his daughter led on to be ſacrificed, throw his robe over his eyes.

THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE.

BOOK III.

Containing the History of the THIRD AGE of Greece.

From the concluſion of the Peloponneſian war, to the death of Alexander the Great, a period of eighty-one years.

IN the beginning of this third age of Greece, we once more ſee the Spartans become, by the event of the Peloponneſian war, the leading people in Greece. This advantage they maintain for about thirty years, from the time of Lyſander, to that of Conon, who enabled his own countrymen, as well as the other Greeks, to ſhake off the domineering yoke of Sparta.

It is in this third age that we muſt fix the point of declenſion of the Grecian glory. We ſhall perceive, that the ambition of extending their conqueſts beyond the limits of their own country, was the firſt cauſe of the change of the national ſpirit of the Greeks. The plunder of the wealthy Aſiatic cities that fell into their hands, produced the paſſion of avarice: and their frequent

quent intercourſe with the Perſians, whoſe magnificence excited their admiration, inſpired them with the love of luxury. By theſe means, the Greeks degenerated from their former virtue; and the arts, promoted by the ſuperfluous calls of luxury and wealth, alone profited by the change.

The mutual diſſenſions of the ſtates of Greece was another cauſe of their ruin. The Perſians, finding it impoſſible to ſubdue them by open force, attempted their deſtruction, by fomenting among them diſcord and diviſion; and, for that purpoſe, effectually employed their gold and ſilver, which, in all ages, and in all nations, have been the bane of human virtue and felicity. By loading with preſents thoſe who poſſeſſed the chief influence in the different governments, they ſucceeded in arming againſt each other the two braveſt ſtates of Greece, who thus exhauſted their ſtrength in domeſtic quarrels. The Perſians, however, were not deſtined to reap the fruit of their pernicious politics and corruption, which eventually turned to the advantage of a power with which Greece was more nearly connected. Philip, King of Macedon, perceived, that it would be no difficult matter to ſubdue that country; but its final ſubjection was reſerved to ſwell the triumphs of his ſon the illuſtrious Alexander.

CHAP. I.

Affairs of Greece, from the concluſion of the Peloponneſian war to the peace of Antalcides.

THE thirty archons, eſtabliſhed by Lyſander in Athens, quickly gave way to their ty- 404.
rannical inclinations; and to enforce their decrees, obtained of Lyſander an armed guard. This was the ſignal of their approaching tyranny. The richer citizens, and thoſe whoſe virtue and influence might be

be a bar to their violent proceedings, were the firſt victims of their cruelty.

Still more to overawe the people, and to prevent a revolt, they armed 3000 of the citizens who were beſt affected to their party.—Theſe availing themſelves of their power, to ruin and deſtroy their private enemies, Athens immediately became one general ſcene of blood and rapine. None durſt oppoſe the pleaſure of thoſe wicked men. Critias, of all the thirty the moſt cruel and the moſt wicked, carried his oppreſſion and injuſtice to ſuch an extreme, that Theramenes, the only one of their number who was actuated with any regard for the welfare of his country, was provoked to oppoſe the deſpotiſm of him and of his other colleagues. This drew upon Theramenes the reſentment of the tyrants, and Critias accuſed him, before the ſenate, of diſturbing the public quiet. Theramenes managed his defence with ſuch force of argument, that Critias, ſuſpecting he might be acquitted, introduced into the ſenate ſome of his moſt devoted creatures, who from time to time induſtriouſly expoſed to the eyes of the judges the points of the daggers, wherewith they were privately armed. The judges, thus intimidated, condemned Theramenes to death. Socrates alone, whoſe ſcholar he had been, ventured to oppoſe this ſentence, and went ſo far as to attempt to hinder the guards from dragging Theramenes from the altar; but he was obliged to yield to ſuperior force. He then exhorted the ſenators and people to avenge themſelves on their preſumptuous oppreſſors. Nothing but the merit of Socrates could have ſcreened him from the reſentment of the tyrants, who diſcovered no higher marks of their diſpleaſure, than by prohibiting him to inſtruct the youth.

The fate of Theramenes was bewailed by every honeſt Athenian. Xenophon has immortaliſed the intepridity with which that celebrated Athenian met death. He tells us, that when he had received and drunk the poiſon with the moſt ſtriking calmneſs and fortitude, he poured out the remains of it on the ground, in the manner

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of the libations in ſacrifices, with theſe words, "This "for the virtuous Critias." Theramenes was well acquainted with the ſcience of government. But his zeal in procuring the condemnation of the commanders who gained the battle of Arginuſæ, remains an indelible blot on his memory.

Let us for a moment caſt our eyes on the Perſian affairs. Darius Nothus died ſoon after the arrival of his ſon Cyrus at court. Paryſatis, that young prince's mother, who was extremely fond of him, had exerted all her influence with the late king, to perſuade him to declare Cyrus his ſucceſſor in the kingdom, to the excluſion of his eldeſt ſon Arſames. But Darius obſtinately refuſed to commit an act of ſuch injuſtice. The new king, on his acceſſion, aſſumed the name of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Cyrus grown deſperate at ſeeing his brother on the throne, vowed his deſtruction.—Of what crimes is not the heart capable which is actuated by ambition alone!

Artaxerxes gets notice of the deſign entertained againſt his life by his brother, and orders him to be apprehended. His life, however, is ſpared at the interceſſion of his mother; and Artaxerxes, inſtead of diſabling Cyrus from creating further diſturbance, was ſimple (or perhaps generous) enough to reſtore him to the government of the provinces formerly in his poſſeſſion.

That ambitious prince immediately reſolved to attempt the dethronement of his brother. With that view he employed Clearchus to raiſe an army of Greeks, under the pretence of aſſiſting the Lacedemonians in a war they were meditating againſt Thrace; and to bind Lyſander ſtill more cloſely to his intereſts, he is ſaid to have made him a preſent of a galley 200 cubits long, built of ivory, ornamented with gold. Alcibiades, who was at that time living in retirement in a remote corner of Phrygia, eaſily conjectured the real deſtination of Cyrus's warlike preparations. As Artaxerxes might be of great uſe to his affairs, Alcibiades formed the reſolution of giving him intelligence of what was plotting againſt

gainſt him; and for that purpoſe travelled into the province of Pharnabazus.—We ſhall by and by ſee the conſequences of this unnatural project of Cyrus.

In the mean time the unhappy Athenians, overwhelmed by the extremity of their miſeries, began to caſt their eyes upon Alcibiades for deliverance, and to concert meaſures for bringing him home. But the tyrants getting notice of their intentions, and dreading the embarraſſment that might be thrown in the way of their projects by a man of ſuch diſtinguiſhed parts and activity, ſignified to Lyſander, that it was neceſſary for the quiet and ſecurity of the government, ſo to diſpoſe of Alcibiades, that he might not have the power of creating them any diſturbance. In conſequence of their remonſtrances, Lyſander required Pharnabazus to deliver him up dead or alive, and preſſed his demand with the utmoſt eagerneſs, ſeeming to inſiſt upon it as an eſſential condition of the alliance between the Lacedemonians and Perſians. Pharnabazus was mean ſpirited enough to gratify Lyſander, and gave the neceſſary orders for the apprehenſion of Alcibiades. The guards ſent to ſeize him ſtood in ſuch awe of him, that they had not courage to break into his houſe, to which, therefore, they ſet fire. Alcibiades, after endeavouring in vain to extinguiſh the flames, ruſhed through them ſword in hand. The barbarians not daring even then to wait his approach, retired before him, but at the ſame time diſcharged at him a ſhower of darts, which killed him on the ſpot.

Thus periſhed, at the age of forty years, this extraordinary man, at the very ſeaſon that his countrymen ſtood moſt in need of his aſſiſtance. His character exhibits a very ſingular aſſemblage of good and bad qualities. He was, by turns, the dread and the ſcourge of his own country, and of the other ſtates of Greece; and experienced, through the whole courſe of his life, the moſt extraordinary revolutions and caprices of fortune. It is, on the whole, difficult to determine whether his beſt apparent diſpoſitions deſerve the name of virtues.

For his conduct diſcovers more art and addreſs than honour and integrity; more vanity and ambition than real patriotiſm; his conſtant aim being to live in a diſtinguiſhed ſphere. It was from private motives of ambition that he perſuaded his countrymen to engage in the Sicilian expedition, of which the miſerable concluſion is juſtly regarded as the commencement of their ruin.

The Athenian tyrants no longer kept any meaſures. Every day was marked with murders and impriſonments; an univerſal dejection prevailed; and no citizen appeared hardy enough to attempt the deliverance of his oppreſt countrymen. Socrates alone laboured both by his diſcourſes and example to ſupport the drooping ſpirits of the Athenians, and to prevent their giving way entirely to deſpair; behaving, on all occaſions, with wonderful conſtancy and reſolution, and plainly ſhewing, that he ſtood in no fear of the tyrants.—What a misfortune for thoſe who occupy the foremoſt ſtations in life to be inſenſible to honour, and regardleſs of the opinion entertained of them by the reſt of mankind, and of the judgement that ſhall be formed of them by poſterity; for a diſregard of reputation naturally and readily begets a diſregard of virtue.—This is the reflection of Diodorus Siculus upon the conduct of the thirty tyrants.

The moſt conſiderable citizens of Athens, to avoid the cruelty and oppreſſion of thoſe wicked men, abandoned their native city, and ſettled in great numbers in different parts of Greece. It will hardly be believed, that the Lacedemonians, whoſe reſentment might have been fully gratified by the miſeries already brought upon the Athenians, prohibited, on this occaſion, the other Greek cities to give refuge to thoſe unfortunate exiles. This mean, cruel jealouſy of the Lacedemonians ſhocks us; and, inſtead of diſcovering any trace of the ancient Spartan magnanimity, throws an indelible ſtain on the character of their nation. Such is the power of conqueſt and ambition, to corrupt the moſt virtuous hearts. Two cities only, Megara and Thebes, diſre-

garded this ungenerous and inhumane injunction, and granted an aſylum to ſuch of the Athenians as implored their protection.

We at preſent contemplate the Athenians almoſt overwhelmed by their numberleſs ſufferings; but we ſhall by and by ſee them riſing above their misfortunes, and in a manner returning to a new life. Thraſybulus will immediately attract all the attention of the reader; being deſtined to reſtore Athens to her former ſplendor, and to diſplay in the ſight of all Greece, how much even one man of virtue and magnanimity is able to perform. In a meeting of many of his fellow-citizens, aſſembled by Thraſybulus at Thebes, it was unanimouſly reſolved, to make one effort more to aſſert the liberty of their native country. Lyſias the celebrated orator, who had been baniſhed by the tyrants, levied 500 ſoldiers at his own expences. With this ſlender force Thraſybulus boldly marches into Attica, and ſeizes Phile, a ſtrong fortreſs in the neighbourhood of Athens. The tyrants haſten to oppoſe him at the head of 3000 men, and give him battle; but their troops unable to ſuſtain the impetuoſity of Thraſybulus's little army, are repulſed, and retreat to Athens. Thraſybulus having received a reinforcement of 700 men, falls upon the Spartan guard poſted before Phile by the tyrants, and cuts off the greateſt part of them.

The tyrants alarmed, give orders to maſſacre all the ſuſpected Athenians who were able to bear arms, and make propoſals of accommodation to Thraſybulus. He rejects their propoſals, and having at laſt muſtered up a ſmall army of about 1000 men, advances to Pyreus, engages the tyrants who had marched againſt him, and obtains the victory. In this battle fell the wicked Critias. Thraſybulus calls aloud to the vanquiſhed Athenians who were flying, that it is againſt the tyrants alone he is fighting, not againſt his fellow-citizens; and mildly upbraids them for oppoſing thoſe who are come to reſtore them to their former liberty and independency. They are ſo much affected by this harangue, that, entering the

city, they immediately depoſe the tyrants, and confer the adminiſtration on ten of the principal citizens.

But this decemvirate proves no better than their former maſters; and conſidering themſelves as unſecure while Thraſybulus holds poſſeſſion of Pyreus, they ſend to Sparta to crave freſh aſſiſtance. Lyſander is diſpatched to their relief, who advances towards Pyreus with an army of Peloponneſians, and blocks up the harbour. Thraſybulus is ſoon reduced to great extremity for want of proviſions. But Pauſanias enraged at the long proſperity of ſo wicked a man as Lyſander, arrives with a freſh body of troops, intending rather to favour the Athenians, than to reinforce Lyſander. As there was a great number of Athenians in Pyreus, Pauſanias commands them to retire home to the city; and on their refuſing to comply, attacks them. A ſharp conflict enſues, in which the Athenians are worſted, and obliged to return to the city.

The Athenians, on being again upbraided by Thraſybulus, once more take courage, and re-eſtabliſh the popular government. The remains of the faction of the tyrants withdraw to Eleuſis, and attempting to renew the public diſturbance, an army is ſent againſt them. The tyrants endeavour in vain to recover their authority. Being decoyed to an interview, they are all ſacrificed to the public reſentment; and Athens begins at laſt to enjoy peace and tranquillity. But in this civil war, raiſed and fomented by the wicked policy of Lyſander, more Athenian citizens loſt their lives, than in any ten years of the Peloponneſian war.

The government of Athens is reſtored to its former footing; the ordinary magiſtrates are created; and Thraſybulus, ſtill more effectually to eſtabliſh the quiet of his country, engages the citizens ſolemnly to bind themſelves by oath to bury all paſt injuries in oblivion. This was an action of the higheſt prudence; for as every citizen was intitled by law to proſecute thoſe who had occaſioned the ſlaughter of his relations in the late bloody diſſenſions, the ſeeds of diſcord and hatred muſt

have ſubſiſted without end. This mutual amneſty, therefore, brought about by Thraſybulus, was the beſt and readieſt method of eſtabliſhing the public tranquillity.

The authority and power of Lyſander had long ago arrived at their height; and inſolence and haughtineſs, the uſual concomitants of ſuperior power, were by him carried to the moſt exceſſive pitch. Whoever incurred his diſpleaſure was ſacrificed to his reſentment; and to accompliſh his deſigns he ſpared neither fraud nor cruelty. 800 of the principal inhabitants of Miletus had been by his order put to death; and the Lacedemonians were now degenerated to ſuch a degree, that they baſely permitted one of their citizens to commit ſuch a monſtrous act of cruelty and injuſtice with impunity. But every thing has an end.

Pharnabazus, haraſſed by the continual pillage committed in his provinces by Lyſander, ſent deputies to complain of him at Sparta. This procured a letter to be ſent him by the Ephori, commanding his return. He was confounded at the order; but obeyed, and pleaded his defence before the ſenate. But not enduring to live at Sparta in the undiſtinguiſhed ſtation of a private citizen, he ſoon left the city, under the pretence of making a journey to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to diſcharge a vow. As he held in dependence all the cities of Greece, by means of the government he had ſet up in them, and of his partizans, to whom he had committed all power, the kings of Sparta thought it expedient every where to re-eſtabliſh democracy, and to baniſh the creatures of Lyſander. Getting notice of theſe reſolutions, and hearing at the ſame time of the endeavours of Thraſybulus to reſtore Athens to liberty, he ſuddenly returned to Sparta, to perſuade the Lacedemonians to maintain the ariſtocratical government in Athens. But his attempts were fruſtrated by the wiſdom of Pauſanias.

Let us turn our eyes for a moment from the affairs of

of Greece, to the operations of the young Cyrus, in profecution of the enterprife he had formed, of depriving his brother of his crown and life. 401.

A remarkable example of the power of ambition over the human heart! This unnatural attempt had for a long while employed all the excellent talents received by Cyrus from nature. He gave a moft welcome reception to all thofe who came from his brother's court, and put in practice every art to detach them from his intereſts. He even prevailed with the barbarians to ſubmit to a regular warlike diſcipline. But his chief dependence being on the valour of the Greeks, with whom the maritime ſituation of his provinces rendered him more particularly connected, he ſpared no pains to gain their affection. He recruited his garriſons with the beſt ſoldiers of the Peloponneſe; and levied an army of no fewer than 13,000 Greeks. In this he was much aſſiſted by Clearchus, an exiled Spartan, to whom he had granted an aſylum at his court.

About the ſame time ſeveral cities revolted from the government of Tiſſaphernes, and transferred their allegiance to Cyrus; who the better to diſguiſe his intentions, ſent bitter complaints to his brother againſt that governor. This behaviour had the deſired effect, and perſuaded Artaxerxes, that Cyrus's preparations were ſolely againſt Tiſſaphernes; for that monarch was naturally of a mild, humane, generous diſpoſition, qualities incompatible with a ſuſpicious temper, and apt to lull the man that poſſeſſes them into a ſtate of too great ſecurity. Beſides all this, Cyrus had creatures devoted to his intereſts ſcattered through his brother's court, who, by extolling continually the admirable qualifications of Cyrus, and hinting the neceſſity of a powerful empire having at its head a man of diſtinguiſhed courage and abilities, were artfully ſowing the ſeeds of ſedition and revolt. As Cyrus lay under the greateſt obligations to Clearchus, and entertained a high opinion of his fidelity and underſtanding, he communicated to him his whole deſign. He poſſeſſed at the ſame time ſuch influence with the Greeks,

Greeks, that the Lacedemonians commanded their fleet immediately to join the forces of Cyrus, and implicitly to obey his orders.

Beſides the 13,000 Greeks, Cyrus had already levied among the barbarians an army of 100,000 men. Clearchus commanded the Grecian forces, compoſed of Lacedemonians, Acheans, Bœotians, and Theſſalians: and his fleet, conſiſting of 60 veſſels, was ordered to ſail along the coaſt, and to attend the army. —— The famous Xenophon, then a very young man, accompanied Cyrus in this expedition.

With theſe forces Cyrus quitted Sardis, and advanced by haſty marches towards the upper provinces of Aſia. Tiſſaphernes, at length acquainted with the real deſtination of Cyrus's expedition, poſted to the court of Artaxerxes, and informed him of the danger wherewith he was threatened. In conſequence of this intelligence, that monarch quickly aſſembled a numerous army. Cyrus, in the mean time, ran a great hazard of being ſtopped at the paſs of Cilicia, out of which, however, he extricated himſelf by a ſingular piece of good fortune. The Greek troops, upon their arrival at Tarſus, beginning to ſuſpect that they were to be led againſt the Perſian monarch, refuſed to advance any further; and it was with great difficulty that Clearchus ſucceeded in appeaſing them; and prevailed with them by means of an augmentation of their pay to proceed. Here likewiſe Cyrus explained to his other troops the real deſtination of his expedition.

Cyrus having entered the province of Babylon, aſſembled the Greek officers, and told them, that it was not want of other troops that had induced him to employ them, but a conſciouſneſs of their ſuperior merit, which rendered a ſmall number of them of much greater importance than a multitude of barbarians. He exhorted them therefore to approve themſelves worthy the high opinion entertained of their conduct and bravery.

Artaxerxes,

Artaxerxes, in the mean time, advanced at the head of an immenſe army, amounting, as is 401. alledged, to 1,200,000 men, commanded by Tiſſaphernes, Gobrias, and Arbaces. Beſides theſe, there were in the army of Artaxerxes 150 chariots, while Cyrus, on the other hand, had no more than twenty. The two armies met at a place called *Cunaxa*. Cyrus himſelf drew up his army in battle order, and took his own poſt in the centre. On being intreated by Clearchus to avoid the dangerous part of the engagement; "What "doſt thou adviſe?" replied the prince, "while I aim "at a throne, wouldſt thou deſire me to ſhow myſelf "unworthy of it?"

A thick cloud of duſt appearing about three o'clock afternoon, announced the approach of the army of the king. His foot were diſpoſed in ſquare columns; and in the front were ranged the chariots, armed with ſcythes. The king himſelf was in the centre, ſurrounded by 6000 choſen horſe. Cyrus diſcovered the utmoſt eagerneſs and joy. He had ordered Clearchus with the Greek forces to advance to the centre. But as ſoon as they perceived the army of the king marching on in good order, they ſtruck their javelins againſt their ſhields, and inſtantly ruſhed forward to charge the barbarians, who, unable to ſuſtain their attack, gave ground and fled.

While Cyrus beheld with pleaſure the troops of his brother flying before his Greeks, the perſon of the king ſtruck his view. Immediately, therefore, crying out in a tranſport, "I ſee him;" he obeys the dictates of his fury, gallops up to him, followed by no more than 600 horſe, kills with his own hand the commander of the king's guard, pierces through thoſe that were poſted before him, at laſt reaches his brother, wounds the horſe, on which he rode, with a dart, and throws him to the ground. Artaxerxes having mounted another horſe, Cyrus aims a ſecond blow at him, but is in his turn ſtruck with a javelin diſcharged at him by the king, and is at the ſame time overwhelmed by a ſhower of darts

darts from the king's attendants, which laid him dead on the ſpot. Several of the principal noblemen who fought by his ſide, are ſlain above his body. Then Mezabates, by the king's orders, cuts off the head and right hand of Cyrus.

A part of the prince's army hearing of his death, betake themſelves to flight, and Tiſſaphernes leads on the reſt of the king's army againſt that part of Cyrus's which ſtill kept its ground. The Greeks open their ranks and let him paſs. Artaxerxes hearing that the Greeks had defeated his left wing, rallies his troops, and advances to attack them, as yet ignorant of Cyrus's death. The Greeks, apprehenſive of being ſurrounded, place themſelves in ſuch a ſituation as to have their rear ſecured by a river, and ſeeing the king approaching againſt them, boldly march up to charge him. But the barbarians give ground as before, and diſperſe on all ſides.

Thus fell the young Cyrus a victim to his extravagant ambition, and deſire of revenge. Xenophon has given us a finiſhed picture of this prince. By his account, Cyrus ſurpaſſed all thoſe of his years in bodily exerciſes. While governor of Lydia, he always profeſſed it to be his chief deſire to fulfil his engagements. He rewarded good offices with uncommon generoſity. He appeared to be only ſo far delighted with ſovereignty, as it enabled him to do good; and no other ways exerted his great power than to accompliſh that end. He beſtowed rewards with much wiſdom, always in proportion to real merit, never by the influence of favour. He conferred an obligation with the beſt grace in the world, and divided among his friends all the preſents that were made him. By this behaviour he gained the love and eſteem both of the Greeks and of the barbarians. But it is remarkable, that Xenophon takes notice only of the virtues of this prince, and is entirely ſilent with reſpect to his faults and vices; his unbounded ambition particularly, which prompted him to dip his hands in his brother's blood; and, if the event had correſponded

reſponded with his intentions, to deprive him both of his crown and of his life.

When the Greeks heard of the death of Cyrus, they were ſtruck with conſternation; and 401.
inſtead of purſuing the enemy, turned all their thoughts to their own ſafety. But Artaxerxes having ſummoned them to lay down their arms, received for anſwer, That they would ſooner die: That they were ready, however, to ſerve him as allies, but that they preferred liberty to life.

In the mean time Arieus, general of the barbarians in Cyrus's army, to whom the Greeks had offered the crown of Perſia, ſent them word, that he was on the point of returning to Ionia; and that if they had a mind to accompany him, they muſt join him that night. They accepted his invitation, and were all, except 300, conducted that night into his camp by Clearchus. At their firſt ſetting out, they made forced marches, but could not by all their diligence avoid the purſuit of the king, who at laſt came up with them. The Greeks, as ſoon as they perceived him, formed themſelves in battle order; and by their excellent diſpoſition and intrepid appearance, ſo intimidated the king, that he diſpatched heralds to acquaint them, that they had orders to conduct them to certain villages, where they ſhould be ſupplied with plenty of proviſions. The Greeks accepted the offer, and paſſed three days in thoſe villages.

Tiſſaphernes, in the mean time, pays a viſit to the Greek commanders, by orders of the king, and in a long harangue tells them, that, pitying the hardſhips and dangers to which they were about to expoſe themſelves, he had obtained permiſſion from the Perſian monarch to conduct them back to their own country. Clearchus anſwered, That the Greeks had been led into Perſia by Cyrus, without being informed of his intentions: That by his death their engagements with him were at an end: That they had by no means undertaken this expedition with any view of making war

on the Perſian monarch, or of creating him any diſturbance; and that all they requeſted was a free paſſage to their native country. Tiſſaphernes having departed to report their anſwer to the king, returned the ſecond day after, and told them, that the king did not intend to oppoſe their return; that he, Tiſſaphernes, would ſupply them with proviſions; and as he was to ſet out immediately for his own province, would accompany them in their journey; and for that purpoſe would come back to them in a very ſhort while.

The Greeks, after waiting for him twenty days, were at length joined by him, and ſet out under his conduct. But Arieus and his troops pitching their camp after this at ſome diſtance from the Greeks, produced ſome ſuſpicions in the latter, who nevertheleſs continued their march. After paſſing the Tigris by a bridge of twenty-ſeven boats, they traverſed the deſarts of Media, leaving the Tigris on their left. But in the mean time the ſuſpicions of the Greeks were daily encreaſing. Clearchus therefore having deſired a conference with Tiſſaphernes, in order to come to an explanation, took occaſion to remind him of the ſolemnity of the engagements he had come under to the Greeks. The ſatrap, by the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of ſincerity, and the warmeſt appearances of friendſhip, effaced all his ſuſpicions. But theſe profeſſions were intended to diſguiſe the moſt villainous perfidy.

As Clearchus no longer entertained any doubt of the ſatrap's integrity and honour, he was prevailed upon, together with the reſt of the chief officers of the Greeks, being four generals and twenty captains, to pay him a viſit. As ſoon as the four generals, Menon, Proxenes, Agias, and Socrates, had entered the tent of Tiſſaphernes, with Clearchus at their head, they were inſtantly ſeized; and, at the ſame time, the twenty captains, who had remained without, were attacked and cut to pieces by 200 Perſian ſoldiers, privately poſted there for that ſpecial purpoſe. The five commanders were carried before the king, and by his orders beheaded. A

dreadful

dreadful example of the wickedneſs of the human heart! Xenophon has given us the characters of thoſe unfortunate commanders, whence it appears, that Clearchus and Proxenes, though they acted on different principles, were both endued with the moſt excellent qualities.

We may eaſily imagine the ſurpriſe of the Greeks at the long abſence of their commanders; and the conſternation occaſioned among them by the news of their fate. They no longer entertained any doubt of its being reſolved to deſtroy them by inſenſible degrees, and in ſmall parties. They found themſelves at the diſtance of 500 or 600 leagues from Greece; hemmed in by a royal army; ſurrounded by mountains and deſarts; and with no guide to lead them through the multitude of enemies that lay in their way.

In this general dejection, Xenophon, who had hitherto ſerved only in the ſtation of a cadet, diſplayed an extraordinary firmneſs of ſoul. Aſſembling the remaining officers, he ſhewed them that their courage was now their only reſource. He adviſed them to appoint new officers to ſupply the places of thoſe they had loſt; to burn their tents and baggage; to begin their retreat immediately; and to march in the form of a hollow ſquare, that ſo they might always be prepared to oppoſe the enemy, from whatever quarter they were attacked: A ſurpriſing inſtance of what one man of genius and reſolution is capable of performing! The Greeks, when on the point of diſperſing, and falling into the hands of their enemies, are ſaved by the wiſdom and activity of Xenophon. Perceiving that the expedient propoſed by him was the moſt eligible and ſafe they could follow, they immediately embrace it, and name new commanders.

Next morning, by the dawn, the troops being aſſembled, Xenophon, to confirm their courage, made them an harangue, wherein he intreated them to recall to remembrance the famous days of Marathon, Thermopylæ, and Platea, when their anceſtors, with armies greatly more inferior to their enemies than they were

to those by whom they were at present opposed, had nevertheless remained victorious; and to rest persuaded, that the gods, the avengers of perfidy, would support their defence. The words of Xenophon were applauded by the whole army, who unanimously approved of his advice, and instantly put it in execution.

After continuing their journey for some days, constantly directing their march towards the heads of the great rivers till they found them fordable; they were at last overtaken and harrassed by the army of Tissaphernes, who had pursued them with all his forces. But the Greeks changing their order of march, repulsed his attacks with very little loss on their own side; and it should seem that Tissaphernes very soon grew weary of pursuing them; for after this time there is no further mention made of him in the relation of Xenophon.

On their arrival at the river Tigris, finding it impassable, on account of its depth, they were obliged to traverse the mountains of the Carducæ, and forced to dispute their passage with the inhabitants of those hills, who had posted themselves on the higher grounds. It cost them seven days to make good their passage, which they at last effected with much labour and fatigue, after being obliged to abandon their beasts of burden, and the prisoners they had taken in their march; and suffering a great deal from repeated attacks of the inhabitants of the country.

After crossing those mountains, they were stopped by a very large river that ran along the foot of them, but passed it at last with much difficulty. Then entering the western quarter of Armenia, they forded the Tigris at its source. Teribazus, the king of Persia's governor in that province, permitted the Greeks to take what provisions they thought proper; but at the same time privately resolved to lay an ambuscade for them in a narrow defile, between some mountains through which their road lay. The Greeks, getting notice of his design, prevented him, by taking possession of the pass before him, and beat off the soldiers sent against them.

After

After this, having croſſed the Euphrates, they were obliged to march through ſnow from five to ſix feet deep. This part of their journey was attended with great hardſhips, and many of the ſoldiers periſhed by the ſeverity of the cold, and the great fatigue. After paſſing the ſnow, they came to certain villages, conſiſting of huts dug under ground, where they reſted ſeveral days. Recommencing their journey, they ſoon arrived at the river Araxes, or Phaſes, which being very large, obliged them to march about through the mountains, where they were oppoſed by the Phaſians and Chalybes, whom they forced at laſt to retire.

After paſſing through the country of the Chalybes, they came to a very high mountain, whence getting a ſight of the ſea, they were ſeized with an exceſs of joy. They had ſtill, however, the mountains of Colchis to traverſe, and to defend themſelves againſt the barbarous inhabitants. But by the ſkilful diſpoſition of the army by Xenophon, they oppoſed and diſperſed thoſe barbarians. Then falling down into the plain, they arrived at certain villages, where they found great plenty of proviſions, and reſted ſome days. In a few days more they reached Trebizond, a Greek colony, where they halted a month. Here they celebrated divers ſorts of games with much joy, and paid the vows they had made to the gods in caſe of their ſafe return.

After deliberating whether they ſhould proceed from this place to Greece by ſea; they came to a reſolution to tranſport only their old and ſickly men in that way, becauſe they could not find ſhipping ſufficient to carry the whole army, and the reſt continued their rout over land. On arriving at Ceraſus they reviewed their forces, and found them to amount to 8600 men, out of 10,000 that had undertaken the retreat; but of their horſe only 40 remained. Coming to Cotyora, and being informed by the inhabitants, that if they proceeded further by land, they ſhould meet with ſeveral rivers and defiles very difficult to paſs; they accepted of the ſhips offered them

them by the Cotyoreans, which landed them next day at Sinope, a Milesian colony in Paphlagonia.

The soldiers seeing themselves now so near their native country, became desirous of obtaining some plunder before their arrival. With this view, they informed Xenophon of their intentions of creating a commander in chief; for hitherto all their measures had been determined by the plurality of votes in a general council. At the same time, they intimated their intention of conferring that honour on him. On this occasion, Xenophon, sensible of their intention, and desirous to keep himself disengaged from their scheme, represented to them, that if they were resolved to create a commander in chief, it was highly proper that a Lacedemonian should fill that station, seeing his countrymen at present occupied the foremost rank in Greece. But perceiving them to be by no means satisfied with this reason, but, on the contrary, obstinate in their choice of him, he was forced at last to tell them, that he had consulted the gods on the subject, and found them averse to his undertaking the command. This effectually freed him from further solicitation for the present, and the choice of the Greeks next fell upon Chrysophorus, a Lacedemonian.

The soldiers beginning to indulge their desire of plunder, their new general interposed, and prohibited them from plundering the Greek colonies. This produced mutinies and discord in the army, and laid them under the necessity of dividing into three bodies; the first of which, consisting of the Peloponnesians, to the number of 4400 men, was commanded by Licon and Callimachus; the second, consisting of 2100 men, by Chrysophorus; and the third, of the same number, by Xenophon. Having procured shipping from the inhabitants of Heraclea, they imbarked at different times, and landed at Chrysopolis. This being a very rich town, the soldiers resolved to pillage it; but upon Xenophon's representing to them, that by so doing they should draw upon themselves the resentment of the Lacedemonians, many

of

of whom were ſettled there, they relinquiſhed that deſign.

From Chryſopolis, therefore, they marched, under the conduct of Xenophon, to Salmydeſſa in Thrace, upon a preſſing invitation from Seuthes, the ſovereign of that country, who intreated their aſſiſtance to recover his dominions; and the more effectually to prevail with them to comply with his deſire, promiſed them a great reward. But after performing the ſervice for which he wanted them, he broke his word, and refuſed to give them any thing; and though Xenophon complained grievouſly of his injuſtice, he obtained no redreſs. This Seuthes was an avaricious prince, entirely influenced by a miniſter void of all faith and honeſty, whoſe only aim was to increaſe his own private fortune.

In the mean time, ambaſſadors from Sparta waited on Xenophon, to inform him, that, at the earneſt intreaty of the towns of Ionia, which had embraced the cauſe of young Cyrus, and, on that account, dreaded the reſentment of Tiſſaphernes, they had declared war againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabazus, and had already diſpatched an army into Ionia, under the command of Thymbron, to protect that country from being ravaged by the enemy. The Greeks, under the command of Xenophon, hearing, that the troops in that expedition received very large pay, engaged themſelves in the ſame ſervice, with the conſent of their commander, who conducted them himſelf to Lampſacus by ſea, their number then amounting altogether to no more than 6000 men. From Lampſacus he proceeded to Pergamus, and from thence to Parthenia, which is accounted the period of this celebrated retreat; for Thymbron having there joined them with his troops, led them altogether from that place againſt Tiſſaphernes.

Thus ended the famous expedition of the ten thouſand; who, in ſpite of the numberleſs difficulties they had to encounter, at almoſt every ſtep, performed in the ſpace of little more than four months, counting from

from the period of the battle of Cunaxa to their arrival at Pergamus, a march of about 1900 miles. This retreat, the moſt extraordinary recorded in any hiſtory, is extremely admired by the maſters in the art of war, for the boldneſs of the undertaking, for the ſkilful execution, and for the ſucceſsful event. For in ſpite of the difficulties of every kind that ſeemed to oppoſe their return, they were ſo lucky as to reach their native country victorious.

To return to Greece.——The Lacedemonians were now meditating the extenſion of their conqueſts beyond the bounds of Greece. But before entering upon that ſubject, the order of time requires us to mention the death of Socrates, an event famous in hiſtory on ſeveral accounts. It happened two years after the expulſion of the tyrants, upon an accuſation, of not acknowledgeing the gods received and worſhipped by the ſtate; of introducing a new religion; and of corrupting the minds of the youth. It were very improper haſtily to ſlur over the fate of this celebrated philoſopher, and not to take particular notice of his very ſingular character, and of the principal circumſtances of his life.

Socrates was born at Athens in the year before Chriſt 469. His father was a ſtatuary, a buſineſs to which Socrates at firſt applied with ſucceſs. But the philoſopher Criton having diſcovered his fine genius, called him off from that employment, and engaged him in the ſtudy of philoſophy; a name then confined to the particular branch of it that treated of the heavenly bodies. But Socrates being ſoon diſguſted with this ſtudy, as well on account of the difficulties attending it, and the uncertainty of its concluſions, as of its ſmall utility in human life, applied himſelf to another ſort of philoſophy, namely, the knowledge of man. For this purpoſe, he carefully ſtudied the paſſions; laboured to aſcertain, on ſolid principles, the notions of good and evil; and, in a word, is regarded as the father of moral philoſophy. That ſcience was by him ſtripped of

the myſtery and auſterity in which it had been till then involved; and he inculcated its precepts with candour, ſimplicity, and preciſion.

His exterior accompliſhments were very unfavourable, and promiſed nothing leſs than genius, or ſuperior ſenſibility.—His method of arguing was very particular. He began with interrogating his adverſary like one that deſired to be inſtructed; from his anſwers, he deduced concluſions, the abſurdity of which his adverſary was obliged to acknowledge; and, in that manner he drew him on from one abſurdity to another, till he brought him to acquieſce in the truth of the propoſition he wanted to eſtabliſh. His ſchool gave birth to ſeveral ſects, of which the moſt celebrated was that of the Academicians. Xenophon, Ariſtippus, and Plato, were the moſt famous of his ſcholars, particularly the laſt.

The buſineſs of philoſophy by no means interfered with his civil duties. He gave proof, on various occaſions, of his patriotiſm and courage, and ſerved in ſeveral campaigns during the Peloponneſian war, with remarkable bravery. The virtues that principally diſtinguiſhed his private character, were temperance, integrity, and a contempt of riches. On ſeeing any extraordinary diſplay of the means of luxury and magnificence, he uſed to felicitate himſelf, that he had no occaſion for ſuch articles, and would exclaim, Of how many things ſtand I in no need! He inherited from his father but a very ſlender patrimony, which he ſoon loſt, by lending it to one of his friends, who was unable to repay it. But his poverty was accounted by him rather an honour than a diſgrace; and he obſtinately refuſed to accept of preſents of money frequently offered him by his friends.—Archelaus, King of Macedonia, to induce him to go and live with him, made him very magnificent offers; which, however, Socrates rejected without heſitation. His virtue was attended with no tincture of auſterity; on the contrary, he was remarkably chearful; and, in his converſation, diſplayed all

that ſweetneſs and affability that conſtitute the principal charm of ſociety.

Xenophon and Plato, both his ſcholars, are thoſe who furniſh us with moſt of the particulars relating to his perſon and diſpoſition. His diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic was a perfect tranquillity of mind, which enabled him to ſupport, with patience, the moſt troubleſome accidents of life. He uſed to beg of thoſe with whom he uſually converſed, to put him on his guard the moment they perceived in him the firſt emotions of anger; and, when they did ſo, he inſtantly reſumed perfect compoſure and complacency. His wife Xantippe, a woman of the moſt whimſical and provoking temper, afforded him ſufficient opportunity of exerciſing his patience, by the revilings and abuſe with which ſhe was conſtantly loading him.

He pretended to be accompanied by a genius or familiar ſpirit, that counſelled and directed him in all his matters, and prevented him from undertaking any affair that might turn to his diſadvantage. But this genius was certainly nothing elſe than the accurate diſcernment, and prudent foreſight, beſtowed on him by nature, and improved by unremitting obſervation, which enabled him to judge of the conſequences of actions; and to which he gave that name, with a view, no doubt, to induce his friends to hearken to his advice more readily and implicitely. It was his intimate knowledge of the human heart and paſſions, aided by much experience in life, that gave him this ſeeming ſpirit of prophecy; and as he delivered his pretended oracles with a myſterious air, and all the poſitiveneſs and enthuſiaſm of a man inſpired, it was generally believed, that his knowledge of futurity was certainly ſuggeſted to him by a familiar ſpirit.—By the ſame means, it were no very difficult matter for every wiſe and prudent man to play the prophet.—After all, Socrates was, perhaps, well enough pleaſed with the opinion entertained of his being inſpired, as his advice would thereby have the greater authority with his fellow citizens.—

Several

Several other great men of antiquity, have, from the ſame motive, affected the ſame character.

In the mean time, the fame of the extraordinary wiſdom and virtue of Socrates quickly ſpread abroad, and he was, by the Delphic oracle, declared the wiſeſt of men. This reſponſe was obtained by his ſcholar Cteſiphon, on his aſking the prieſteſs, whether ſhe knew any mortal more wiſe than his maſter.—Socrates poſſeſſed, in a ſupreme degree, the talent of reaſoning. His principal employment was the inſtruction of the youth, an object to which he dedicated all his care and attention. He kept, however, no fixed public ſchool; but took every opportunity, without regarding times or places, of conveying to them his precepts, and that in the moſt enticing and agreeable manner. His leſſons were ſo univerſally reliſhed, that the moment he appeared, whether in the public aſſemblies, walks, or feaſts, he was ſurrounded with a throng of the moſt illuſtrious ſcholars and hearers. The young Athenians quitted even their pleaſures to liſten to the diſcourſes of Socrates; of which, what we have mentioned above of Alcibiades, is a ſignal proof.

His leſſons were of the moſt important uſe to his countrymen, to ſuch of them particularly as aſpired at public employments. He laboured chiefly to inculcate temperance, continency, and the other virtues of private life, to inſpire them with the principles of integrity and juſtice, with love for their country, and a high idea of the power and goodneſs of God.—His diſcourſe with Euthydemus upon Providence, tranſmitted to us by Xenophon, is, on ſeveral accounts, a piece of ineſtimable value; and clearly ſhows, that Socrates acknowledged the univerſe to be the work of one ſole being, whoſe attributes were infinitely ſuperior to thoſe commonly aſcribed to the heathen deities. From his other diſcourſes, too, it is ſufficiently apparent, that he ſecretly entertained a thorough contempt for all the Pagan divinities, which he looked upon as the production of the

poets; and that he had arrived at the knowledge of one true God.

It was a principal object of Socrates's attention, to put the youth on their guard againſt a ſet of preſumptuous men, known by the appellation of ſophiſts, who aſſumed the name of philoſophers, and, in the eye of the world, gave themſelves airs of great importance, appearing always attended with a great number of ſcholars, to whom they ſold their inſtruction at a very dear rate. They pretended to be adepts in every ſcience, and boaſted of being able to argue immediately, and without heſitation, on any ſubject. Socrates, to diſcredit thoſe boaſters in the opinion of his countrymen, made uſe of ſeveral artful methods peculiar to himſelf, and particularly irony, in the employment of which he was very ſkilful. He induced them, by an appearance of extraordinary candour, to anſwer his queſtions, which ſeemed to be very ſimple and trivial; and then, by his admirable ſkill in dialectics, he very ſoon confounded their reaſoning. He likewiſe induſtriouſly expoſed the vices of thoſe quacks in ſcience; and, by theſe means, ſo exaſperated them, that they united their endeavours to deſtroy him, and were very active in procuring his condemnation.

Long before his death, they had prevailed with Ariſtophanes the comic poet, to revile him on the ſtage,
424. in his play of "*The Clouds*," wherein he introduced him talking impiouſly and impertinently of the gods. This was no doubt done with a view, both to try the diſpoſition of the people with reſpect to Socrates, and at the ſame time to render him ridiculous and hateful in their opinion, that they might afterwards be the more eaſily perſuaded to promote the malicious attempts of his enemies. But the war againſt Sicily, and the ſubſequent misfortunes that came upon the Athenians, ſuſpended the execution of their grand deſign.

The city, however, had no ſooner recovered its tranquillity, than Melitus exhibited a formal accuſation againſt Socrates, conſiſting of the following heads: *Imo*, That Socrates rejected the eſtabliſhed divinities of his country,

country, and laboured to introduce new deities in their place. — 2*do*, That he corrupted the youth, teaching them to deſpiſe the ſettled laws and order of the commonwealth; to be diſobedient to their parents; and to cenſure the government.

Such were the principal branches of the accuſation brought by Melitus againſt Socrates; confeſſedly ſufficient, if proved, to infer a capital puniſhment. But it was eaſy for Socrates to refute them. For he had now employed himſelf, for the ſpace of forty years, in inſtructing the youth in the ſight of all his countrymen; during which time, no perſon had ever obſerved any thing in his leſſons, that could give a handle to ſuch an accuſation. His friends, however, exerted themſelves in his favour. The orator Lyſias beſtowed great labour and employed all his art in compoſing a pleading for him. But Socrates thinking it unſuitable to his character, declined to make uſe of it. Nor would his magnanimity permit him to deſcend to act the part of a ſuppliant, or to employ the means commonly practiſed in thoſe days, to incline the judges to pity; ſuch as parties coming before them with their wives and children. He appeared before his judges with the modeſt confidence inſpired by innocence, and behaved in every circumſtance with the moſt ſtriking magnanimity.

Plato has preſerved to us, under the title of "*The "Apology of Socrates*," the chief arguments adduced by him, in anſwer to the accuſation of Melitus, of which we ſhall endeavour here to deliver the ſubſtance. 1*mo*, He affirmed, that he had been often ſeen offering ſacrifices to the gods, both privately in his own family, and publicly in the temples. — 2*do*, That in liſtening to the ſuggeſtions of a particular ſpirit, or divinity, he introduced no novelty into religion; ſince all other men who conſult the flight of birds, and the appearance of the intrails of beaſts, thereby ſhow their belief in divination, and a firm perſuaſion, that the gods do, in that way, diſcover their will and pleaſure.—3*tio*, That ſo far from employing himſelf about impious reſearches into natural

cauſes,

cauſes, the ſole object of his ſtudy and inſtructions had been to fix the proper ſtandard of manners, and the conduct of human life.—4*to*, That ſo far from teaching dangerous doctrines to the youth, he called upon ſuch of his ſcholars as happened to be preſent, to bear teſtimony, that he had endeavoured, on the contrary, to perſuade them, that it was of infinitely more importance, to apply their care and attention about their minds, and what paſſed within their breaſts, than about their bodies, or any temporal acquirements; that wealth did not beſtow virtue; but that virtue was the ſureſt road to wealth, as well as to every other valuable enjoyment in life.—5*to*, That if his having ſeldom aſſiſted at the public aſſemblies of the people, when deliberating on the affairs of the republic, were imputed to him as a fault, he referred to his behaviour in the different campaigns in which he had ſerved, as ſufficient demonſtration of his zeal for the welfare of his country; having bravely and faithfully maintained the poſts committed to him at Potidea, Amphipolis, and Delium; and he put them in mind, that in the ſenate, he had oppoſed to his utmoſt, the ſentence pronounced againſt the ten commanders, after the engagement of Arginuſæ. But he acknowledged, that the familiar ſpirit which had conſtantly attended him from his infancy, had always reſtrained him from meddling with the political buſineſs of the republic; and he expreſſed his belief, that if he had deſpiſed its ſuggeſtions on that head, he ſhould long ago have forfeited his life; having obſerved, that whoever is imprudent enough to oppoſe the will of a whole people, when bent on committing injuſtice, ſeldom does ſo with impunity.—*Laſtly*, That his neglecting the means commonly practiſed, to move the compaſſion of the judges, was by no means an effect of preſumption, but proceeded from a perſuaſion of its being improper to attempt to procure an acquittal by ſuch means, becauſe it is the duty of judges to do juſtice by obeying the law, not to violate the law from motives of favour or compaſſion. That he had uniformly taught, that not

to

to account death an evil, was an effect of virtue; and, at his age, it were highly improper to belie the leſſons he had ſo often given on the contempt of death. That he entertained a more thorough perſuaſion of the exiſtence of a deity, than his accuſers; and, on the whole, that he referred his cauſe to the gods, and to his judges.

Socrates pronounced this diſcourſe with a firmneſs and intrepidity worthy his greatneſs of ſoul; appearing rather to dictate to his judges, than to plead before them. But his undaunted behaviour irritated the judges, who would have been better pleaſed to ſee him do homage to their power by a timorous and ſubmiſſive behaviour. By a plurality of voices, therefore, they declared him guilty; but did not, by their firſt ſentence, determine the puniſhment. In ſuch a caſe, the criminal had a privilege of chuſing any one of the various puniſhments enacted for his offence, and was intitled to require an alleviation even of that. But Socrates thought it unworthy his character to take advantage of this indulgence, though he had it in his power to inſiſt on being puniſhed, either by impriſonment or a fine; but to avail himſelf of this privilege might, he ſaid, be interpreted to be an acknowledgement of guilt; and that if he were to chuſe the puniſhment he thought he merited, he ſhould inſiſt on being maintained, for the remaining part of his life, in the Prytaneum, at the public expence, ſince he had conſtantly employed himſelf in the ſervice of his country, by inſpiring his fellow-citizens with the love of virtue.

The judges, provoked at his indifference, condemned him to die by drinking the juice of the hemlock. This ſentence did not at all ſhake the fortitude of Socrates, firmly perſuaded that guilt is the only evil of which a wiſe man has reaſon to be afraid; and chuſing rather, ſays Quintilian, quietly to reſign the few years of life he had yet a probability of enjoying, than by a mean ſubmiſſion, or puſillanimous conduct, to throw a blemiſh on the glory of his paſt life. "I am going," ſaid he to the judges, "by your ſentence, to ſuffer death,

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" a puniſhment denounced againſt me by nature, at the " inſtant of my coming into the world; but my accu- " ſers are, by the ſentence of truth, condemned to the " ſtings and remorſes of a guilty conſcience."

Socrates ſpent the thirty days that intervened betwixt his ſentence and death, in converſation with his friends; and in ſpite of the painful expectation of the fatal moment, uniformly behaved with the ſame calmneſs and indifference. The evening before his death, he gave a ſtronger proof ſtill of his magnanimity. For upon being informed by Crito, the moſt intimate of his friends, that he had an opportunity of eſcaping from priſon, with the connivance of the jailor, who had been gained over for the purpoſe, he abſolutely refuſed to avail himſelf of that expedient, telling him, that he eſteemed himſelf happy to be deprived of a life that was beginning to be a burthen to him *.

Plato relates, at great length, the various motives urged by Crito, to perſuade him to make uſe of the means of preſerving his life, which the labours of his friends had procured for him. He ſet before his eyes the injuſtice of the ſentence; that it was his duty to preſerve his countrymen from the guilt of putting to death an innocent man; that his children ſtood in need of his protection, &c. &c. — Socrates, in anſwer, proved to him, that a man condemned to die, though unjuſtly, is guilty of a crime, if he withdraw himſelf from the puniſhment inflicted on him by the laws and judges of his country. — A doctrine, however, that will find few partizans; for, in ſuch a ſituation, the love of life ſtrengthened by the idea of injuſtice, generally outweighs ſuch refined conſiderations. — He further demonſtrated to him, that every unlawful act, be its motive or conſequences ever ſo laudable, is criminal in him that commits it, even though directed againſt thoſe who have injured him; in other words, that it is a crime to return evil for evil; but, with reſpect to his own particular caſe, he demanded what anſwer he could make to

* He was then ſixty-nine years old.

the laws of his country, for flying from the puniſhment now impoſed on him by them; againſt which, even the plea of returning evil for evil would not apply. This is heroiſm in all its purity. Crito, unable to refute the arguments of Socrates, was obliged to yield to his inflexibility.

The day he was to ſuffer arriving at laſt, was ſpent by him, as uſual, in converſation with his friends. The immortality of the ſoul was that day the ſubject upon which they diſcourſed. The ſubſtance of their reaſoning, on this point, is contained in the dialogue of Plato, entituled *Phedo*. Socrates there adduces all the arguments, that, in his opinion, eſtabliſh the immortality of the ſoul, and refutes thoſe inſiſted on to maintain the contrary doctrine. He ſhows, that the deſire of death entertained by a wiſe man, muſt principally ariſe from his wiſhing to enjoy the happineſs awaiting him in another life; but he argues, that as man is entirely dependent on the will of that ſupreme being who has created him, and placed him in the ſtation he here occupies, he muſt not therefore quit it without the permiſſion and command of that ſupreme being. — He concludes his reaſoning on the immortality of the ſoul, with this argument, that, ſuppoſing the reaſons urged in ſupport of each ſide of this queſtion to appear of equal weight, a wiſe man will embrace that concluſion, which ſeems to be attended with leaſt hazard, and moſt advantage.

Socrates next proceeds to deduce ſeveral conſequences, on the ſuppoſition of the certainty of the immortality of the ſoul. — He thinks there muſt be a final judgement of the virtuous and the wicked; — that puniſhments muſt be appointed for the latter; — an eternal reſidence, full of happineſs, for the former; — and a ſtate of purification between the two, where thoſe who have been guilty of more trivial tranſgreſſions, ſhall, for a time proportioned to their iniquities, ſuffer condign puniſhment, and afterwards enter into happineſs.

Cicero has deſcribed, with great elegance, the lofty ſentiments, and magnanimous behaviour of Socrates at

his death. While he held the fatal cup in his hand, he declared, that he conſidered death, not as a puniſhment inflicted on him, but as a help furniſhed him of arriving ſo much ſooner at heaven. He gives it as his opinion, that on the departure of our ſouls from our bodies, there are two paſſages for conducting them to the places of their eternal deſtination, one leading to never-ending puniſhment, which receives thoſe ſouls, that during their reſidence on earth, have contaminated themſelves with many great crimes; the other leading to the happy abodes of the gods, which receives the ſouls of thoſe who have lived virtuouſly in this world.

When Socrates had finiſhed his diſcourſe, he bathed himſelf. His children being then brought to him, he ſpoke to them a little, and then deſired them to be taken away. The hour appointed for drinking the hemlock being come, they brought him the cup, which he received without the ſmalleſt emotion, and then addreſſed a prayer to the gods. It is highly reaſonable, ſaid he, to offer my prayers to the gods on this occaſion, and to beſeech them to render my departure from earth, and my laſt journey, happy. Then he drank off the poiſon with amazing tranquillity. Obſerving his friends, in this fatal moment, weeping, and diſſolved in tears, he reproved them with great mildneſs, aſking them, whether their virtue had deſerted them; "for, added he, "I have always heard, that it is our duty calmly to re-"ſign our breath, giving thanks to the gods." After walking about a little while, perceiving the poiſon
400. beginning to work, he lay down on his couch, and a few moments after, breathed his laſt. — Cicero declares, that he could never read the account of the death of Socrates without ſhedding tears.

Soon after his death, the Athenians were convinced of his innocence, and conſidered all the misfortunes that afterwards befel the republic, as a puniſhment for the injuſtice of his ſentence. When the academy, and the other places of the city where he had uſually taught, preſented themſelves to the view of his countrymen, they could

could not refrain from reflecting on the reward beſtowed by them, on one who had done them ſuch important ſervices. — They cancelled the decree that had condemned him; put Melitus to death; baniſhed his other accuſers; and erected to his memory a ſtatue of braſs, which was executed by the famous Lyſippus.

Evagoras, king of Salamis, the capital of Cyprus, deſerves a place in the hiſtory of Greece.—He was deſcended of the antient kings of that iſland; but a tyrant had uſurped their throne, and made it dependent on the Perſian power. Evagoras was born under the reign of that tyrant. He had received from nature a very graceful perſon; and, from his infancy, gave ſigns of the beſt and moſt valuable talents of the mind. When grown up, he was in great danger of being murdered by the tyrant; and was obliged, for ſafety, to retire from Salamis. But returning ſoon after, at the head of no more than fifty men, he dethroned the tyrant, and mounted the throne himſelf, with the approbation of his fellow-citizens. He immediately applied himſelf to raiſe his ſmall kingdom to a flouriſhing condition; and made it his chief ſtudy to rule with juſtice. He had already acquired great reputation, when Conon, after the unfortunate engagement at Egos Potamos, choſe his court for an aſylum, where he contracted a moſt intimate friendſhip with Evagoras.

On that occaſion, Conon, commiſerating the misfortunes of his country, had the addreſs to prevail with Evagoras to ſecond his endeavours for her relief; and they applied themſelves to concert the moſt proper means for weakening the power that then aſpired to the ſovereignty of Greece. Evagoras perceiving, from his ſtrict correſpondence with the ſatrap of Aſia, how troubleſome and diſagreeable the daily exactions of the Lacedemonians were become to the Perſians, adviſed them to make Conon commander of their fleet, and to attack the Lacedemonians by ſea.

Soon after, however, the affairs of Evagoras aſſumed a very different appearance; for having attempted to

reduce the whole iſland of Cyprus under his power, the Cyprians implored aſſiſtance of the king of Perſia, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport their independency. The war was, at firſt, carried on ſolely between Evagoras and the iſlanders; but as ſoon as Artaxerxes Mnemon was freed of his war with the Greeks, he turned his whole force againſt Evagoras.

The Perſian army conſiſted of 300,000 men, and their fleet of 300 gallies; while Evagoras could hardly muſter up 20,000 ſoldiers, and 90 gallies; but notwithſtanding this vaſt inferiority in the number of his troops, he made ſhift to defend himſelf againſt his enemies. He availed himſelf of every reſource of military ſkill; and having, by means of his light frigates, ſunk and deſtroyed the victualling tranſports of the Perſian army, he reduced them to great ſtraits for want of proviſions. Receiving from Achoris king of Egypt, a reinforcement of 60 gallies, with ſome money and corn, he defeated a detachment of the Perſian land-forces, and ſoon after obtained another victory at ſea. But the Perſian forces being ſtill extremely more numerous than his, ſoon ruined his power, and laid ſiege to Salamis by ſea and land. Evagoras, ſeeing no proſpect of any further reſource, found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſuing for peace; which was granted him, on the condition of his confining his government to the city of Salamis alone, and of paying an annual tribute.

His ſon Nicocles ſucceeded him. It was for this young prince that the famous Iſocrates compoſed the oration, intitled *Evagoras*, from its being the elogium of that king. In this piece, the Athenian orator propoſes Evagoras as the perfect model of a good king; and labours to prove, that fine parts and magnanimity are eſſential requiſites to form a prince of that character. He repreſents Evagoras as a man of an excellent underſtanding; and he tells us, that, after arriving at the throne, that prince dedicated much of his time to reading; particularly to the reading of hiſtory: That he applied himſelf carefully to ſtudy the characters of men,

that

that ſo he might know how to employ them according to their particular talents: That he never reſolved on any undertaking, without the advice of thoſe who were moſt ſkilled in the particular buſineſs in agitation: That he attentively examined the nature of every form of government, to diſcover its peculiar excellency: That he was a ſkilful politician, a brave commander, and, though of diſtinguiſhed perſonal dignity, yet of a mild and affable diſpoſition; an affectionate parent, a ſincere and ſteady friend, and faithful to his engagements: That, by means of theſe excellent qualities, he gave a new form to the city of Salamis, and made it the reſidence of the arts and ſciences. The orator concludes, with exhorting Nicocles to imitate the example of his father.

Hiſtory deſcribes the reign of Nicocles as one of the moſt happy reigns; the ſole aim of all his undertakings being juſtice, and the public advantage. Though, at his acceſſion to the throne, he found the funds of the ſtate entirely exhauſted, he would not impoſe any ſevere tax; but by œconomy, and retrenching unneceſſary expences, fully diſcharged all the public debts. He valued himſelf moſt on his ſingular virtue in private life, and ſtudied, above all things, to keep his paſſions in ſubjection. He uſed to expreſs his ſurpriſe at the ſmall regard ſhown to the connection by marriage, whoſe rights, though the moſt ſacred of all, are ſo wantonly and frequently violated, while the other engagements of ſociety are ſo ſcrupulouſly maintained. To this purpoſe, Iſocrates makes Nicocles to ſpeak, in an harangue addreſſed to his people, wherein he explains to them the duty of ſubjects toward their prince. Iſocrates afterwards compoſed another oration for Nicocles, in which he lays down excellent maxims on the art of government. This oration is moſt worthy of being read. One ſhould be tempted to think, that the ingenious author of Telemachus has thence borrowed his obſervations on the duty of a king. What is chiefly to be admired in this oration, is, that it contains none of the mean, ſul-

ſome,

ſome, inſipid flattery, with which works of that kind are commonly ſtuffed. His opinions are all delivered with preciſion; and the truth is nowhere obſcured by artificial turns of expreſſion. We learn from Plutarch, that Nicocles was ſo well pleaſed with the zeal and ſincerity of Iſocrates, that he made him a preſent of twenty talents *.

About the time that Artaxerxes Mnemon concluded the war againſt Evagoras, and another war againſt the Caduſians, appeared Datames, the moſt celebrated commander of his time. Cornelius Nepos, the writer of his life, prefers to him, in his military capacity, of all the barbarians, only Hamilcar and Hannibal. He was the ſon of Camizares, a Carian by birth, and governor of the province of Leucoſyria, which lies between Cilicia and Cappadocia. Datames ſucceeded his father in that government. From the account of Datames tranſmitted to us by the hiſtorian juſt cited, it appears, that he was hardly ever ſurpaſſed in the art of war. He ſeems to have been maſter of every branch of it; brave and intrepid,—ſkilful in ſtratagems,—fruitful in expedients on the moſt embarraſſing occaſions,—artful and quick in forming his plan of operations,—and active in carrying it into execution.

Having been commiſſioned to ſubdue Thius governor of Paphlagonia, who had revolted againſt the king of Perſia, he not only avoided all the ſnares laid for him by Thius, but even found means to take him alive, together with his wife and children.

As Artaxerxes was very anxious to have Thius in his power, Datames reſolved to ſurpriſe him agreeably with his priſoner. For this purpoſe he repaired privately to court, and having dreſſed Thius, (who was of a gigantic ſtature, and had an ugly face, with a long beard,) very magnificently, and appearing himſelf as a hunter, armed with a club, he conducted his priſoner along like ſome wild beaſt that he had caught, and in

* In the year 390. the Gauls defeated the Romans in the battle of Allia, and, purſuing their advantage, ſacked and burnt Rome.

that

that manner preſented him to the king of Perſia. The whole city flocked to ſee ſo extraordinary a ſight. Artaxerxes, delighted with the behaviour of Datames, and diſcovering his ſingular merit, appointed him general of a great army deſtined againſt Egypt; but before his departure on the Egyptian expedition, the king commanded him to endeavour to ſeize the perſon of Aſpis, the commander of an army on the borders of Cappadocia, who had revolted. In this commiſſion, dangerous as it was, he ſucceeded, made Aſpis priſoner by ſurpriſe, and carried him to Suſa.

His extraordinary genius and valour created againſt Datames ſeveral enemies, who calumniated him to Artaxerxes, and rendered him ſuſpected. Datames receiving intelligence of the danger that threatened him, quits abruptly the ſervice of the king, retires with a few troops, ſeizes on Paphlagonia, joins Ariobarzanes, defeats the Piſidians, who had riſen againſt him, and takes their camp. Artaxerxes, terrified at theſe exploits of Datames, ſends againſt him into Cappadocia an army of near 200,000 men, under the command of Autophradates. Datames had hardly the twentieth part of that number; but as he excelled in the art of ranging an army, he diſpoſed his men ſo ſkilfully, as to prevent their being ſurrounded, and at the ſame time to render the far greater number of the enemy of no uſe. By theſe means he put the royal army to flight, with prodigious ſlaughter.

The Perſian general was equally unſucceſsful in ſeveral leſſer engagements that enſued; and at laſt he was forced to make advances for an accommodation. Datames, deſirous of recovering the favour of Artaxerxes, for whom he had always retained an affection, liſtened to his propoſals. But Artaxerxes, provoked at being unable, with all his mighty forces, to reduce a petty governor of a province, was baſe enough to employ treachery to deſtroy him. Datames at firſt was ſo lucky as to eſcape ſeveral ambuſhes that were laid for him. But Mithridates the ſon of Ariobarzanes, having been

been corrupted by moſt extravagant offers made him by Artaxerxes, to free him of a man who had incurred his inveterate hatred, by being able to reſiſt him, took advantage of a moment when Datames was alone and unarmed in his company, to ſtab him with a ſword.

Datames, to have arrived at as high a reputation as any hero of antiquity, wanted nothing but a more conſpicuous ſtage to act upon, and a poet or hiſtorian to record his exploits. It is indeed ſupriſing, that the hiſtorians of thoſe times have taken ſo little notice of a man of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities; but in all probability this has been owing rather to ignorance than deſign. His merit and exploits deſerved to have been celebrated by a more copious hiſtorian than Cornelius Nepos. But it is now time to reſume the affairs of Greece.

We have already mentioned, that Thymbron was diſpatched by the Lacedemonians into Ionia, to protect the cities of that country from the reſentment of Tiſſaphernes. But Thymbron being ſoon recalled, on account of ſome miſunderſtanding, Dercillidas was ſent thither in his place; who taking the command of the army at Epheſus, marched into the province of Pharnabazus, where the greater part of the cities of Ætolia opened their gates to him; he then concluded a truce with Perſia.

The hiſtories of that time are full of the praiſes of the prudence and heroiſm diſplayed by a lady of the name of *Mania*, the widow of Zenis, who had governed Ætolia as deputy under Pharnabazus, to whom he rendered ſignal ſervices. Having loſt her huſband, Mania waited on the ſatrap, and begged, with the greateſt ſhew of reſolution, that he would intruſt her with the power enjoyed by her huſband, promiſing to ſerve him with the ſame zeal and fidelity. Her deſire was accordingly granted; and ſhe fulfilled her engagements moſt effectually, acting with the ſkill and prudence of the man the moſt converſant in matters of war and government. She not only defended the places committed to her

charge, but conquered others; and not content with making punctual payment of the cuſtomary tribute to Pharnabazus, ſent him magnificent preſents beſides. She commanded her troops in perſon, mounted on a chariot, whence ſhe iſſued her orders, and maintained the moſt ſtrict diſcipline in her army. By theſe means ſhe was of the greateſt ſervice to Pharnabazus, who on that account held her in the higheſt eſteem. This heroine periſhed by the daſtardly treachery of her ſon-in-law Midias. That villain, ſtung with the reproaches thrown out againſt him for ſuffering a woman to command in his place, privately gained admittance into her apartment, and murdered both her and her ſon. But he did not long enjoy the fruits of his cruelty; for the cities of Ætolia were ſoon after ſubdued by Dercillidas, and Midias falling into the hands of the conqueror, was ſtripped of the wealth and power which he had ſo unjuſtly uſurped.

In the following campaign Dercillidas marched into the Cherſoneſe, and beſtowed much pains on ſhutting up the Iſthmus, a neck of land about three miles broad. For that purpoſe he employed all his ſoldiers in building a ſtrong wall, which ſecured the neighbouring cities from the ſudden incurſions of the barbarians. The Lacedemonians, regarding themſelves now as the protectors and ſovereigns of Greece, induſtriouſly laid hold of every opportunity of diſplaying their ſuperior power and influence. Taking umbrage at the Eleans for entering into an alliance with the Athenians and Argives, they commanded them to relinquiſh the authority they had aſſumed over certain towns originally independent; and on their refuſing to comply with this requiſition, Agis marched againſt them, with an intention of laying waſte their territory. The Eleans, apprehenſive of his making himſelf maſter of their city, agreed to the conditions preſcribed.

In the mean time the famous Conon, who ſince the engagement at Ægos Potamos had lived a voluntary exile in the iſland of Cyprus, in the hopes of reſtoring the

glory of his native country, which he was continually meditating, determined at laſt to apply to the Perſian power for that purpoſe; and accordingly imparted his deſign to Artaxerxes by letter. That monarch immediately ordered 500 talents to be furniſhed to Conon for fitting out a fleet, of which he at the ſame time appointed him commander.

About this time Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabazus, in ſpite of the ſecret jealouſy and hatred with which they were animated againſt each other, united their forces againſt Dercillidas, and were on the point of giving him a total defeat in Caria, when Tiſſaphernes, who ſtood in the greateſt awe of the Greeks, propoſed terms of accommodation.

At Sparta, upon the death of King Agis, Ageſilaus laid claim to the royal dignity, in preference to Leotychides, the ſon of Agis's queen, whom he affirmed not to have been begotten by Agis; and who, notwithſtanding the dying acknowledgement of him by that king, was generally reputed a baſtard. On this account, Ageſilaus, ſupported by Lyſander, and other principal Spartans, found little difficulty in obtaining himſelf to be declared king, in preference to Leotychides.

Ageſilaus, educated in all the ſtrictneſs of the Spartan diſcipline, where he had learned obedience before he came to exerciſe command, was by that means temperate, mild, and popular, and ſoon acquired the affection of his countrymen. His diminutive ſtature and lameneſs were amply compenſated by a fine face, extraordinary vivacity, a bravery ſuperior to all danger, and ſingular knowledge in the art of war. Naturally an enemy of flattery, he would not permit his picture to be drawn, ſaying, that his exploits, if ever he ſhould perform any, would afford the beſt and moſt laſting monument to his memory. Being of a very complaiſant and obliging diſpoſition, even to his enemies, he thereby obtained ſo high eſteem and credit at Sparta, that the Ephori thought it neceſſary to impoſe a fine upon

on him for having, as they ſaid, acquired too great favour with his fellow-citizens: A ſentence that bore a ſtrong reſemblance to the ſtrange law of oſtraciſm among the Athenians. Though on becoming king he ſucceeded of courſe to the eſtate and effects of Agis, Leotychides being declared a baſtard, yet he ſhared them all with him and his relations, who were very poor; an action that rendered him ſtill more highly eſteemed by the citizens. Never did king poſſeſs ſuch abſolute power at Sparta as Ageſilaus. This was an effect of the reſpect and deference paid by him to the Ephori, whom none of the former kings could endure, regarding them as their perpetual rivals, without whoſe conſent and approbation they could undertake no buſineſs of importance.

The Lacedemonians hearing that the king of Perſia was equipping a fleet againſt them, ordered Ageſilaus to carry the war into Aſia; giving him by way of aſſiſtants thirty Spartan officers, of whom Lyſander was one, together with an army of 2000 choſen Helots, and 6000 ſoldiers furniſhed by their allies. The fame of the retreat of the 10,000 Greeks had every where inſpired a high opinion of the Grecian valour, and gave the Greeks themſelves additional confidence in their own ſtrength. The Lacedemonians therefore thought it incumbent upon them to deliver their countrymen from their dependence on the barbarians. 396.

Tiſſaphernes not having completed his preparations when he received information of the arrival of Ageſilaus at Epheſus, had recourſe to ſtratagem, and ſent him word, that if he would abſtain from committing hoſtilities, the king his maſter would permit all the Greek cities in Aſia to remain in the enjoyment of their liberty. Ageſilaus having agreed to this propoſal, a truce was concluded, and confirmed by the oaths of both parties. But the ſatrap nevertheleſs proceeded with his warlike preparations.

Ageſilaus in the interval made a tour through the

principal cities, with a view to redreſs grievances, and to put the government on a proper footing. But he was ſo piqued at the court every where paid to Lyſander, as the perſon on whom they chiefly depended, that he could not help expreſſing his diſpleaſure on that head to Lyſander, who, naturally vain, and accuſtomed of a long while to receive univerſal reſpect, paid little regard to the complaints of his king. Ageſilaus, provoked at his inſolent behaviour, affected to employ him in the leaſt honourable pieces of buſineſs. Lyſander becoming thereby ſenſible, that he had at laſt met with a man capable of humbling him, contrived a pretence for returning to Sparta. It muſt be confeſſed, that, notwithſtanding the great exploits of Lyſander, it was highly preſumptuous in him, and very nearly bordering on treaſon, to affect to receive ſuch general homage and reſpect, and by that means to endeavour to eclipſe his commander and king.

Full of reſentment againſt Ageſilaus, he formed a plan of opening a paſſage for himſelf to the throne. As only two branches of the poſterity of Hercules in Sparta, were underſtood to have right to the regal dignity, and as he himſelf was likewiſe believed to derive his deſcent from the Herculean ſtock, he thought it would be no difficult matter to prevail with the Spartans to extend the excluſive right ſuppoſed to reſide in the two former branches, to all the other deſcendents of Hercules; flattering himſelf, that if he were able to accompliſh that, no perſon would preſume to compete with himſelf for the crown. He had been conſtantly meditating this ſcheme ſince he had firſt arrived at the height of his exorbitant power, which indeed was little inferior to that of royalty itſelf, and he had put in practice ſeveral contrivances to procure from the Delphic prieſteſs a declaration correſponding to his views. But his whole plot for that purpoſe was fruſtrated, juſt as it was on the point of being executed. For *Silenus*, the young man, who was ſuddenly to appear and to announce himſelf to be the ſon of Apollo, was ſeized with fear, and ran away,

way. It was not diſcovered till after the death of Lyſander, that he had been the author of this trick.

Tiſſaphernes having at laſt aſſembled all his forces, ſent an inſolent meſſage to Ageſilaus commanding him to depart from Aſia. The Spartan incenſed at the perfidy of the ſatrap, made a feint of leading his army towards Caria. Tiſſaphernes followed him. But Ageſilaus making a ſudden turn marches directly into Phrygia, takes ſeveral cities, and acquires immenſe plunder. After dividing the plunder among his officers and ſoldiers, he retired to Epheſus for the winter; during which he obliged his men to practiſe various exerciſes, both to preſerve them from diſeaſe, and to inure them to the labours of war; and, to promote emulation, he diſtributed prizes among the moſt dexterous and ſucceſsful.

When ready to take the field he propagated a report of his intending to fall upon Lydia. Tiſſaphernes believing this to be a ſtratagem, and that his real deſtination was againſt Caria, advanced towards that province; but Ageſilaus was as good as his word, and really marched towards Lydia; into which he penetrated as far as Sardis, where Tiſſaphernes commonly reſided and kept his treaſures. Thither the Satrap haſtened with his cavalry to oppoſe him. But Ageſilaus knowing that his infantry was left behind, gave him battle, put the barbarians to flight at the firſt onſet, made a great ſlaughter, and plundered their camp.

This victory of Ageſilaus coſt Tiſſaphernes his life, who was on that account accuſed to Artaxerxes of treaſon: and Tithrauſtus one of his officers was diſpatched to ſeize him. Tithrauſtus having taken the proper meaſures for executing his commiſſion, ſurpriſed Tiſſaphernes while bathing, cut off his head and ſent it to the king. After this Tithrauſtus made Ageſilaus many magnificent preſents in the name of his maſter, accompanied with propoſals of peace, by which the Perſian monarch was to grant intire liberty to the Greek cities of Aſia, on condition of Ageſilaus returning home. Ageſilaus, however, refuſed to come to any final reſolution

tion without the approbation of the Ephori; but till that ſhould arrive, he, in complaiſance to Tithrauſtus, who had delivered the Greeks from ſuch an inveterate enemy as Tiſſaphernes, agreed to lead his army into Phrygia, on receiving thirty talents to defray the expences of his journey thither.

Ageſilaus ſoon after received orders from Sparta, to take the ſupreme command of their fleet as well as army, a charge never before intruſted with any one man. Ageſilaus immediately iſſued orders to the inhabitants of the iſlands to furniſh him with 120 ſhips, of which he gave the immediate command to Piſander his father-in law, an ambitious man, much inferior in parts to Conon, and by no means fit for ſo high a charge.—Thus Ageſilaus committed a fault too common among men in power, who often ſacrifice the good of their country to the aggrandizement of their private families and connections.

Ageſilaus having marched into Phrygia where Pharnabazus commanded, levied heavy contributions, and by that means acquired a vaſt ſum of money. Pharnabazus ſeeing his province on the point of being entirely ruined, deſired to come to an agreement with Ageſilaus, and for that purpoſe propoſed a conference. This interview afforded a ſtriking contraſt between the luxurious pomp of Perſia, and the modeſt ſimplicity of Sparta. The ſatrap behaved to Ageſilaus in the moſt reſpectful manner, and complained of the devaſtation committed in his country, in ſuch gentle and pathetic terms, that Ageſilaus was moved by his complaints, and promiſed to leave his province.

While Ageſilaus thus ſpread terror through the provinces of Aſia, the fame of his bravery and moderation attracted univerſal admiration. It was a very ſingular ſcene to ſee a man of ſo deſpicable a figure, and ſo poorly attended, addreſſed in the moſt humble terms by the lieutenants of the great King, and dictating his pleaſure to them with a very Laconic and abſolute tone.—The neighbouring ſtates, perceiving the admirable effects of the

the wiſe regulations eſtabliſhed by Ageſilaus in the other cities, vied with one another to procure his patronage; and his army increaſed ſo faſt, that all Aſia ſeemed deſirous to put itſelf under his command. But in the mean time Ageſilaus reſolved to attack the Perſian monarch in the heart of his dominions, that he might make him feel the Grecian power even on his throne, and diſable him from giving Greece any diſturbance for the future.

Artaxerxes alarmed at the progreſs of Ageſilaus, and finding all his efforts to oblige him to 395.
leave Aſia ineffectual, reſolved to create a diverſion to the Lacedemonian arms, by promoting againſt them a confederacy among the other ſtates of Greece, whom he knew, on the moſt authentic information, to be extremely uneaſy and impatient under their ſubjection to Sparta. Timocrates was charged with the execution of this ſcheme. To accelerate its ſucceſs fifty talents of money were delivered to him, with which he was to endeavour to bribe the leading men in each city, to uſe their endeavours to provoke their countrymen to take arms againſt the Lacedemonians; who indeed, by their overbearing behaviour, had but too well diſpoſed the other ſtates, whom they treated more like ſubjects than equals, to embrace ſuch a meaſure. Timocrates, therefore, met with all the ſucceſs in his negotiations that he could have deſired; and the Thebans were the firſt that reſolved to aſſert their independency.

The Athenians very ſoon joined the Thebans. Overlooking all former ſubjects of diſpleaſure received by them from that ſtate, they embraced this opportunity of recovering from their long humiliation, and, by the perſuaſion of Thraſybulus, granted the aſſiſtance demanded. On the other hand, Conon, who was in high favour at the Perſian court, uſed all his influence to obtain an armament for the relief of his countrymen, and was extremely active in promoting the confederacy againſt Sparta. An opportunity of coming to an open rupture, ſoon preſented itſelf. A diſpute having ariſen between the

the Phocians and Locrians, about the property of a ſmall piece of ground, the Spartans, already diſpleaſed with the Locrians, reſolved to ſupport the Phocians; and, for that purpoſe, ordered Pauſanias to march and join Lyſander, who was then in Bœotia with a few troops. But the Thebans, to prevent this junction, made a brave attack upon the troops under Lyſander, obtained a complete victory, and killed Lyſander himſelf in the battle.

Thus fell that renowned Greek, who raiſed his native city Sparta to a degree of power ſhe had never known before, and entirely ruined that of Athens. It was matter of general ſurpriſe, that he left no wealth behind him, conſidering the vaſt influence he had enjoyed, and the many opportunities of amaſſing riches that had been in his power. This contempt of wealth reflected honour on his memory, and plainly ſhowed, that ambition was his ſole motive of action. The exceſs of this paſſion, however, obſcured the ſplendour of his extraordinary parts; for he muſt be allowed to have been a conſummate politician, and of very artful addreſs, in managing the different tempers of men. He had, by theſe means, rendered himſelf as abſolute in Sparta, as in the cities of Aſia. To his partizans and favourites his generoſity was boundleſs, and his partiality exceſſive. He not only ſupported, but even co-operated with them in all their private ſchemes, however baſe, unwarrantable, or unjuſt, employing in their behalf every ſpecies of villainy, and inflicting without remorſe the moſt barbarous cruelties. To his enemies his reſentment was implacable, never terminating but with their deaths. Fraud and cruelty formed the moſt ſtriking features in his character. Vain, even to inſolence, he deſired to act on all occaſions without controul. Accordingly, we have ſeen him endeavouring, to the utmoſt of his power, to eclipſe even his king and maſter Ageſilaus. We have likewiſe ſeen him diſcover the meaneſt jealouſy to Callicratidas, whom, by the baſeſt of artifices, he endeavoured to throw into an embarraſſment that might ſully his

glory. — He was the worſt enemy that ever Athens felt, for by eſtabliſhing there the thirty tyrants, he was to her what Sylla after him was to Rome. — His tyranny and oppreſſion rendered Sparta odious to her neighbours.

Lyſander on the whole ſeems to have entertained no real regard for virtue, not even ſo much as to ſtudy to ſave appearances. For on every occaſion where the ſacrifice of his moſt ſacred duties might contribute to promote any favourite project either of his own, or of any of his creatures, they did not for a moment ſtand in his way. — Thoſe who have called him a great man, ſeem to have done ſo without ſufficient reflection. That title, indeed, is rather too liberally beſtowed; for it neither belongs to tyrants, nor to thoſe who, by becoming the ſcourges of mankind, reſemble tyrants.

When Pauſanias returned to Sparta, he was accuſed of miſconduct in the late expedition; and, though one of the two Spartan kings, was condemned to ſuffer death. But he avoided the cruelty of his countrymen by flight.

Let us now look after Ageſilaus. In the midſt of his preparations for leading his army into Perſia, he received a letter from the Ephori, commanding him to return to Laconia; for, by this time, Greece was all in arms. Ageſilaus immediately wrote them an account of his former operations, and informed them of the favourable diſpoſition of his affairs for attacking the king of Perſia; but aſſured them, that ſince they thought his preſence at home neceſſary, he was reſolved to obey them without delay.

Hiſtorians have, with great juſtice, applauded the reſpect ſhown, on this occaſion, by Ageſilaus to the magiſtrates of his country; in obedience to whom, he ſtopt ſhort in the midſt of his ſucceſsful exploits, which, in all probability, muſt have eventually ſubverted the Perſian empire. By this behaviour, he undoubtedly diſcovered a very uncommon greatneſs of ſoul, and juſtified the ſaying of Pauſanias, of whom we have been

juſt ſpeaking; "That at Sparta the laws governed the "men, and not the men the laws."—What a leſſon for the members of ſome modern governments!

Before Ageſilaus reached Sparta, his countrymen attacked from every quarter, had ſeveral very ſevere ſhocks to ſupport. The Athenians, followed by the Bœotians, Corinthians, and Thebans, forming altogether an army of 20,000 men, marched againſt them. The Spartans, gathering together about 14,000 men, of whom the greater part was furniſhed by their allies, met the enemy near Lycion. The engagement was long and obſtinate; but the Spartan valour prevailed at laſt, and ſnatched the victory from the Athenians, who, though deſerted by their allies, kept their ground to the laſt.

While affairs were thus proceeding at land,
394. an important engagement happened at ſea. Conon having ſet ſail towards the Cherſoneſe with a fleet of 100 ſhips furniſhed him by Artaxerxes, with an intention to attack that of the Lacedemonians, conſiſting of 120 ſhips, fell in with the latter near Cnidos, a city of Caria in Aſia Minor. The Lacedemonians, who were commanded by Piſander, gained ſome advantage at firſt. But victory ſoon changed ſides. The Lacedemonians were beaten and put to flight; and Piſander, after exerting the utmoſt valour, fell at laſt fighting bravely. Conon remained victorious, and took fifty of the Lacedemonian gallies. From that day forwards, the naval power of the Lacedemonians was continually on the decline.

It is remarked, that the ruin of the two ſtates of Athens and Sparta, was alternately occaſioned by their haughty inſolent behaviour during their proſperity; the Lacedemonians having neglected to profit, both by former experience, and by the ſtriking example lately ſet before their eyes by the Athenians.

Juſt as Ageſilaus was on the point of arriving
394. at Sparta, he received a meſſage from the Ephori, intreating him to march, with all haſte, into Bœotia,

Bœotia, where the army of the Lacedemonians and Orchomenians on one ſide, and that of the Thebans and Argives on the other, lay in ſight of each other in the plains of Cheronea.—Ageſilaus arrived in time enough to take the command of that of the Lacedemonians, juſt as they were on the point of engaging.—Xenophon, who was preſent at this battle, ſays, that of all the battles which had till now happened in his time, this was fought with the moſt deſperate fury.

The Thebans were thrown into diſorder, and Ageſilaus attempted to cut off their retreat. But they immediately drew up their foot in a ſquare column, the front of which baffled all the efforts of the Lacedemonians to break them. The engagement was very bloody.—Ageſilaus exerted prodigies of valour; received ſeveral wounds, and muſt certainly have been either killed or taken, had he not been reſcued by fifty young Spartans, who that day fought by his ſide. The Lacedemonians, at length, finding it impoſſible to break the Thebans, opened their ranks to let them paſs, and then attacked them in the rear. But the latter, proud of having hitherto repulſed the enemy, retreated very leiſurely, and in good order, fighting all the while.—Ageſilaus, tho' wounded, refuſed to retire from the field of battle, till he had ſeen the dead carried off on their ſhields. Next day, he erected a trophy as a monument of his victory.

At Sparta he was received with tranſports of joy. Untainted with the luxury and pomp of the country whence he was juſt returned, he retained his former ſimplicity both in his perſon and family; preferred the temperate auſtere life of the Spartans, to the delicate luxurious manners of the Barbarians; and, inſtead of the haughtineſs and preſumption of a victorious commander, diſplayed the moſt humble modeſty of a private citizen.

On hearing the power of the Perſian monarch highly extolled, and that prince himſelf honoured with the title of *Great King*; "In what reſpect (ſaid Ageſilaus) is he "greater than I, if he be not more virtuous?"—He

ſet a higher value on the exerciſes that ſtrengthen the body, and inure it to labour and fatigue, than on the horſe and chariot races at the Olympic games, which, he ſaid, were not the effect of bravery, but of riches.—Having found, among the papers of Lyſander, the detail of his plot againſt the two Spartan kings, he reſolved to lay it before the citizens; but was diſſuaded from doing ſo by a prudent man of his acquaintance, who adviſed him to let Lyſander reſt in his grave, and to bury along with him a very artful diſcourſe found by Ageſilaus, which Lyſander was to have addreſſed to the Spartans.

Ageſilaus ſoon after marched away with his land-forces, and laid ſiege to Corinth by land, while his brother Teleutius blocked it up by ſea.

In the mean time, Conon, after his victory at Cnidos, obtained of Pharnabazus fifty talents, to reſtore Pyreus to its former ſituation; and was likewiſe continued in the command of the fleet. After ravaging the coaſts of Laconia, he returned to Athens, and was there received with the higheſt marks of joy. The conſciouſneſs of being the reſtorer of the power of his country, and of having rebuilt the walls of his native city, muſt undoubtedly have afforded him the moſt ſincere pleaſure.—It is remarkable, that the city of Athens ſhould be in a manner rebuilt at the expence of the ſame Perſians who had formerly reduced it to aſhes.

Conon, after having reſtored Athens to its former ſituation, and by that means enabled it to repel the attack of its enemies, ſacrificed a hecatomb to the gods.

The grief and rage of the Lacedemonians, at ſeeing their ancient rival riſe, as it were, out of her ruins, and reſtored to a condition of being ſtill formidable to them, are inexpreſſible. They foreſaw, that their ſovereignty over the reſt of Greece, was on the brink of periſhing. They therefore immediately reſolved to vent their reſentment upon Conon the chief cauſe of this revolution; and, for that purpoſe, diſpatched Antalcides to Teribazus, governor of Sardis, with propoſals of

peace

peace with the Perſian monarch. The Athenians ſent deputies on their part likewiſe, to prevent the ſucceſs of the Lacedemonian negotiations. But their endeavours were unſucceſsful, and Conon was the victim of the inſinuations inſtilled into the Perſian ſatrap by Antalcides, who accuſed him of having applied the money of the king to the re-eſtabliſhment of Athens; and of having formed a plan of detaching Ætolia and Ionia from their dependence on Perſia. The better to incline Artaxerxes to peace, the Spartans were mean ſpirited enough, once more to ſubject to his power all the Greek cities in Aſia, for whoſe liberty Ageſilaus had ſo glorioufly fought.

We are not told by what means Teribazus was induced to believe the accuſation brought by Antalcides againſt Conon. It is certain, however, that he cauſed that illuſtrious Athenian to be apprehended, and furniſhed the Lacedemonians with conſiderable ſums of money; but he declined to conclude the peace without the approbation of his maſter.

Hiſtorians are not agreed about the fate of Conon; ſome of them alledge, that he was conducted to Suſa, and there beheaded by order of the Perſian monarch. They further ſay, that he had formed dangerous deſigns againſt the Perſian power, after having received ſo great aſſiſtance from it; that he had formed a ſcheme of making himſelf maſter of ſome of their cities, and, under the pretence of relieving them from the tyranny of Sparta, intended to ſubject them to the power of Athens. Xenophon's ſilence about the fate of Conon, leaves room to ſuſpect, that he may have eſcaped from his confinement. It is certain, however, that we hear no more of that celebrated commander, who had become the terror of Sparta, and had ſo effectually humbled their pride, that to accompliſh his deſtruction they deſcended to the meaneſt ſubmiſſions, and to a moſt diſgraceful peace.

When the other ſtates of Greece were informed of the peace concluded between the Lacedemonians and

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the Perſian monarch, they were ſeized with the higheſt indignation; and, in the firſt emotions of their paſſion, reſolved to reject it. But, on cooler reflection, they perceived, that their domeſtic diſſenſions had diſabled them from maintaining a war with the Perſians; and that, therefore, it was more prudent to acquieſce in the treaty. In the mean time, mutual hoſtilities were carried on between the Spartans and Athenians; and a dreadful maſſacre happened at Corinth, by the inſtigation of the Spartans, who, taking advantage of the diviſions prevailing in that city, contrived to get a body of troops introduced into it; and having ſpirited up the inhabitants to murder one another, their troops, in the tumult, cut to pieces a great number of the Argives and Bœotians.

At Rhodes, a diſſenſion aroſe, in which the Athenians were conſequentially intereſted. One half of the inhabitants having declared for democracy, and the other for ariſtocracy; the latter applied for ſupport to the Lacedemonians, who accordingly ſent them Teleutius with twenty ſhips. By this aſſiſtance, ariſtocracy was eſtabliſhed. The Athenians, to whom the ſovereignty of the iſland was underſtood to belong, in like manner, ſent thither Thraſybulus, who having, in his way, levied ſome tribute in the iſland of Aſpendos, the natives, provoked by the harſh treatment of the ſoldiers, joined in an inſurrection, and murdered Thraſybulus in his tent. Thus periſhed that illuſtrious Athenian, whoſe zeal and bravery had reſtored his country to liberty, and whoſe magnanimous behaviour, at that critical period, intitles him to a place among the great men of thoſe times.

The Athenians, at this time, entertained the moſt ſanguine expectations from the extraordinary merit of Iphicrates, who, at twenty years of age, appeared to be a perfect maſter in the art of war.—The troops left by Ageſilaus at Leſchea, having been diſperſed by that commander, the Spartans found it expedient to make peace with the Bœotians.

Iphicrates

Iphicrates being likewiſe ſent to keep in obedience the towns reduced by Thraſybulus in his expedition to Rhodes, which were all ſituated along the coaſts of the Helleſpont, and had, on occaſion of the late misfortunes of the republic, embraced the party of Sparta, laid an ambuſh for the Spartan Anaxibias, and defeated him.

The Eginetæ, about the ſame time, made an incurſion into Attica, at the inſtigation of the Spartans who ſupported them; but were oppoſed by Chabrias, and totally routed. The Spartans, however, taking advantage of the abſence of that commander from Athens, ſent Teleutius againſt Pyreus, who entered it by ſurpriſe in the night, took ſeveral ſhips, deſtroyed ſome others, and created a great deal of confuſion and terror among the inhabitants of Athens.

The Athenians and Spartans, weary of exerting their utmoſt efforts to accompliſh their mu- 387.
tual deſtruction, were at length conſtrained to make peace with each other, and with Perſia; which, by their jealouſies and diſſenſions, was now become the umpire of Greece. The terms of this peace, as dictated by the Perſian ſatrap, Teribazus, governor of Sardis, upon the ſuggeſtion, indeed, of the Lacedemonians, were to this effect: That all the Greek cities in Aſia ſhould be again ſubjected to the Perſian government; that the Athenians ſhould retain their juriſdiction over Lemnos; and that the reſt of Greece ſhould be free.

Such was the peace of *Antalcides*, ſo called from the Lacedemonian of that name, who was the principal author of it, by commiſſion from the ſtate of Sparta, inſtigated thereto by their jealouſy of the riſing power of Athens. In obeying the injunctions of his conſtituents on this occaſion, Antalcides was more than ordinarily zealous, from his perſonal animoſity againſt Ageſilaus, who was totally averſe to that infamous negotiation, by which the liberty and independency of the Greek cities of Aſia, in whoſe defence he had lately performed ſuch glorious exploits, were ſo ſhamefully ſacrificed.

How

How diſgraceful for the Greeks was the difference between this peace, by which Perſia deprived them at once of their power in Aſia Minor, and obliged them to abandon their countrymen there eſtabliſhed, and that made ſixty years before with Artaxerxes Longimanus, by the Athenian Cimon. Greece then victorious, not only vindicated its own liberty, but gave law to the Perſians. The cauſe of this difference, however, is ſufficiently apparent. It aroſe from the mutual quarrels of the ſtates of Greece, of which the Perſian monarchs ſkilfully availed themſelves.—Beſides, the Greeks were no longer actuated by their former ſpirit of independency. Their anceſtors uniformly deſpiſed the gold, and rejected the bribes of the Perſians. Now they were no longer proof againſt theſe temptations, but baſely proſtituted themſelves to the vileſt corruption.—Inſtead of uniting againſt the common enemy, they fooliſhly valued themſelves on their ſuperiority over each other, and exhauſted their force in inteſtine diſſenſions. The conſequence was, their being obliged to make uſe of the meaneſt flattery to the Kings of Perſia, to obtain from them ſupplies of troops and money.

CHAP. II.

Affairs of Greece, from the peace of Antalcides, to the concluſion of the war of the allies.

THE differences among the ſtates of Greece were by no means extinguiſhed by this peace of Antalcides. We ſhall ſtill ſee hoſtilities carried on, not very intereſting indeed in themſelves, but of much importance in their conſequences.

The peace of Antalcides having greatly increaſed the power of the Lacedemonians, the authors of it, had provoked againſt them all the other ſtates of Greece. For by that peace the Thebans were obliged to withdraw the garriſons they held in the towns of Bœotia, as

were the Corinthian theirs from Argos. This was an effect of one maxim of the ancient Spartan policy that ſtill prevailed in full vigour, namely, to keep down by every means the power of ſuch ſtates as were unable to make reſiſtance.

From the ſame motive, upon complaints being made to them by deputies from the towns of Acanthus and Apollonia, of the too great increaſe of that of Olynthus, they declared war againſt the Olynthians, and ſent an army againſt that city, under the command of two brothers, Eudamidas and Phebidas. The firſt made himſelf maſter of the town of Potidea, then in alliance with the Olynthians.—The other marched to Thebes, where finding the inhabitants divided into two factions, the one contending for oligarchy, and the other for democracy, he took advantage of their diviſions, and prevailed on Leontidas, the head of the former, which favoured Sparta, to put him in poſſeſſion of the citadel. This daring exploit excited an univerſal hatred againſt the Lacedemonians, who, with a view of ſoftening matters, depoſed and laid a fine upon Phebidas; but, by a contradiction, diſhonourable to the Spartan juſtice, kept poſſeſſion of the citadel; thus puniſhing the criminal, but approving of the crime.

About the ſame time Leontidas, one of the Theban generals, arreſted and impriſoned in the citadel Iſmenius, another of their generals, who had declared for the popular government. The reſt of that faction, to the number of more than four hundred men, among whom was the famous Pelopidas, alarmed at this violence, fled to Athens; but Epaminondas living then in a private ſtation, entirely employed in the ſtudy of philoſophy, remained at Thebes.—The enterpriſe of Phebidas had already occaſioned loud complaints; but the Spartans carried their injuſtice to a greater length ſtill, by ſending commiſſioners to Thebes, who condemned Iſmenius to death.—The Spartan ſenate muſt undoubtedly have been greatly degenerated, before it could attempt ſuch open acts of violence and injuſtice.

The following year the Olynthians cut in pieces a part of the Spartan army, and among the reſt their general Teleutius. But this diſaſter ſerved only to exaſperate the Spartans ſtill more, who redoubled their efforts to reduce the city of Olynthus, which its inhabitants defended till reduced to the laſt extremities by famine.—The proſperity of Sparta had never arrived at ſuch a pitch before; for they held in ſubjection the moſt powerful cities of Greece, and puniſhed ſeverely thoſe who attempted to ſhake off their yoke. The Athenians were too cautious to oppoſe them. But this proſperity being altogether founded on injuſtice, could be but of ſhort duration. Two illuſtrious citizens of Thebes were deſtined to interrupt its courſe.

Pelopidas, the firſt of theſe, was very rich. But, though a young man, he applied his wealth to the nobleſt of purpoſes, that of aſſiſting perſons of worth oppreſſed by want; and inſtead of following the pleaſurable diſſipated life, commonly purſued by young men of fortune, placed his whole delight in bodily exerciſes and the uſe of arms. The other, Epaminondas, was, on the contrary, poor. But he enjoyed ſuch perfect contentment in his ſituation, that he never would accept of the pecuniary aſſiſtances repeatedly offered him by his friend Pelopidas. He was beſides endued with the moſt valuable qualifications; being a man of an excellent underſtanding, and of indefatigable activity; a brave and ſkilful commander; extremely addicted to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and entertaining an utter abhorrence to every kind of falſehood, in ſo much that he was never guilty of an untruth even in jeſt.

But the moſt extraordinary circumſtance in the characters of thoſe two great men, was the intimate friendſhip that, in ſpite of their very different ſituations in point of fortune, and their as different taſtes of pleaſure, ſubſiſted between them, without ever being affected by the ſmalleſt ſpark of jealouſy. But this was owing to its being founded on virtue, and untinctured with ambi-

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tion or ſelf-intereſt. The ſole aim of both was the glory and happineſs of their country.

The Lacedemonians in the mean time uſing their power ſtill more and more preſumptuouſly, gave the Athenians a very ſenſible proof of their domineering ſpirit, by commanding them to withdraw their protection from the four hundred Thebans, who, upon being baniſhed by a public decree of their native country, had taken refuge at Athens. The Athenians, however, had too much humanity to adopt ſo violent and ſevere a meaſure againſt ſo great a number of Theban citizens; more eſpecially, as theſe very men had contributed the moſt to the reſtoration of the popular government, of which the Athenians were at that very time enjoying the advantages. Pelopidas, full of courage, and ſolely intent on the glory of his country, exhorted his fellow-ſufferers in baniſhment to take up arms for aſſerting the liberty of their native country, an object to which every danger or other perſonal conſideration ought to ſubmit. He found all their diſpoſitions conſonant to his own. Epaminondas, on his part, in like manner animated the Theban youth to throw off the Spartan yoke. The baniſhed Thebans having accordingly concerted the plan of their enterpriſe, communicated it to their friends at Thebes. Twelve of them, with Pelopidas at their head, dreſſed like hunters, entered the city at night, and met by appointment in the houſe of Charon, one of the chief men in Thebes. Philidas, ſecretary to the principal magiſtrates, being in the plot, had that day invited them, with a view to prevent their getting notice of what was going on, to a grand entertainment. But in the height of their feſtivity a meſſenger arrives from Athens, bringing a packet containing a circumſtantial account of the conſpiracy. Archias, who was already pretty far advanced in his cups, on receiving the packet, cried out laughing, "Serious affairs for to-morrow," and, putting it unopened under his pillow, continued the repaſt.

The conſpirators, in the mean time, having divided

themſelves into two parties, one led on by Pelopidas, directs its courſe to the houſe of Leontides, who being awakened by the noiſe, bravely oppoſes the conſpirators ſword in hand, and wounds ſeveral of them; but unable to ſuſtain ſo unequal a combat, is at laſt ſlain. The other party marches againſt Archias, ruſhes armed into the hall where the magiſtrates were feaſting, and eaſily overcomes them, already overpowered with wine. This great point carried, they break open the priſons, proclaim liberty, ſeize what weapons they can find, and arm all they meet. Epaminondas joins them at the head of a numerous band of youth, and incites them to proceed with all poſſible diligence. In theſe circumſtances the other inhabitants, ignorant of what is paſſing, are ſeized with the utmoſt conſternation. The Lacedemonian garriſon, conſiſting of 1500 men, unacquainted with the ſmall number of the conſpirators, ſhut themſelves up in the citadel, and ſend to demand ſuccours from Sparta.

Next day Epaminondas and Pelopidas, at the head of the conſpirators, aſſemble the people, inform them of what had happened, and exhort them to ſtand up for the liberty of their country. The aſſembly calls them the reſtorers of their freedom, and loads them with univerſal applauſe.

The reſt of the baniſhed Thebans quickly arrive, and are ſoon followed by 5000 foot and 500 horſe, ſent by the Athenians under the conduct of Demophon. Several bodies of troops from the towns of Bœotia likewiſe come to their aſſiſtance; ſo that all their forces united, amount to 12,000 men. They immediately lay ſiege to the citadel; and the garriſon being obliged for want of proviſions to capitulate, is permitted to march away. A reinforcement that had been diſpatched from Sparta arrived too late; and the Spartans, in reſentment, put to death the two officers who had capitulated.

This exploit, one of the moſt remarkable perhaps that ever was executed by ſurpriſe, and which may be compared with that by which Thraſybulus delivered Athens

thens from oppreſſion, acquired immortal glory to Pelopidas.

The Lacedemonians now meditated nothing but revenge againſt Pelopidas and the Thebans; for the execution of which, their king, Cleombrotus, led an army into Bœotia; but the operations of the campaign were confined to ſome ravages of the country. The Athenians, in the mean time, dreading the reſentment of the Spartans, renounced the league they had made with the Thebans, and perſecuted either by impriſonment or baniſhment ſuch of their citizens as favoured their cauſe.

But Pelopidas contrived a ſtratagem for producing a quarrel between the Athenians and Spartans. Of concert with Gorgidas, he prevailed on the Spartan Sphodrias, the commander of a body of troops at Theſpia, deſtined to ſupport the Bœotians who might incline to revolt againſt the Thebans, to ſeize Pireus. Sphodrias, being an ambitious vain man, readily undertook the enterpriſe, although the extreme injuſtice of it was apparent. But not having properly concerted his meaſures, his intentions were diſcovered, and his deſign miſcarried. The Athenians complained loudly of this attempt at Sparta; but the ſon of Sphodrias employed his intereſt ſo effectually with Ageſilaus in his father's favour, that he procured his acquittal. The Athenians were ſo provoked at this ſentence, that they inſtantly renewed their alliance with the Thebans.

Much about the ſame time ſeveral other cities revolted againſt the Spartans, who, beſides, to crown their misfortunes, loſt a great part of their army in the expedition againſt Bœotia. The famous Athenian Chabrias, who, on account of his ſingular military ſkill, was conſidered as the only commander fit to oppoſe Ageſilaus, diſtinguiſhed himſelf highly on that occaſion. Having drawn up his troops after a new method, he boldly offered battle to the Spartan, who, though he had an army of no fewer than 18,000 men, was ſo ſtruck with the excellent order of that of Chabrias, that he durſt not venture a battle.

Chabrias

Chabrias gave as ſtriking proofs of his conduct and bravery at ſea as he had done at land. He defeated Pollis, who intended to have intercepted ſome ſhips bound to Athens with corn, and conducted the ſhips into Pireus. Having afterwards laid ſiege to Naxus, he beat the Spartans, who came to relieve the place, and diſperſed their fleet. The Spartans loſt in this action thirty-two ſhips, and the Athenians eighteen. Chabrias, loaded with ſpoils, entered Pireus in triumph.

The Athenians, encouraged by this ſucceſs, equipped a fleet of ſixty ſail, of which they gave the command to Timotheus, the ſon of the famous Conon, who perfectly maintained the reputation of his father. After laying waſte Laconia, he made himſelf maſter of Corcyra, and defeated the Lacedemonian fleet, commanded by Mnaſippus, who was killed in the engagement. The Spartans begged aſſiſtance from Dionyſius the tyrant, to retake this place, and obtained from him a reinforcement of ten gallies; but they were nevertheleſs attacked by the Athenian fleet under Iphicrates, who had ſucceeded Timotheus in the command, and were all taken. Then the Spartans ordered Ageſilaus to march againſt the Thebans. But he performed no deciſive action, having only gained over them a few inconſiderable advantages. The war, however, proceeded very warmly between theſe two ſtates; every day producing ſome new action, in which the Thebans, being for the moſt part ſucceſsful, thence acquired additional courage. This was the object Pelopidas had in view; who, before he choſe to hazard a general battle, deſired to accuſtom his fellow-citizens to fighting. Ageſilaus happening to be wounded in one of thoſe ſkirmiſhes, was rallied on the occaſion by his friends, who told him, that this was certainly the reward the Thebans intended him, for having taught them the art of war.

Pelopidas having fallen in with the enemy near Tegyra, attacked them without heſitation, though amounting to thrice the number of his men. For he had the fulleſt confidence in a ſmall corps of infantry, which

conſiſted

conſiſted of no more than 300 men, and was called *the ſacred band*, or, *troop of friends*, being wholly compoſed of the braveſt and beſt diſciplined ſoldiers, united beſides by friendſhip, of all bonds the moſt powerful, whence every one of them was reſolved to ſpend the laſt drop of his blood in defence of his companion. The Theban horſe began the attack. The firſt ſhock was very terrible; in the ſecond, the Lacedemonian general fell; at which his men being diſheartened, opened their ranks to let the Theban horſe paſs. But Pelopidas inſtantly advancing with his ſacred band, completed their diſorder, and made ſo great a ſlaughter, that the ſurvivors took to flight in the utmoſt confuſion. Pelopidas derived vaſt glory from this battle of Tegyra. Till then the Lacedemonians, while ſuperior in numbers, had never been beaten; but now the Thebans deprived them of that honour.

While thus the diſſenſions of the Greeks continued without intermiſſion, Artaxerxes, King of Perſia, being at war with Egypt, had occaſion for a reinforcement of troops. To obtain theſe, he diſpatched ambaſſadors into Greece, to renew the peace of Antalcides, and to endeavour, if poſſible, to have every ſeparate city placed in a ſtate of abſolute independence. He accordingly procured commiſſioners to be appointed for this purpoſe by the conſent of them all, Thebes having agreed to the meaſure with a good deal of reluctance. Artaxerxes, in the mean time, engaged in his ſervice 20,000 Greeks, and demanded Iphicrates for their general. His expedition, however, having been badly concerted, proved unſucceſsful.

Several cities of the Peloponneſe, eager to enjoy the liberty procured them by Artaxerxes's negotiation, expelled the governors impoſed upon them by Sparta; who having rendered themſelves odious by their tyranny, were treated with a good deal of ſeverity. But at length the Athenians, by the means of Iphicrates, ſucceeded in appeaſing thoſe commotions.

At this time there was a proſpect of ſeeing univerſal tranquillity

tranquillity reſtored in Greece. The Lacedemonians had, in a great meaſure, renounced that ſuperiority which they had ſo long affected over the other ſtates; at leaſt they ceaſed to exerciſe it; and the Athenians having no other object in view than to reſtrain the exorbitant pretenſions of the Lacedemonians, applied themſelves to repair their loſſes. But this deſirable proſpect ſoon vaniſhed; for the Thebans, become preſumptuous by their late ſucceſs, declared war againſt the inhabitants of Platea, and having taken both that town and Theſpia, entirely demoliſhed the former. This daring exploit ſo provoked the Athenians, that they immediately broke their alliance with them, and this rupture became a freſh ſource of war.

The Thebans, a people naturally obſtinate in their reſolutions, and now ſenſible of their own ſtrength, refuſed to accede to the negociations for a peace, in which they thought themſelves treated as inferiors, and returned a haughty anſwer to the propoſals of the Athenians. Pelopidas, their countryman, was not a little active in promoting their ambitious views: a work in which he was ſupported both by the council and the arms of one of the greateſt men that Greece ever produced, namely, Epaminondas, whoſe merit, though then living in a private ſtation, ſolely occupied with the ſtudy of philoſophy, the Thebans ſoon diſcovered, and, forcing him from his obſcurity, placed him at the head of their army.

In theſe circumſtances, Ageſilaus declared to the Thebans, that if they had a mind to be comprehended in the treaty, they muſt previouſly reſtore to liberty the towns of Bœotia. Epaminondas anſwered, That with this they were ready to comply, provided the Spartans would ſet them the example, whoſe pretenſions to ſuperiority over Laconia were no better founded than thoſe of his countrymen over Bœotia. Ageſilaus, provoked at this anſwer, which plainly ſhewed, that the Thebans affected an equality with the Spartans, ſtruck their name out of the treaty, and concluded the peace

with the other ſtates without them. This was equivalent to a poſitive declaration of war.

Cleombrotus, accordingly, received orders from the Ephori to march into Bœotia at the head of 10,000 foot and 1000 horſe. That king flattered himſelf, that the Thebans, deſerted by their allies, were unable to oppoſe him. The Spartans at the ſame time convened the forces of their allies; who joined them more from neceſſity than inclination. The Thebans, on the other hand, were ſomewhat uneaſy on ſeeing themſelves obliged to ſupport the controverſy by themſelves alone; their forces altogether amounting to but 6000 men, while their enemies had no fewer than 24,000. But to ſupply the odds, Epaminondas and Pelopidas fought for the Thebans. As ſoon as Cleombrotus arrived on the frontiers of Bœotia, he ſummoned the Thebans to rebuild the cities of Platea and Theſpia, and to ſet the other towns at liberty. Epaminondas made anſwer, That the Thebans did not think themſelves accountable to any perſon for their conduct. After ſuch an anſwer, arms alone could decide the controverſy.

The two armies having met in the plains of Leuctra, Epaminondas immediately offered battle. 371. The view of an army ſo much ſuperior in numbers as that of Cleombrotus, was ſufficient to diſcourage the braveſt ſoldiers; more eſpecially, as Archidamus, the ſon of Ageſilaus, had lately reinforced it with a conſiderable body of troops levied in Laconia. But this great ſuperiority of the enemy in point of numbers, had no other effect upon the Theban army, than to inſpire them with the hopes of a victory ſo much the more glorious in proportion as it was difficult. Epaminondas drew up his army in an order of battle altogether unknown before, of which the invention and conduct were entirely his own.

Cleombrotus had ranged his army in the form of the old Grecian phalanx, having his horſe diſtributed in ſquadrons along the firſt line of the right wing, where he commanded himſelf. Epaminondas hoped to con-

quer the Lacedemonians, by throwing them into diſorder and conſternation, either by the death or capture of their general. As it was the left wing of the Theban army which muſt attack the quarter where he fought, Epaminondas poſted there his heavy-armed foot, and the braveſt of his men; and before his firſt line he drew up the few horſe he had, to make head againſt thoſe of the enemy. As he knew with what ardour the Thebans made their firſt attack, he did not doubt but they ſhould break the Lacedemonians.

One difficulty only remained, but which, to a leſs able general, might have proved unſurmountable, namely, to prevent his troops from being ſurrounded when they charged. For this purpoſe, Epaminondas ranged his right wing, with which he intended only to make a ſhew of engaging, in ſuch a manner, as to have only ſix men deep, while each rank of his left, on which the whole weight of the battle was to fall, was no leſs than fifty deep; then he all of a ſudden extended his front ſo as to flank Cleombrotus, hoping, by that means, to provoke him to advance to ſecure his flank, and ſo to detach himſelf from the main body of his army.

The battle was begun by the cavalry. But thoſe of the Lacedemonians were ſoon repulſed; and falling back on the infantry, diſordered the foremoſt ranks. Cleombrotus, in the mean time, perceiving Epaminondas's apparent deſign to flank him, changed his order of battle, intending, in like manner, to extend the front of his right wing, with a view to ſurround Epaminondas. This movement decided the fate of the engagement. Pelopidas, who at the head of the ſacred band covered Epaminondas's flank, and attentively obſerved every thing that paſſed, perceiving the diſorder occaſioned in the Lacedemonian army, by the change in its diſpoſition, inſtantly makes a vigorous charge upon them, breaks through them before they could form their ranks, and throws them into confuſion.

Epaminondas, at the ſame time, leads on his phalanx to the attack. By his ſkilful conduct, he had already rendered

rendered the advantage on his own ſide too great to permit the victory to remain long in ſuſpenſe. The Lacedemonians, on the other hand, fought as uſual with incredible bravery. Where-ever the danger was greateſt, thither their braveſt ſoldiers and beſt officers ran in crowds. They form a circle round Cleombrotus, whom they defend with their launces and ſwords; and covering him with their bucklers, ſuſtain for a long while the impetuoſity of the Thebans, who aim at him alone. His ſon Cleonymus, together with his beſt officers and ſoldiers, having breathed their laſt at his feet; the Thebans at length cut a lane to him, ſword in hand; and he himſelf, covered with his own blood, and that of his generous defenders, falls dead at laſt on the field of battle.

The heat of the battle now rages around the body of the king; where the Lacedemonians, inſtigated with fury and deſpair, exerted their utmoſt efforts to revenge the death of their general and king; and for a long time ſpread a dreadful ſlaughter around: but being now deprived of their commander, they ſoon fall into diſorder, and begin to loſe courage. The Thebans, on the other hand, fighting under the conduct of Epaminondas, who ſkilfully manages their ardour, and repairs their broken ranks, at length, after the moſt vigorous and obſtinate diſpute, ſecure the victory on their ſide. Epaminondas, obſerving, that the violent reſiſtance of the Lacedemonians proceeded from their deſire to carry off the body of Cleombrotus, thought it was better to accompliſh the total defeat of their army, than to contend with them for ſo poor a conſolation. Wheeling off therefore to attack the other wing, which was already weakened by the loſs of ſeveral of its officers, he cuts the greateſt part of it in pieces, and puts the reſt to flight. Pelopidas is attended with the ſame ſucceſs where-ever he fights; and the Lacedemonians, broken and diſordered on all ſides, give ground, quit the field of battle, and retreat, with the ſole glory of having reſcued the body of Cleombrotus from the hands of the enemy.

The goodneſs of the Theban horſe contributed greatly to the obtaining of this victory; having begun the attack, and defeated thoſe of the Lacedemonians, after very little reſiſtance. The latter had then no regular diſciplined body of cavalry; for it was compoſed of the horſes kept in time of peace by the richer ſort of citizens, for pleaſure and convenience; which, on the breaking out of a war, were mounted by ſoldiers altogether unacquainted with the diſcipline requiſite in a body of cavalry. The Theban cavalry, on the contrary, was excellent, and had already diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the battles of Theſpia and Orchomenus, of which they had acquired all the glory.

The loſs of the Thebans amounted only to 300 men, while the Lacedemonians left on the field of battle no fewer than 4000 killed, and in that number 1000 Spartans, the flower and hope of their nation. Till now there had never happened among the Greeks ſo bloody an engagement, the greateſt ſlaughter, on former occaſions, ſeldom exceeding 500 men.

Epaminondas gave himſelf up with all the fondneſs of the moſt affectionate citizen to the joy of having ſo completely defeated the mortal enemies of his country. The firſt tranſport of his joy was ſo great, that he could not reſtrain himſelf from exulting on account of ſo much glory and good fortune. But his philoſophy ſoon got the better of his vanity; though at the ſame time he freely indulged ſentiments of a more rational and juſt delight. For when the higheſt commendations were beſtowed upon him on account of his ſucceſs in this action, he diſcovered little ſenſibility to the praiſes laviſhed on himſelf, but declared, "That his joy aroſe principally from the thoughts of the pleaſure which the news of his victory ſhould occaſion to his father and mother." A ſtriking inſtance of his goodneſs of heart, and of his tender affection to thoſe who had given him being.

The news of this victory produced at Sparta a behaviour extremely oppoſite to what might have been reaſonably

ſonably expected. But in that extraordinary ſtate, humanity itſelf was ſacrificed to the love of their country. The parents of thoſe that were ſlain, congratulated with one another with the higheſt appearance of joy and ſatisfaction; while thoſe who expected the return of their relations, diſcovered the deepeſt dejection. This is not ſurpriſing when we reflect on the puniſhment inflicted by the laws of Sparta on thoſe who fled in battle. The moſt mortifying diſhonours of every kind were heaped upon them; every body was permitted to ſtrike and abuſe them; they durſt not come abroad, except in dirty ragged garments; and all perſons were prohibited to form any connection with them by marriage or otherwiſe. So neceſſary did they think it to puniſh cowardice.

The Spartans had ſtill further reaſon to be diſquieted, on hearing that the Thebans were preparing to enter the Peloponneſe. Ageſilaus was then the only man capable of delivering his countrymen from their extreme diſtreſs. He applied himſelf therefore to reſtore their courage; and his firſt care was, to preſerve for the public ſervice thoſe who having fled in the laſt engagement, were on that account diſqualified from ſerving in any military employment afterwards, but who were too numerous to be ſubjected to all the rigour of the law. He therefore procured in favour of the fugitives a ſuſpenſion of the penal laws juſt mentioned. Then he made an irruption into the territory of the Mantineans, which he laid waſte; but he carefully avoided an engagement.

The Thebans, on the other hand, deſiring to profit by their victory, ſent to beg aſſiſtance of the Athenians. But theſe did not think it proper to comply with their requeſt; for, being deſirous that the power of Greece ſhould remain properly balanced, they thought it moſt adviſable to continue quiet, and for that purpoſe renewed the treaty with the other ſtates. The Thebans, however, perſiſted in their oppoſition, and being joined by the Eleans, Argives, Arcadians, and even ſome of the inhabitants of Laconia, whoſe views and intereſts

were

were the ſame with their own, they formed a league, whereby it was agreed, that each of them ſhould have liberty to govern itſelf by its own laws.

This new form of government introduced among the Arcadians faction and diſcord, the uſual concomitants of ſudden political alterations. The Argives in particular were diſtracted by the moſt grievous diſſenſions; for their nobles, by the inſtigation of the orators, who applied their eloquence on this occaſion to the purpoſe of ſtirring up diſcord and ſedition, entered into the reſolution of aboliſhing democracy; of which the people having gotten notice, murdered one half of the conſpirators, and had the other formally condemned and executed, the orators themſelves being comprehended in this cataſtrophe.

In the mean time ſeveral ſtates of Greece, namely, the Phoceans, Locrians, and Eubeans, acceded to the Theban league, on pretence of aſſiſting the Arcadians; and marched into the Peloponneſe. Their forces altogether amounted to 40,000, and when united with thoſe of the Thebans, compoſed an army of 60,000 men. This army under the command of Epaminondas and Pelopidas entered into Laconia, where it laid every thing waſte with fire and ſword, and advancing to the very confines of Sparta, created in that city incredible conſternation. Plutarch obſerves that in the ſpace of 600 years, during which the Dorians had now poſſeſſed the territory of Lacedemon, no enemy had ever before dared to invade their territories.

Epaminondas having made good his paſſage over the Eurotas with the loſs of a great many men, penetrated as far as the ſuburbs. The Spartans who had never before ſeen an enemy at their gates, became furious at the ſight; and deſired inſtantly to be led againſt the invaders, and either to repulſe them, or to die on the ſpot. It was with the greateſt difficulty that they were reſtrained from putting their purpoſe in execution by Ageſilaus, who amidſt this ſtorm that threatened his country with utter ruin, reſolved to act entirely on the defenſive,

fenſive, by all means to avoid a general engagement, and to confine himſelf to the defence of the town. This conduct excited the murmurs of his fellow-citizens, who beheld with horror all the country around them in flames. But by his firmneſs and prudence he maintained his authority in all its vigour, and ſucceeded in calming their tempers. On this occaſion he propoſed to reſtore the Helots to liberty, and to make them ſoldiers. Accordingly, 6000 of them were inliſted.

The Thebans in the mean time endeavoured to bring the enemy to a regular action. But Ageſilaus having very different intentions, poſted his army on an eminence within the town, and beſtowed his chief attention on keeping all the paſſages ſtrongly and carefully guarded. Then the Thebans attempted an attack, but were repulſed, and many of them ſlain by a party of 300 Spartans, who ſallied out upon them from an ambuſcade. The heroic behaviour too of Iſcholas made them ſenſible how dear it would coſt them to take Sparta. That brave Spartan, who may be juſtly compared on this occaſion with the famous Leonidas, by whom the whole Perſian army was for a while ſtopt at the paſs of Thermopylæ, had been appointed to the command of a ſmall party that defended an important poſt. But perceiving that he muſt be overpowered by the enemy, he ſent away the younger ſoldiers, and at the head of the remainder, ſacrificed his own life along with thoſe of his generous followers in the ſervice of his country.

Epaminondas finding all his endeavours to draw Ageſilaus out of the town ineffectual, thought it neceſſary to retreat; not from a deſpair of being able, with a little patience, to reduce Sparta then in a very defenceleſs ſituation, but from an apprehenſion of exciting againſt his country the jealouſy of the reſt of the Greeks. He contented himſelf therefore with having humbled the Spartan pride, and with having obliged them to make uſe of a more modeſt tone of ſpeech with their neighbours.

The Thebans retired into Arcadia, where it was reſolved,

ſolved, in conſequence of the advice of Epaminondas, and the conſent of their allies, to re-eſtabliſh in their antient poſſeſſions the poſterity of the Meſſenians, who had been 300 years before expelled the Peloponneſe by the Spartans, and were at this time diſperſed over the iſland of Sicily. The Meſſenians joyfully embraced the firſt invitation, and, after dividing their territory, received from the allies a formidable body of troops for their immediate defence. The loſs of this country, the moſt fruitful in Greece, was ſeverely felt by the Lacedemonians.

Epaminondas and Pelopidas, on their return to Thebes, inſtead of receiving the thanks and applauſe they ſo well deſerved at the hands of their countrymen, were judicially cited to anſwer for the crime of having retained the command of the army four months longer than the time allowed by law.—A law rigorouſly obſerved in the larger republics, from an apprehenſion, leſt ſome man inveſted with ſo high an authority, might be tempted to uſe it to the ſubverſion of the liberty of his country.—They were, therefore, thrown into priſon, and an accuſation was exhibited againſt them; for, as uſual, their diſtinguiſhed merit had procured them many enemies. Pelopidas managed his defence like a man apprehenſive of the whimſical inconſtancy and ingratitude inherent in the diſpoſition of every people under a republican form of government. But Epaminondas, whoſe reſpectable appearance correſponded perfectly with the greatneſs of his actions, pleaded his cauſe with a confidence that aſtoniſhed the hearers. Without deſcending to his juſtification, he recalled to their remembrance all his exploits, and the ſervices he had performed to his country; and declared, that he would lay down his life with pleaſure, if his countrymen would expreſs in his ſentence, that his having overthrown their enemies in the field of Leuctra without their conſent, was the crime for which he ſuffered. The manner of this defence reſtored the Thebans to their right reaſon,

and they unanimouſly acquitted Epaminondas, upon whom this trial only reflected additional glory.

As for the Spartans, their late humiliation, and the continual alarms to which they were expoſed, produced a change in their diſpoſitions.—They began to murmur againſt the government; the city was diſtracted by factions; and nothing went on but cabals and conſpiracies. Theſe inteſtine diſorders afforded great opportunity to Ageſilaus to diſplay both his patience and his prudence. Having gained over the Ephori to his ſide, and having diſcovered ſome of thoſe conſpiracies, he put ſeveral of the principal ringleaders to immediate death, and made it capital for any perſon to be engaged in the like for the future. After having by theſe means reſtored tranquillity and order in Sparta, he began to look abroad for aſſiſtance among the neighbouring ſtates; and was lucky enough to prevail with the Corinthians to furniſh him with ſome auxiliary forces.

Things begin now to wear a different appearance in Greece. We ſhall immediately ſee thoſe haughty Spartans deſcending to implore aſſiſtance of the ſame Athenians, on whom they had lately inflicted all the miſchief in their power, and whoſe utter ruin they would have joyfully accompliſhed.——At this time, however, they found themſelves under the neceſſity of ſending an embaſſy to Athens, to explain the extremity to which they were reduced, and to endeavour to convince the Athenians, how much it was their intereſt to join with them, and to ſtop the career of the ambitious Thebans, who ſeemed deſirous of reducing all Greece under their ſubjection.

This occaſion furniſhes us with a ſtriking inſtance of the generoſity of the Athenians, as well as of their juſt diſcernment of the general intereſt of Greece. For though the misfortunes brought upon them by the Lacedemonians were freſh in their remembrance, they nevertheleſs reſolved at once to furniſh them with immediate aſſiſtance; and at the ſame time they brought about a confederacy with ſeveral other ſtates to oppoſe

the Thebans. They refuſed, however, to take any part in this war, except upon condition that they were allowed to act in it on an equal footing with the Lacedemonians, and to exerciſe the chief command alternately with them, at the rate of four days at a time each. As this was by no means a proper ſeaſon for Sparta to talk of her ſuperiority, the conditions propoſed by the Athenians were agreed to without heſitation.

The Spartans ſupported in this manner by their allies, were for ſome time in a ſituation to ſtop the progreſs of the oppoſite confederacy.—But ſoon after, the Arcadians took from them Pallenum in Laconia, put the garriſon to the ſword, and effected a junction with the Eleans, Argives, and Thebans. The Athenians then thought it neceſſary to oppoſe to Epaminondas their countryman Chabrias, whoſe troops when united with thoſe of the Spartans, compoſed altogether an army of 22,000 men. Epaminondas, in the mean time, intending to penetrate into the Peloponneſe, advanced to the iſthmus, which he found defended by a ſtrong wall. But diſcovering one part of it weaker than the reſt, he opened himſelf a paſſage through it after a very warm engagement. Then he advanced into the country, deſtroying every thing with fire and ſword; and having reduced Sicyon, he laid ſiege to Corinth. But Chabrias arriving in the mean time, put a ſtop to his ſucceſs, fruſtrated all the future attempts of the Thebans, and at length obliged them to depart out of the Peloponneſe. Epaminondas, on his return to Thebes, experienced once more the ingratitude of his countrymen, who accuſed him of partiality to the Spartans, and under that pretence deprived him of the command. They ſoon, however, thought themſelves extremely happy to be able to prevail with him again to become commander in chief.

The news of the battle at Leuctra had by this time reached the extremities of Aſia, and the ſucceſs of Epaminondas began to give umbrage to the Perſian monarch Artaxerxes, to whom an embaſſy having been diſpatched by the Lacedemonians, the Thebans likewiſe

thought

thought it neceſſary to ſend thither Pelopidas upon their part.—That illuſtrious Theban was gazed upon with admiration at the court of Perſia, where his truly heroic character quickly diſplayed itſelf, particularly in the eyes of the king, with whom he became a great favourite. Pelopidas ſoon convinced that prince that it was his intereſt to protect the Thebans, more eſpecially as they had never fought againſt the Perſians, and were the only people of Greece now capable of holding the balance even between Sparta and Athens; he further repreſented, that all his countrymen required was, that Meſſene ſhould be maintained in the poſſeſſion of its liberty; that the Athenians ſhould be obliged to withdraw their garriſons from the towns of Bœotia; and that the Thebans ſhould be accounted allies of the great king. Thus the negotiations of the Lacedemonians at the court of Perſia were in a great meaſure fruſtrated; for they were able to obtain nothing more than 2000 mercenaries, with money for their pay. But they procured about the ſame time ſuch another reinforcement from Dionyſius the tyrant of Sicily.

The war ſtill went on between the ſtates of Greece. Archidamus the ſon of Ageſilaus, having received intelligence, that the Meſſenians had oppoſed the march of the Lacedemonian auxiliaries from Sicily, marched to their relief, engaged the Arcadians and Argives, and obtained a ſignal victory, with the loſs, as is pretended, of but a ſingle man. The news of this victory occaſioned much joy at Sparta, and revived their drooping courage; for their defeat at Leuctra had affected them to ſuch a degree, that we are told their men were aſhamed to look their women in the face.

Pelopidas, on the other hand, by his ſkill in the art of negotiation, daily procured freſh reinforcements to the Theban power. Having acquired the confidence of the princes of Macedon, he was, by the mutual conſent of Perdiccas and Ptolemy the ſons of Amyntas, choſen umpire to decide the diſpute that had

ariſen between them, about their ſucceſſion in the kingdom.—Pelopidas accordingly pronounced his ſentence, and to inſure the execution of it, carried along with him to Thebes, by way of hoſtage, a third ſon of Amyntas, called *Philip*, who became afterwards the famous king of Macedon of that name.

A formidable power, in the mean time, ſtarted up in Theſſaly, of which country Alexander of Pheræ had made himſelf maſter, by aſſaſſinating Poliphron the brother of Jaſon, who was the general of the Theſſalians. Alexander, with an army of 20,000 veteran ſoldiers, made war all around him with uninterrupted ſucceſs, and reduced every thing under his ſubjection. The Theſſalians implored deliverance from their miſeries of the Thebans, who ſent Pelopidas to their relief. The Theban general very ſoon made himſelf maſter of Lariſſa, obliged Alexander to ſue for peace, and attempted, by moderation and indulgence, to inſpire that prince with ſentiments of juſtice and humanity. But the exceſs of debauchery into which he had plunged himſelf, and his cruel diſpoſition, fruſtrated all the endeavours of Pelopidas.

Pelopidas having been recalled into Macedonia, on occaſion of freſh troubles that had broken out there on the death of Perdiccas, (who had fallen in battle), and which were chiefly occaſioned by Ptolemy's attempting to mount the throne, raiſed an army of mercenaries in haſte, and marched againſt Ptolemy. Though Ptolemy had found means to corrupt many of Pelopidas's ſoldiers; yet, as he ſtood much in awe of him, he came before him in a very ſubmiſſive manner, and made him the moſt ſpecious promiſes. Pelopidas thereupon at the head of a few Theſſalian troops, marched into Pharſalia, with an intention to chaſtiſe thoſe mercenary ſoldiers who had abandoned him. Alexander of Pheræ happening then to be in that neighbourhood with a great army, Pelopidas reſolved to wait upon him as ambaſſador of the Thebans. But Alexander, ſeeing him ſlenderly attended, cauſed him to be ſeized, contrary to the

law

law of nations, and having conducted him to Pheræ, threw him into priſon. Pelopidas, though in irons, aſtoniſhed the tyrant by his firmneſs and reſolution; and, upon hearing of his cruelty to the citizens, of whom he was daily putting ſome to death, boldly threatened to puniſh him for his wickedneſs, if ever he eſcaped out of his hands. While that illuſtrious Theban continued under the moſt rigorous confinement, Thebe, the tyrant's wife, who had likewiſe abundant reaſon of diſſatisfaction with her huſband, on account of his infamous debauchery, paid a viſit to Pelopidas, and could not refrain from burſting into tears, on ſeeing his diſmal ſituation.

When the Thebans heard of the unjuſt ſeizure of Pelopidas, they immediately ſent an army againſt the tyrant; which, however, through the unſkilfulneſs of its commanders, made but little progreſs, and was continually haraſſed by Alexander. Epaminondas, happening to ſerve in this expedition in the ſtation of a private officer, was intreated by the ſoldiers to undertake the chief command. Overlooking, therefore, the ungrateful treatment received by him from his fellow-citizens, and ſtudying nothing but the glory and happineſs of his country, he complied with their earneſt ſolicitations. The ſoldiers, inſpired with extraordinary courage, on ſeeing themſelves conducted by ſo ſkilful a general, grew impatient to come to action. But Epaminondas, apprehenſive for the life of Pelopidas, which was entirely in the tyrant's power, protracted the war, and ſatisfied himſelf with holding Alexander in awe. He even liſtened with mildneſs to the ambaſſadors ſent by the tyrant to plead his juſtification, and in every thing managed him with conſummate prudence, making him ſenſible, at the ſame time, that it was in his power to chaſtiſe him whenever he thought it convenient. He kept him therefore in perpetual alarm; but offered him a truce of thirty days, on condition of his ſetting Pelopidas at liberty. To which Alexander having conſented, Epa-

minondas

minondas returned to Thebes, happy at having delivered his friend out of the hands of ſo cruel an enemy.

Alexander ſoon gave way to his perverſe diſpoſition; and by his tyranny and oppreſſion, obliged ſeveral cities to implore relief from the Thebans, who, at their earneſt deſire, ſent Pelopidas to their aſſiſtance; but an eclipſe that intervened, prevented many Thebans from accompanying him; and, not daring to contradict their ridiculous ſuperſtition, he was obliged to depart with an eſcort of only 300 horſe. He was incited to this enterpriſe, both by his reſentment againſt the tyrant, for having ſo cruelly and perfidiouſly detained him in priſon; and likewiſe from a deſire of ſhowing, that the Thebans were able to overthrow tyranny; while, on the other hand, their enemies, the Lacedemonians, were reduced to the neceſſity of begging aſſiſtance from the tyrant Dionyſius.

Pelopidas and his 300 horſe, upon being joined by 7000 men ſent him from Theſſaly, marched to Cynocephalus, a place ſurrounded with high hills, and there pitched his camp. Alexander, who had an army of 20,000 men, on being informed of the great inferiority of the enemy in point of numbers, marched to give them battle. Pelopidas's cavalry broke thoſe of the tyrant at the firſt charge. But the infantry of the latter, which were poſted upon the heights, pouring down upon the Theſſalians, obliged them to give ground. Pelopidas gallopped up with his cavalry to their relief, rallied them, and put the enemy to flight. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, and inſtigated by reſentment againſt Alexander, he looked around for him, and at length perceiving him, he advanced up to the tyrant, and, by name, challenged him to ſingle combat; but without effect; for Alexander retired behind his men. Pelopidas, blinded by his fury, and not reflecting on the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, nor the duty of his rank, ruſhes upon the party that ſurrounded
364. the tyrant, and cuts down all that oppoſe his paſſage; but is inſtantly overwhelmed by a ſhower

of

of darts, is thrown from his horſe, and transfixed with javelins. The Theſſalian horſemen gallop up to his aſſiſtance, but find him expiring. The Thebans, on hearing the news, are inſpired with the greateſt fury; and falling with impetuoſity on the main body of the enemy, cut in pieces 3000 men.

The ſoldiers were all penetrated with inconſolable grief for the loſs of their general, whom, with tears in their eyes, they proclaimed to have been their father and deliverer. In token of their ſorrow, they cut off the hair of their own heads, and the manes of their horſes, and ſhut themſelves up in their tents, abſtaining from every kind of nouriſhment. The magiſtrates and people of the towns through which his body was carried, came to meet the proceſſion, bringing crowns and trophies. The Theſſalians and Thebans contended for the honour of burying him; but the moving arguments employed by the former, prevailed on the Thebans to yield them that laſt mournful office.

The friendſhip of Epaminondas and Pelopidas had been of long continuance, and had been maintained with perfect intimacy and ſincerity. Their ſtrict union, and perfect unanimity, inſured the ſucceſs of all their undertakings; for the public welfare being the ſole object of both, entirely prevented the groveling paſſions of envy and jealouſy from obtaining any footing in their breaſts. Epaminondas's contempt of wealth excited the admiration of Pelopidas, who grew deſirous of imitating the plain frugal life of his friend; but his application to the buſineſs of the ſtate, made him negligent about his own private fortune, which, by that means, ſuffered conſiderably. Pelopidas was active and laborious; was eſteemed and beloved by the people, and always poſſeſſed the greateſt influence in the adminiſtration. He aimed at nothing leſs than rendering the Thebans the foremoſt people in Greece.

The Thebans, not ſatisfied with mourning the death of Pelopidas, reſolved to revenge it. Having with this view united their forces with thoſe of the Theſſalians, they

they diſperſed the remains of Alexander's army, obliged him to give up all the places he had taken, and to ſwear obedience to the Theban commands. That tyrant having rendered himſelf deteſtable by his debauchery and cruelty, periſhed ſeven years after this period, by the hands of his own wife and her brothers.

The Thebans, in the mean time, were ſolely intent on profiting by the diſſenſions of the other ſtates, to augment their own power. But their ſucceſs had now alarmed the reſt of Greece, which was all in motion. A diſpute that aroſe between the Arcadians and Mantineans, furniſhed them with a pretence for again entering the Peloponneſe in arms. They accuſed the Arcadians of an intention to join the Spartan confederacy; and, though the Arcadians denied the accuſation in the ſtrongeſt terms, yet Epaminondas told them, with a tone of authority, that he would judge of their ſincerity in the Peloponneſe. This convinced them that a ſtorm was preparing againſt them. They therefore made application to the Athenians and Spartans for aſſiſtance, and both theſe ſtates concluded with them an offenſive and defenſive alliance.

Epaminondas, at the head of the Bœotians, and a body of Theſſalian cavalry, having again marched into the Peloponneſe, Tegea, and a part of Arcadia, declared in his favour. The Spartans, hearing of the motions of the Thebans, aſſembled their troops at Mantinea, which they fortified. Epaminondas was then meditating a bold exploit, capable of ruining the Lacedemonians for ever. It was no other than to puſh forwards with his army directly to Sparta, which he hoped to ſurpriſe, all their ſoldiers having marched for Mantinea. With this view, he inſtantly put his army in motion. But Ageſilaus, who was then on his march to Mantinea, getting notice of his intention, poſted back with ſuch expedition to Sparta, that he found himſelf in a ſituation to receive the Thebans; the few inhabitants who had remained at home diſpoſing themſelves in the beſt manner they could along the different quarters of the

town.

town. Epaminondas, however, though diſcovered, reſolved to alarm the Spartans; and, for that purpoſe, attacked the town, and penetrated as far as the market-place. Ageſilaus ſuſtained his attacks with wonderful coolneſs and preſence of mind; and, though far advanced in years, exerted prodigies of perſonal valour, freely expoſing his life in defence of his country. In this, indeed, he was admirably well ſeconded by his ſon Archidamus, who commanded the youth, and ſhewed himſelf worthy ſuch a father. For having croſſed the Eurotas, and taken poſſeſſion of an eminence, he thence made a furious charge upon the Thebans, and put them to flight.

It was on this occaſion that Iſadas, the ſon of Phebidas, a young Spartan of large ſtature and great ſtrength, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an inſtance of extraordinary bravery. Happening to be at home when the Thebans broke into the town, and being ſuddenly alarmed at the noiſe of armour, he inſtantly ſeizes a ſpear in one hand, and a ſword in the other, and runs out to oppoſe the enemy, ſtark naked as he was at the time. He ruſhes forward where the danger was greateſt, deals death around him with every blow, and overthrows all that oppoſe him, without receiving any wound himſelf. The Ephori decreed him a chaplet as the reward of his valour; but, at the ſame time, laid a fine of 1000 drachmas upon him, as a puniſhment for having expoſed himſelf without armour.

Epaminondas finding more reſiſtance than he had expected, draws off his army from before Sparta, and marches toward Mantinea, to which he reſolved to lay ſiege. That place happened then to be quite defenceleſs; the allies, who had at firſt aſſembled there, having returned home to take care of their harveſt. But, in the mean time, 6000 Athenians, under the command of Hegilochus, paſſed the ſea to join the allies at Mantinea, and came juſt in time to ſave the place. Falling in with the Thebans, they immediately gave them battle, which, though ſharp, was but of ſhort duration; for the Thebans,

finding their project diſappointed, thought it prudent to retreat.

The Theban general, provoked at having failed in theſe two laſt attempts, and fearing to forfeit the confidence of his allies on that account, reſolved to come to a general engagement, which might at once render him maſter of the Peloponneſe.

363. The Theban army, comprehending their allies, the Arcadians and Argives, amounted altogether to 30,000 foot, and 3000 horſe: that of the Lacedemonians, joined with the Athenian troops, and thoſe of their other allies, to no more than 20,000 foot and 2000 horſe. The laſt had but few ſlingers and archers, who, beſides, were not very expert. The Thebans, on the contrary, had a great number who had come to their aſſiſtance all the way from the borders of Theſſaly, and excelled in the uſe of the ſling and dart. Epaminondas was well perſuaded, that by gaining this battle, he ſhould aſſure to Thebes a ſuperiority over the reſt of Greece.

In the opinion of the greateſt maſters in the art of war, there never was any thing of the kind more ſkilful, or more ſingular, than the arrangement of the Theban army in this engagement, which was fought on the plain of Mantinea. Epaminondas, though ſuperior in the number of his men, omitted nothing that might contribute to the ſucceſs of the battle. Never did he employ more art to deceive the enemy, and to conceal from them his intended order of fight, that ſo he might attack them with the double advantage of their diſorder, and his own ſkill.

The Lacedemonian army was encamped at the foot of Mount Parthemus; and that of the Thebans, on the declivity of the ſame hill. Epaminondas, without regarding the order of the enemy, whom he did not doubt of diſconcerting, by the ſingularity of his attack, formed his men before moving from the place of encampment. On his left wing, which was deſtined to charge the Lacedemonians themſelves, he poſted his

Thebans

Thebans and Arcadians, being the flower of his army; the Argives compoſed his right; the Eubeans, Sicyonians, and Locrians, occupied his centre; and the cavalry was diſpoſed along the wings.

After informing every corps of the order in which it was to fight, he inſtantly changed his diſpoſition, put his army in motion, and, in a moment, appeared in a ſingle line, as if intending to march. He advanced, indeed, towards the enemy; but, from the diſpoſition of his troops, they were convinced that he meant to decamp. Still more to deceive them, after continuing his march for ſome time, he at once halted on an eminence, and cauſed all his infantry to ground their arms.—This behaviour perſuaded the Lacedemonians, that Epaminondas intended to encamp. Their officers were the firſt deceived, and accordingly quitted their ſtations; the ſoldiers, after their example, leave their ranks; and thus the whole Lacedemonian army, which had till then continued in battle array, breaks and diſperſes all over their camp.

This was the effect that Epaminondas had foreſeen and expected. As ſoon as he perceived the Lacedemonians, in the diſorder of an army quietly retiring to their quarters, from a belief that there was nothing more to be feared, he commands his men to recover their arms, and advances quickly to the attack. The enemy, in amazement, run in haſte to recover their ranks, and form with all poſſible expedition. They think of nothing now but to act on the defenſive, Epaminondas's troops being already formed, while they were hardly begun to make their diſpoſition. Notwithſtanding their ſurpriſe, however, they threw themſelves into the form of a phalanx. The Athenian horſe take poſt on one wing; the Lacedemonian on the other. Their precipitation produces confuſion; and, on viewing the excellent order of the Theban army, they could expect nothing but a certain defeat.

One part of the Theban horſe had already placed themſelves in front of that of the Athenians, to overawe

and prevent them from taking their infantry in flank; the reſt oppoſed the Lacedemonian cavalry. Epaminondas had intermingled among his horſe ſmall parties of excellent Theſſalian ſlingers and archers, a precaution which the Lacedemonians had neglected. As ſoon as his cavalry had taken their ſtation, Epaminondas, who had till now led on his army in the form of a phalanx, with a ſingle line, all of a ſudden orders the extremity of his right wing to halt; and, at the ſame time, advances briſkly with the left wing in an angular form, with the point of which, as with the beak of a galley, to uſe Xenophon's expreſſion, he charges the centre of the enemy.

He had had the precaution to place in this wing his choiceſt troops, which were beſides ſuſtained by thoſe of the other wing; the left extremity of which extended to this formidable point in which he now advanced. His intention was to bear down the centre of the Lacedemonians, and then to charge them in flank to right and left, when, after being thus divided, they might be more eaſily overpowered.

The trumpets having ſounded the charge, the armies, as uſual, ſet up loud ſhouts. The engagement was begun by the Lacedemonian horſe, which being much inferior to thoſe of the Thebans, were broken at the firſt onſet, and put to flight, after very little reſiſtance. The centre of the enemies was likewiſe borne down, as Epaminondas had foreſeen. But this diſadvantage, far from diſcouraging the Lacedemonians, rather animated them to exert prodigies of valour, to repair their loſs.

Never, ſays Diodorus Siculus, had the Greeks fought againſt one another with ſuch numerous armies; never were they commanded by more ſkilful generals; never had they diſcovered more firmneſs, valour, and intrepidity. They all entertained the ſame indifference for life, the ſame deſire of glory, the ſame love for their country. This battle was now to decide, in the ſight of all Greece in arms, whether Thebes, conſtantly victorious through the whole courſe of this war, or Sparta, illuſtrious by its triumphs for ages previous to this war, ſhould

ſhould now enjoy the ſuperiority over the reſt of their countrymen. From all theſe motives united, the two parties diſputed the victory with the moſt obſtinate bravery.

The foot of both armies made the firſt attack with their lances. Theſe being ſoon broken, they betook themſelves to their ſwords. Then the action became one of the moſt bloody that had ever been known; and the earth was ſoon covered with the dead and wounded, and drenched with blood. But in ſpite of all the precautions uſed by Epaminondas for ſecuring the victory on his ſide, it ſtill remained doubtful; and he now ſaw, that a deſperate effort was neceſſary to inſure the ſucceſs of his wiſeſt meaſures.

In this deciſive moment, Epaminondas, ſtill further to animate his men, thought it neceſſary to act the part of a brave ſoldier rather than that of a cautious general. Aſſembling therefore a choſen band of his braveſt Thebans, he exhorts them to follow the example he is now to ſhow them, and then ruſhes impetuouſly upon the Lacedemonians, determined to ſacrifice his life, if he can thereby decide the fate of the engagement. Followed by his troop of Thebans, he drives all before him, and cuts a lane through the enemy. The Lacedemonians begin to ſtagger, by and by give ground on all ſides, and at laſt retire from the field of battle. Epaminondas purſues them, and makes ſuch a ſlaughter, that the ground where he and his troop fought, was, by the account of Diodorus Siculus, covered with heaps of Lacedemonians.

To render the victory complete, it was now only neceſſary to recal the victorious Thebans from the purſuit of thoſe that fled, and to lead them againſt the wings of the Lacedemonian army, which ſtill kept their ground. But ſuch valour and prudence are ſeldom united. Epaminondas, impelled by the ardour of his courage, was no longer maſter of himſelf, and ſeemed reſolved not to let a ſingle Lacedemonian eſcape. Having advanced imprudently into the midſt of them, without reflecting

that

that his brave troop was every moment diminiſhing, he found himſelf at length, almoſt alone, ſurrounded by a croud of Lacedemonians; who diſcovering his ſituation, attack him from all ſides. This brave man, then, collecting all his ſtrength, ſupports, with a truly heroic bravery, the unequal combat, and wards off, with his buckler, the ſhowers of darts poured upon him from every quarter. But while he is thus intent on defending himſelf, an officer makes a puſh at him with his lance, and plunges it into his breaſt. The wood having broken, the iron ſtuck faſt in the wound, and Epaminondas, covered with his own blood, falls half dead to the ground. The news is immediately ſpread through both armies. The Thebans, furious for the loſs of their general, run to the ſpot where he lay wounded, and bear down all before them. A ſhocking ſlaughter prevails round the body of Epaminondas, both parties fighting with the moſt furious obſtinacy to get poſſeſſion of it. The Thebans, however, prevail at laſt, and carry off their commander, though almoſt without life. Their fury redoubles at the ſight, and they vent it upon the Lacedemonians, who now began to fly on all ſides. But the Theban commanders, conſidering that victory had hitherto declared in their favour, and being unwilling to hazard their good fortune any further, cauſed the retreat to be ſounded.

When the Thebans were retired to their camp, the phyſicians, on examining Epaminondas's wound, judged it to be mortal; and gave it as their opinion, that he muſt ſoon die, unleſs the iron were drawn from his breaſt; and that it was probable he might expire under the operation. Epaminondas heard them with the greateſt calmneſs; and perceiving that his laſt hour was at hand, called for his armour-bearer, and aſked him whether his ſhield was ſafe. The man anſwering that it was, and having ſhewn it to him, a ſmile of joy immediately overſpread the face of Epaminondas, who taking hold of his ſhield, embraced it, ſays Juſtin, as the companion of his labours and of his glory. He next inquired,

inquired, which of the armies had remained the conqueror; and, on being aſſured that the Lacedemonians had quitted the field of battle, "Then, ſays he, I have "lived long enough, ſince I die with the honour of "having never been beaten."

After ſaying this, he deſired the phyſicians to pull the iron from his breaſt. As it was not doubted that he would die under the operation, the hearts of all preſent were penetrated with the moſt extreme ſorrow. In the midſt of this general dejection, one of his moſt intimate friends could not reſtrain himſelf from burſting out into the following exclamation; "O Epaminondas, you die, cried he, you die, with-"out leaving us even the hope of ever ſeeing you re-"vive in any of your poſterity, for you leave no child "behind you." "You are miſtaken, replied Epami-"nondas calmly, I leave behind me two immortal "daughters, the victory of Leuctra, and that of Man-"tinea." The phyſicians having then, with much difficulty, extracted the iron from his breaſt, he fainted away. Some hiſtorians tell, that he drew it from the wound with his own hand. Whatever may be in that, he expired a few moments after, as if in the arms of victory, with a ſmile of joy and ſatisfaction diffuſed over his countenance.

Cicero regards Epaminondas as the completeſt character of Greece. The advantages beſtowed on him by nature, were improved by the admirable education given him by his father, who entertained ſo ſtrong a paſſion for the arts and ſciences, that, in the purſuit of them, he ſpent all his fortune. Epaminondas, naturally of a philoſophical genius, preferred the good education given him by his father, to the greateſt eſtate he could have left him. Maſter of his paſſions, and fond of temperance and ſimplicity, he lived happy in a ſtate of the narroweſt mediocrity. The honour of his country was the motive of his whole conduct; and his time was entirely employed about the public welfare, and the improvement of his underſtanding. Though naturally addicted

dicted to the military life, he had ſtudied the theory, before he choſe to venture on the practice, of war. His order of battle at Leuctra and Mantinea, procured him the character of the moſt complete maſter of tactics of his time. That of Mantinea, in particular, was accounted the maſterpiece of this excellent commander.

His countrymen, who, till his time, had been buried in indolence, and a total ignorance of the art of war, ſtood in need of ſuch a maſter. By his care and application, he at once made them a nation of ſoldiers, and put them in a capacity of diſputing the ſuperiority of Greece with the people then in poſſeſſion of it. Pelopidas, it is true, had the honour of beginning the work; but that of carrying it to its perfection belonged to Epaminondas alone. In the battle of Leuctra, the Thebans, unaſſiſted by any allies, humbled the pride of Sparta. Epaminondas, in every encounter, diſcomfited thoſe celebrated Spartans, ſo renowned in all hiſtories, and gave irreparable blows to their power. He uſed, in jeſt, to ſay, that he had taught them to lengthen their monoſyllables, alluding to their laconic anſwers, the overbearing tone of which had ſo much diſguſted the other ſtates. His integrity was without example. He not only himſelf rejected, with indignation, a large ſum of money offered by the Perſians to corrupt his integrity, but even obliged Micithus to return the money received by him for making the propoſal. In a word, he was not only a ſkilful commander, a profound ſtateſman, and a man of learning and ſcience, but his virtue in private life reflected additional luſtre on all thoſe other ſhining qualifications.

The views and hopes of the Thebans were buried in Epaminondas's grave. Their thoughts were now intirely turned to peace; and as their enemies were ſtill more exhauſted by the war than they, the terms of acccommodation propoſed were very honourable for the Thebans. It was agreed, that each party ſhould retain what it had won. The Lacedemonians alone, by the perſuaſion of Ageſilaus, refuſed to accede to the treaty,

under pretence that it comprehended the inhabitants of Meſſene. They preferred war, therefore, in the hopes of recovering that country. Ageſilaus was much blamed on this occaſion, for perſuading his countrymen to perſiſt in a ruinous war, rather than to embrace ſo favourable an opportunity of procuring an advantageous peace; and he was looked upon as an obſtinate man, who preferred the pleaſure of commanding an army to the happineſs and quiet of his country.

At this time Tachos King of Egypt being threatened with an invaſion from the Perſian mo- 362.
narch, ſent to deſire the aſſiſtance of a body of troops from the Lacedemonians, with Ageſilaus to command them. His requeſt was complied with; and the world was ſurpriſed to ſee a king of Sparta at ſuch an advanced period of life, ſpent in continual action and fatigue, ſubmit to ſerve under a foreign prince; and the event afforded him abundant cauſe to repent of his imprudence. The Egyptians, prepoſſeſſed with a high opinion of Ageſilaus, from his great reputation as a moſt ſkilful general, had figured to themſelves a king of a noble ſtriking appearance. They were, therefore, exceedingly ſurpriſed to find him an old man, of a deſpicable figure, and in a very homely dreſs; and could hardly refrain from inſulting him. He expected to have had the ſole direction of the war, but inſtead of that he got the command only of the mercenaries, that of the navy being committed to the Athenian Chabrias, and the king retaining to himſelf the ſupreme direction both of the army and of the fleet.

Tachos, diſregarding the advice of Ageſilaus not to advance too far from his own frontiers, reſolved to march into Phenicia. Ageſilaus, provoked at this ſtep of the king, joined a faction of the Egyptians who had revolted againſt him in his abſence, and had advanced Nectenabus to the throne. Plutarch boldly treats this behaviour of Ageſilaus as downright perfidy and treaſon. But the Lacedemonians, from their violent attachment to their native country, ſeldom failed to ſa-

crifice honour and good faith to what they imagined might redound to its advantage. To Ageſilaus, therefore, it was ſufficient reaſon to prefer the uſeful to the honourable; that he believed the ſide he embraced might better promote the glory of Sparta, or that the king for whom he declared, was more attached to Greece, objects that in a Grecian breaſt outweighed every other conſideration.

The prince of the city of Mendes having appeared as a third competitor for the crown, in oppoſition to Nectenabus, Ageſilaus adviſed to fight him immediately. But Nectenabus was of a different opinion; of which, however, he had ſoon reaſon to repent. After having learned, by experience, that Ageſilaus was in the right, he thought proper to follow his counſel. Ageſilaus thereupon defeated his opponent, and made him priſoner. —Having, at length, ſecured Nectenabus on the throne, he ſet ſail for Lacedemon; but being driven by contrary winds on that part of the coaſt of Africa called the harbour of Menelaus, he there fell ſick and breathed his laſt, at the age of 84 years. His body was carried to Sparta, and his ſon Archidamus ſucceeded him in the kingdom.

Ageſilaus forms one of the moſt conſpicuous and intereſting characters exhibited in the hiſtory of Greece, as much on account of his perſonal qualities, as of the very important tranſactions in which he was conſtantly engaged. Though nature had loaded him with a deformed and ungraceful perſon, yet his wit and ſpirit procured him univerſal eſteem and admiration. Bred a plain Spartan, he preſerved on the throne, even to a degree of affectation, the ancient Spartan ſimplicity and auſterity of life. He always behaved as the moſt zealous protector of the laws, to which he himſelf paid the moſt exact and perfect obedience. This part of his character excites the higheſt admiration. The deference and reſpect ſhewn by him on all occaſions, to the Ephori and ſenate, was at once magnanimous and political, as it ſecured to him their confidence and ſupport in all his undertakings.

dertakings. He poſſeſſed every qualification of the moſt ſkilful general; active, brave, fruitful in ſtratagems, cool and intrepid in action. In private life his character was extremely amiable. He was ſo fond of his children, that he ſometimes joined with them, even in their amuſements. He was likewiſe a moſt affectionate and warm friend.—In his old age he became haughty, imperious, and more reſtleſs than ever, breathing nothing but war; and he is reproached with having ſacrificed the repoſe and welfare of his country to his hatred of the Meſſenians and Thebans. His eulogium is written in the moſt maſterly manner by Xenophon.

About this time died Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Perſia, in an advanced age, and borne down with ſorrow at the conſpiracies formed againſt his life by his own children, who were become impatient to poſſeſs his throne. Ochus, the moſt wicked of his ſons, having procured the aſſaſſination of his two brothers, ſucceeded Artaxerxes in the kingdom. This Ochus was the worſt prince of his race, and rendered himſelf infamous by his cruelty; for he put to death, without any ſcruple, all the princes and princeſſes of his blood, and all others who gave him the leaſt uneaſineſs. Ochus, on receiving ſome cauſe of diſcontent from Artabazus, governor of one of the provinces of Aſia, ſent againſt him an army of 62,000 men. But the Athenian Chares, whom the ſatrap had prevailed on to aſſiſt him, entirely routed this army with a ſmall fleet, and ſome Greek ſoldiers. But the Athenians, intimidated by the threats of Ochus, recalled Chares. Artabazus, to ſupply the place of Chares, obtained of the Thebans a reinforcement of 5000 men, commanded by Pammenes, and with their aſſiſtance beat the army of Ochus a ſecond time. But that prince having prevailed on the Thebans, by means of a large ſum of money, to withdraw their troops likewiſe, Artabazus found himſelf unable to make head againſt him any longer, and therefore took refuge with Philip king of Macedon. 357.

This year war broke out again between the Athe-

nians and their allies; the iſlands of Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and the city of Byzantium, having entered into a confederacy to render themſelves independent of Athens. To reduce theſe to obedience, required the moſt powerful forces, and the beſt generals the Athenians then poſſeſſed. On this occaſion Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus acquired great glory. According to Cornelius Nepos, theſe were the laſt Athenian commanders whoſe names deſerve to be perpetuated in hiſtory.

The war on the part of the Athenians began with the ſiege of Chios, which was quickly relieved by the allies. There Chares commanded the army, and Chabrias the fleet. Chabrias forced his paſſage into the harbour; but being deſerted by the other gallies, whoſe commanders were afraid to follow him, his own was ſurrounded, and pierced through and through. He nevertheleſs obſtinately refuſed to quit his ſhip and ſave himſelf by ſwimming, as he might have done, and therefore periſhed along with her. Chabrias had formerly acquired a high reputation, and eſpecially when he was ſent to the relief of the Thebans againſt the Spartans. In an action that happened on that occaſion, ſeeing himſelf abandoned by his allies, he ordered his ſoldiers to cloſe their ranks, and ſtooping down to the ground on one knee, to cover themſelves with their ſhields, and to extend their ſpears. In this ſingular order he ſuſtained the attack of the enemy, who found it impoſſible to break his ranks. On that account the Athenians erected a ſtatue to his memory, in the poſture in which he then fought.

Chares ſucceeded Chabrias in the command of the fleet. But the Athenians finding their enterpriſe againſt Chios proceeding but ſlowly, relinquiſhed it altogether; and at the ſame time fitted out a ſecond fleet of 60 gallies, which they put under the command of Iphicrates, and of Timotheus the ſon of the famous Conon. The Athenians, by laying ſiege to Byzantium, obliged the allies to relinquiſh that of Samos, which they had undertaken about the ſame time, and to fly to the relief

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of Byzantium. A violent tempeſt coming on, juſt as they were on the point of engaging, Chares, naturally a preſumptuous man, inſiſted, notwithſtanding, that they ſhould attack the enemy, contrary to the opinion both of Iphicrates and Timotheus, who would by no means conſent to hazard a battle in ſuch circumſtances. Chares, provoked at their refuſal, ſent letters to Athens, in which he complained loudly of his colleagues, and his powerful faction in the city did not fail to ſupport theſe complaints. The Athenians having brought Iphicrates and Timotheus to trial, impoſed a fine of 100 talents on Timotheus, who, on a former occaſion, had gained to his countrymen, from its enemies, no leſs a ſum than 1200 talents, without reſerving the ſmalleſt part of it for himſelf. This is a remarkable inſtance of the ingratitude of the giddy worthleſs mob that governed Athens.

Timotheus, provoked at ſo unjuſt a treatment, retired to Chalcidas, where he ended his days a few years after. It is remarked, of this illuſtrious Athenian, that it was he who completely reſtored to his countrymen their ſuperiority at ſea; a revolution indeed which his father had begun. Timotheus was, beſides, a man of great learning, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf no leſs by his eloquence than by his ſtrong and juſt taſte for the ſciences. The uninterrupted ſucceſs that attended him in all his enterpriſes, drew upon him much envy, and gave occaſion to a piece of painting, in which Timotheus was repreſented aſleep, with Fortune at his ſide, taking towns with a net. Timotheus, piqued at this inſult, maintained, that his ſucceſs was chiefly owing to his abilities: And as for the picture, he anſwered, with a great deal of wit, "*If I take towns while a-*"*ſleep, what might I not perform if awake?*" It appears, however, from what we have juſt now related, that Fortune wearied at laſt of laviſhing her favours upon him.

Iphicrates being likewiſe called to ſtand trial, and not thinking it ſufficient to depend entirely upon the force

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of arguments, introduced into the aſſembly a number of young men, armed with daggers, of which they took care now and then to diſcover the points to the view of the judges. This new method of pleading his defence produced all the intended effect; for the judges were intimidated, and acquitted Iphicrates. The fickle diſpoſition of the people of Athens, who always behaved with the higheſt ingratitude to their beſt generals, may, in a great meaſure, excuſe this ſingular ſtratagem. This capricious ungrateful conduct is likewiſe aſſigned as one of the principal cauſes of the ruin of their republic; thoſe men who were poſſeſſed of abilities to ſerve the ſtate, being often obliged to provide for their perſonal ſecurity, by a voluntary exile; by which means Athens could no longer find generals to command its armies.

To return to Iphicrates.—That brave man had particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, when very young, in a ſea-fight; and his merit ſoon procured him the honour of the chief command. No Greek general ever underſtood the military art better than he. He was extremely rigorous in inforcing a ſtrict diſcipline among his troops, by which he had made them ſo expert at every kind of evolution, that inſtantly on perceiving the proper ſignal, they performed the motion required. Theſe troops were diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by the name of *Iphicratians*. He invented a more convenient ſort of arms and cloathing for the ſoldiers, particularly by lengthening their ſpears and ſwords. In a word, he beſtowed ſo much attention on the moſt minute particular relating to the buſineſs of war, that he ſeemed to have been expreſsly formed by nature for the profeſſion of arms. He was endued with ſuch ſtrength of body, that once in a ſea-engagement he ſeized his antagoniſt in his arms, and carried him, armed as he was, into his own ſhip. He is ſaid to have been of mean extraction; but his ſentiments were far from diſcovering any tincture of a low birth; for never did any man poſſeſs a more lofty ſoul; and his ſon Meniſtheus thought himſelf more honoured by being deſcended of ſuch a father, than by having a princeſs,

princeſs, the daughter of Cotys king of Thrace, for his mother. Iphicrates, on being upbraided with the meanneſs of his birth, by one who was deſcended of Harmodius, anſwered, "It is true the nobility of my family "begins in myſelf, while that of yours ends in you."

Chares, after having accompliſhed the diſgrace of his colleagues, ſoon ſhewed himſelf a moſt unworthy ſucceſſor to them. Being as avaricious as vain, he ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by Artabazus ſatrap of Aſia Minor, then warmly preſſed by the Perſian monarch, and was lucky enough to relieve him from the danger wherewith he was threatened. On that occaſion he was accuſed of having abandoned the ſervice of the republic, but had intereſt enough to ſcreen him from the puniſhment he deſerved. The Athenians, dreading the reſentment of the king of Perſia, beſtirred themſelves to bring about a general peace, to which they had been long exhorted by the excellent orations of Iſocrates; who, recalling to their remembrance the glorious days of Athens, when their anceſtors ſacrificed every conſideration to the maintaining of the liberties of Greece; —repreſented to them, that the real greatneſs of a ſtate does not conſiſt in the extent of its conqueſts, which it can never effect without ſome kind of injuſtice, but in wiſely governing its ſubjects, and by juſtice and moderation making itſelf to be beloved by its neighbours. This war, after continuing three years, was at length terminated by a peace; of which the chief condition was, that Rhodes, Byzantium, Chios, and Cos, ſhould enjoy perfect liberty.

CHAP. III.

Tranſactions in Greece, from the concluſion of the war of the allies, to the death of Philip king of Macedon.

THE Athenians, now finding themſelves in ſecurity and leiſure by the peace juſt concluded, gave a looſe

looſe to their pleaſures, and particularly to their natural inclination for public ſhows and diverſions, which they carried to the higheſt pitch of extravagance. Pericles had been very inſtrumental in inſpiring them with this taſte, principally from political motives, to pleaſe and to amuſe his reſtleſs countrymen, that he might acquire their affection, and divert them from caballing againſt his adminiſtration; and partly from a natural elegance of mind, which rendered him partial to an amuſement at once the moſt rational, ingenious, and inſtructive, that ever was deviſed. But the incomparable dramatic pieces which graced the Attic ſtage had at length ſo bewitched the imaginations of that lively people, that they became fond of them even to folly, and to the gratification of their theatrical taſte ſacrificed the glory and buſineſs of the ſtate. The poets and comedians became the idols of the people, and by engroſſing the whole public attention, made thoſe who had expoſed their lives for the intereſt of the commonwealth to be quite overlooked. The public money was laviſhed away upon buffoons and ſingers; and the annual expence of the theatre alone exceeded that of an ordinary campaign. To ſupport thoſe fooliſh extravagancies, they appropriated the funds ſet apart for the exigencies of the ſtate, prohibiting, at the ſame time, under pain of death, every perſon from propoſing any other application of them. A people ſo obſtinately blind to its moſt important intereſts, deſerved to be chaſtiſed for its folly, by becoming a prey to ſome of its more virtuous neighbours.

While the Athenians, and after their example moſt of the other Greeks, gave themſelves up in this manner to luxury and pleaſure, the Macedonians, till then an obſcure nation, formed a deſign of profiting by their lethargy, and meditated the conqueſt of their country. They had been always regarded as barbarians by the Greeks, who continued to give them that appellation, till they had carried their victorious arms into Aſia. The deſcendents of Caranus, the firſt king of Macedonia of whom we have any knowledge, had reigned without

interruption in that kingdom down to the period of which we now ſpeak.

We have mentioned above, that Perdiccas, the ſon of Amyntas, having mounted the throne, a diſpute on that head had ariſen between him and his brother Ptolemy, which by mutual conſent was referred to the judgement of Pelopidas; who decided the matter in favour of Perdiccas, and obliged both the competitors to come to an agreement; for the more ſure obſervance of which, he carried along with him to Thebes Philip, the third ſon of Amyntas, then a boy about ten years old. This happened about the year before Chriſt 373.

Philip received his education in the family of Epaminondas; and, to the misfortune of Greece, profited but too well by the leſſons of that great maſter in the art of war. From the manner in which he opened his way to the throne, through a thouſand difficulties, he ſoon diſcovered a genius capable of the greateſt undertakings.

He had remained now ten years at Thebes, when he got notice, that Perdiccas was ſlain in a battle with the Illyrians, and had left behind him an only ſon, Amyntas, yet an infant. An ambitious mind has its attention conſtantly fixed upon the means that may conduct to its object. Philip withdraws in ſecret from Thebes, arrives in Macedonia, obtains himſelf to be declared tutor to his nephew, and in that quality aſſumes the government of the kingdom. The Macedonians having been lately worſted in war, were now ſurrounded with enemies, who were making diſpoſitions to profit by their misfortunes. Philip therefore immediately applied himſelf to reſtore their broken courage, to gain the affection of the people, and to diſcipline the troops.

The Macedonians, full of admiration of his great qualities, depoſed his nephew, and advanced him to the throne. Philip, then about twenty-four years of age, haſtened to fulfil the public expectations. The talent of ſpeaking, which he already poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, gained him univerſal confidence and affection. 360.

His firſt care was the reſtoration of military diſcipline, a point upon which he ſhewed himſelf extremely ſevere. But at the ſame time, to induce the ſoldiers to ſerve with greater zeal, he treated them in other reſpects with ſingular kindneſs and diſtinction, uſually calling them by the flattering name of *companions*. It was Philip who inſtituted the Macedonian phalanx, a battalion in the form of a long ſquare, having 1000 men in front, with ſixteen of depth, all armed with ſpears about twenty-three feet long. This phalanx preſented an impenetrable rampart, and marched ſo cloſe as to be able to ſuſtain the moſt violent ſhocks of the enemy, and at the ſame time to bear down every thing that oppoſed it. Accordingly, the famous Roman, Paulus Æmilius, who in his battle with Perſeus, the laſt king of Macedonia, was oppoſed by ſuch a phalanx, declared, that he had never ſeen any appearance more capable of ſtriking terror, and had even trembled at it himſelf. But as this body was under a neceſſity of moving altogether, its ſtrength conſiſting entirely in its union, it always required a plain open field to act on, otherwiſe it was no longer invincible. It was often difficult to find a field of ſufficient extent to contain ſo large a body of men.

To ſecure himſelf on the throne, Philip's chief care was, to remove his competitors out of the way, to extinguiſh domeſtic factions, and to ſubdue his enemies by repeated victories. Overawed at this time by the Athenian power, he endeavoured to negotiate a treaty with them, and ſucceeded. But this treaty was of ſhort continuance, as we ſhall by and by ſee.——To return to Athens.

In that city a man began about this time to appear, whoſe extraordinary merit was ſoon to make a great figure in the affairs of Greece. By the extent of his genius, and the power of his eloquence, he was deſtined often to fruſtrate the deſigns of Philip, and to be a continual check upon all his enterprizes. This was the famous Demoſthenes. As his name conveys to our imagination

gination the idea of eloquence itſelf, it is proper for a moment to fix our particular attention on ſo extraordinary a man.

He was born at Athens, in the year before Chriſt 384, two years after Philip, of a father, by trade a black ſmith, but one of the moſt conſiderable in his profeſſion. He was left an orphan very young. Happening to be a witneſs of the applauſe beſtowed on the orator Calliſtrates, he conceived a violent deſire to acquire glory by the ſame means, and dedicated himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of rhetoric. It may not be improper here to mention the obſtacles thrown by nature in the way of his becoming an orator; a weak ſtammering voice, which rendered his articulation confuſed and heſitating; a diſagreeable tone of declamation; and a perſon void of all thoſe exterior advantages, which are calculated to prepoſſeſs the favour of an audience, and pave, as it were, the way to perſuaſion. So many difficulties would have prevented any other perſon from purſuing this career. But Demoſthenes reſolved to exert his utmoſt efforts to overcome them, and for that purpoſe employed the moſt painful methods: ſometimes declaiming while climbing up ſteep places; ſometimes haranguing by the ſea-ſhore, where he repreſented to himſelf the noiſe of the waves as the tumults of a popular aſſembly; and ſometimes profiting by the advice and example of the principal comedians of his time, from whom he learned the graces of action.

It is true, that in other reſpects he had received from nature ſome of the happieſt diſpoſitions for a public ſpeaker. He poſſeſſed an accurate taſte for all the refinements of the Greek language, amazing talents for compoſition, and extraordinary ingenuity in argument; —qualities indeed that like moſt others natural to man may be extremely improved by exerciſe, and which the uncommon application of Demoſthenes carried to their higheſt pitch. Of this his admirable orations exhibit the moſt complete proof.

It was not long before he reaped the fruit of his ob-

ſtinate application. The fame of his eloquence drew people from the extremities of Greece to hear him; and he ſoon ſtood unrivalled among his own countrymen. His eloquence was ſerious and correct, but withal ſublime, bold, and impetuous. His orations abound with metaphors and alluſions. He invokes the gods, the ſtars, the manes of thoſe who fell at Marathon and Salamis. But the force of his action conſtituted his chief characteriſtic. The times required ſuch an orator. The Athenians, abſorbed in the moſt ſupine indolence, and conſuming their time in private conteſts and jealouſies, required the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſtriking figures of rhetoric to rouſe them from their lethargy, and to open their eyes to the dangers that threatened them. The arguments of Demoſthenes made the deeper impreſſion, as an ardent zeal for the welfare of his country, and a perfect diſintereſtedneſs, were well known to be the motives and principles upon which he acted. Demades and his other rivals uſed to tell him, by way of reproach, that his diſcourſes ſmelled of the oil and lamp. But Demoſthenes very properly replied, That it were diſreſpectful to a full aſſembly of the citizens, to preſume to ſpeak in their preſence without being properly prepared. To return to the affairs of Greece.

Two years after the war of the allies, the extraordinary warlike preparations of the Perſian monarch alarmed the Athenians, who were incited by their orators immediately to take arms, and to commence hoſtilities. But Demoſthenes, who, though then only twenty-eight years of age, was beginning to diſtinguiſh himſelf, repreſented to the Athenians, that they ought to do nothing raſhly, nor by a premature declaration of war to furniſh ſo powerful a prince with a pretext for turning his arms againſt Greece. But, in the mean time, he adviſed them to fit out a fleet, and to hold all their troops in readineſs.

About the ſame time the Lacedemonians conceived the deſign of making themſelves maſters of Megalopolis, a fortified town of Arcadia, which gave them much uneaſineſs,

uneaſineſs. On that occaſion Demoſthenes again harangued the Athenans in favour of the Megalapolitans. He convinced them, that it concerned them very nearly, to prevent both Sparta and Thebes from becoming too powerful: and his eloquence had the effect of determining the Athenians to ſend 3000 men to the relief of that town, notwithſtanding the alliance that then ſubſiſted between them and the Lacedemonians.

Philip having made the neceſſary preparations for war, defeated the Illyrians in a pitched battle, and reduced Amphipolis, an Athenian colony. As he could not keep poſſeſſion of this place without provoking the Athenians, with whom it was at preſent his intereſt to keep fair; and being unwilling at the ſame time to leave in their hands one of the keys of his kingdom, he reſolved to declare it free, and accordingly granted permiſſion to the inhabitants to form themſelves into an independent republic. Shortly after, however, by means of his influence within the town, he made himſelf maſter of it a ſecond time. But it muſt be confeſſed, that this was in a great meaſure owing to the negligence of the Athenians, who were too dilatory in ſending troops to its relief. He likewiſe reduced Potidea, and diſmiſſed the Athenian garriſon which he found in the place. But ſtill pretending to be deſirous of avoiding a rupture with the Athenians, he uſed every art to lull them into ſecurity with reſpect to their real intereſts. Soon after he ſubdued the Peonians, and recovered from the Illyrians the places of which they held poſſeſſion in Macedonia.

Philip ſoon ſhewed himſelf to be a thorough politician, by putting in practice every reſource of that art, to extend his conqueſts; ſometimes employing ſtratagems, ſometimes promiſes; weakening thoſe whom he could not conquer, and inſinuating himſelf into the quarrels of Greece, under the character of umpire. About this time he got poſſeſſion of Cnidos, which he called after his own name, *Philippi*. The taking of this town, which became very famous a long while after,

ter, by the battle fought in its neighbourhood, in which Brutus and Caſſius were defeated, was more advantageous to Philip than the greateſt conqueſt. For, having diſcovered ſome gold mines near it, he cauſed them to be opened, and drew from them yearly about 1000 talents, a ſum exceeding the whole revenues of Athens. With this money he found himſelf in a ſituation to keep up a powerful army, and likewiſe to maintain ſpies and partizans among all the nations around him. This gold opened him the gates of many towns, and accelerated the ſucceſs of all his enterpriſes. He is even reported to have declared, that he believed no town impregnable, which could admit the entrance of a mule loaded with gold. On this account his gold is ſaid to have ſubdued Greece, and to have bought cities before he took them.

The Athenians were not at this time in a ſituation to watch over the enterpriſes of Philip, being engaged in a conteſt to which the iſland of Eubœa had given occaſion. That iſland was diſturbed by two factions, one of which favoured the Thebans, and the other the Athenians. The matter was of importance to the latter, who derived a part of their revenues from Eubœa. They therefore ſent out a fleet, expelled the Thebans, and put an end to the diſſenſions.

356. In the year before Chriſt 356, Olympias, the wife of Philip, brought him a ſon, who was named *Alexander*, and whoſe mighty exploits procured him in the ſequel the appellation of *the Great*. It is remarked, that the famous temple of Diana at Epheſus, accounted one of the ſeven wonders of the world, was burnt the ſame day that Alexander the Great was born. The perſon who ſet this ſuperb edifice on fire, was called *Eroſtratus*. When put to the torture, he declared, that his motive for committing ſo miſchievous an action, was to immortalize his name. Philip was from home when his ſon was born. At the ſame time that he received this welcome piece of news, intelligence of two other particulars of the moſt agreeable nature was likewiſe brought him, namely, of his being

being victor in the chariot-races at the Olympic games; and of a ſignal victory obtained over the Illyrians by his general Parmenio.

Philip being reſolved to have his ſon educated in the moſt perfect and complete manner, inſtantly wrote to the famous Ariſtotle in theſe terms: "I give you no-"tice that I have gotten a ſon; I thank the gods, not "ſo much for beſtowing this ſon upon me, as for ha-"ving beſtowed him in your time; for I have reaſon "to flatter myſelf, that you will form for me a ſucceſſor "worthy of me." A valuable leſſon to parents, ſays M. Rollin, whence they may learn of how great importance it is to provide proper inſtructors for their children.

The ſacred war, or the war of the Phoceans, ſucceeded that of the allies. It became general among the ſtates of Greece, was carried on for ten years with great warmth, and was extremely deſtructive in its conſequences to all the parties concerned. Religion was the pretence for it; and the cauſe that produced it was very trifling. The Phoceans having tilled a piece of ground belonging to the temple of Appollo, which was ſituated in their territory, were accuſed of ſacrilege by their neighbours, and were cited to anſwer for their conduct before the Amphictyons, who condemned the Phoceans in a large fine. The latter refuſed to comply with this ſentence, alledging, that the management of the temple and its territory belonged excluſively to them: and they applied for aid to the Spartans, who furniſhed them underhand with money, and encouraged them to perſiſt in their obſtinacy. 355.

Philomelus, a man of a daring ſpirit, who poſſeſſed great influence among his countrymen the Phoceans, perſuaded them to take arms, levied troops, ſeized on the temple of Delphos, effaced the decree of the Amphictyons, which was engraved on a pillar of the temple, and by threats obliged the prieſteſs of Apollo to give a reſponſe approving of all his proceedings. The Locrians attempted to oppoſe this enterpriſe of the Phoceans, but

but were worſted in ſeveral encounters. The matter now becomes ſerious — The Amphictyons aſſemble, and paſs a decree, declaring, That war ought to be made on the Phoceans. Hereupon each ſtate of Greece takes part in the diſpute, according as their different intereſts incline them. The Athenians and Spartans join the Phoceans: The Thebans, Locrians, Theſſalians, and the reſt of the ſtates, take arms againſt them. Thus began the ſacred war.

Philomelus, notwithſtanding an oath he had taken not to meddle with the treaſure of the temple, took thence what money was neceſſary for the expences of the war, and raiſed an army of 10,000 men. At firſt ſeveral engagements were fought with various ſucceſs. But this war, like every other of which religion is made the pretence, where, under colour of religious zeal, parties indulge private reſentment, was carried on with great cruelty. The Thebans, the moſt active and zealous of all, having ſurpriſed a party of the Phoceans, condemned them all to death, as guilty of ſacrilege. On the other ſide, the Phoceans, in revenge for this cruelty, thought themſelves intitled to treat in like manner ſuch of their enemies as fell into their hands. At laſt a battle enſued between the Phoceans and the Thebans, in which the former were defeated with great ſlaughter, their general Philomelus being killed on the ſpot, after behaving with a bravery that ſhewed him worthy of conducting a better undertaking. His brother, Onomarchus, ſucceeded him in the command, aſſembled the remains of the Phocean army, and by the temptation of high pay, ſoon raiſed a formidable army, with which he made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places belonging to the enemy.

The order of time requires, that we ſhould here digreſs a little, to make mention of Artemiſa queen of Caria, and wife of Mauſolus. That prince had ſubjected to his power the people of Rhodes and of Cos, very ſoon after they had been by the late peace reſtored to the full enjoyment of their liberty. He is reported to

have treated the conquered people with great ſeverity, and to have died the year after his conqueſt. But the grief of his widow Artemiſa, and the ſumptuous tomb erected by her to his memory, have immortalized the names both of the huſband and of the wife. Not ſatisfied, however, with honouring him in that manner, ſhe had his aſhes carefully preſerved and conſtantly mixed with her drink, till at laſt her body became literally the ſepulchre of that of her huſband. She deſired funeral orations to be compoſed to his praiſe, and publiſhed a reward to the perſon that ſhould furniſh the beſt. It is ſaid, that the oration preſented by Theopompus was preferred to the reſt, though his maſter Iſocrates was one of the competitors. The grief of Artemiſa continued to her death, which was thereby haſtened, and happened two years after that of Mauſolus. Some authors, however, tell us, that Artemiſa was not ſo entirely occupied with her mourning, but that ſhe found time to make conſiderable conqueſts. For ſhe ſurpriſed the fleet of the Rhodians, who had reſolved to attempt her dethronement; obtained poſſeſſion of Rhodes, and put to death the principal inhabitants. Hence ſome authors have taken occaſion to call in queſtion the particulars of her grief above related. But it is very poſſible for the ſame perſon to be at once poſſeſſed of very tender feelings, and of the reſolution requiſite for maintaining his authority, and chaſtiſing his enemies. It was on this occaſion that the Rhodians applied to the Athenians for aſſiſtance; and Demoſthenes having become their patron, endeavoured by his eloquence to excite the compaſſion of his countrymen in favour of that people, whoſe manners had rendered them unworthy of being protected. 352.

Philip took no part in the ſacred war during the firſt years of it. For, being more concerned about his own private intereſts, than about the inſult offered to Apollo, he was not at all diſſatisfied to ſee the ſtates of Greece weakening each other by a cruel and ruinous war. While therefore they were deſtroying one another, he

was ſolely intent on extending his dominions, ſecuring his conqueſts on the ſide of Thrace, and reducing ſuch places as were advantageouſly ſituated for him. When beſieging Methone, a citizen of Amphipolis, named *Aſter*, offered him his ſervice as ſo expert an archer, that he never miſſed the ſmalleſt bird on the wing. But Philip told him, he would employ him when he had a war with the ſwallows. The man was ſo provoked at this anſwer, that he threw himſelf into the place, aimed at Philip an arrow, with this inſcription, "*For Philip's* "*right eye*;" and in effect pierced that eye. Philip returned the arrow, with this other inſcription, "*If* "*Philip take the town, he will hang up Aſter*;" and having taken the town accordingly, he was as good as his word. After this accident, that prince was weak enough to be offended when any perſon happened in his preſence to mention a Cyclops.

Lycophron, brother-in-law to Alexander of Pheræ, having ſucceeded that prince in the kingdom, imitated his tyranny, and provoked his ſubjects to rebel againſt him. The Theſſalians applied for protection to Philip, who being otherwiſe well diſpoſed to oblige them, immediately went in purſuit of the tyrant, and defeated him in ſeveral engagements.

Onomarchus, in the mean time, the general of the Phoceans, was more ſucceſsful than his brother, and had taken ſeveral cities in Bœotia, the Thebans being unable to oppoſe him. He was even daring enough to make head againſt Philip in his war on Lycophron, and defeated him in two ſkirmiſhes; but a general engagement having enſued, 6000 of the Phoceans were ſlain, and the reſt put to flight. Onomarchus was among the killed; and Philip took 3000 priſoners. Beſides other advantages that accrued to Philip from this victory, it procured him the character of a prince devoted to the intereſts of religion. — His ſucceſs was, in a great meaſure, owing to the Theſſalian horſe that fought in his army.

Phaillus the brother of Onomarchus, ſucceeded to the

the command among the Phoceans; made uſe of the riches of the temple of Delphos, as his predeceſſors had done, to raiſe new forces; augmented ſtill further the pay of the ſoldiers, and by that means increaſed the number of his troops. He was at firſt unſucceſsful againſt the Thebans; but for that his advantages over the Locrians made amends. Death, however, ſoon ſtopt his career; whereupon a ſon of Onomarchus, named *Phalenius*, aſſumed the command. But his authority was of ſhort duration, for he fell in his firſt engagement.

Hoſtilities, in the mean time, daily continuing, the Thebans were the firſt who grew weary of the war; for their finances being at length totally exhauſted, they found themſelves unable to ſupport it any longer. The Phoceans, on the other hand, were ſeized with remorſe for having authoriſed their generals to plunder the temple of Apollo. On an account being drawn up of all the money they had thence abſtracted, the whole ſum was found to amount to 10,000 talents.

About the ſame time, the Phenicians, provoked by the cruel oppreſſion with which they were treated by 351.
the ſatraps, entered into an alliance with Nectanebus king of Egypt, revolted againſt the Perſian monarch, and with the aſſiſtance of 4000 Greek troops, ſent to their aid by the king of Egypt, under the command of Memnon the Rhodian, ſucceeded in expelling the Perſians from their country. The inhabitants of Cyprus, who were as much oppreſſed as the Phenicians, joined the latter in the revolt. Ochus applied to the Greeks for aſſiſtance to ſubdue the rebels, and obtained 8000 men under the command of Phocion the Athenian, and Evagoras the ſon of Nicocles. Theſe two brave captains, on being joined by a body of Syrian and Cilician ſoldiers, formed the ſiege of Salamis, the moſt important city of Cyprus.—The army diſpatched by Ochus, againſt Phenicia, conſiſted of 300,000 foot, and 30,000 horſe. Memnon, intimidated by the approach of ſo powerful an army, entered into a private treaty with O-

chus, and offered to put him in poſſeſſion of Sidon. The Sidonians, to the number of 40,000 perſons, finding themſelves betrayed, ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, ſet fire to them, and periſhed in the flames. The reſt of the Phenicians, terrified by the dreadful fate of the Sidonians, immediately made their ſubmiſſions to the king of Perſia.

Ochus having as ſucceſsfully terminated the rebellion of the Cyprians, marched next into Egypt, which he reſolved likewiſe to ſubdue; and he was ſo effectually ſerved by his generals, that he completed the conqueſt of that kingdom in a very ſhort time. Nectanebus, apprehenſive of falling into the hands of the victor, fled with his army into Æthiopia, from whence he never returned. Ochus, after diſmantling the cities, and pillaging the temples, returned in triumph to Babylon. Memnon the Rhodian, and his brother Mentor, after their reconciliation with the Perſian monarch, rendered him very important ſervices, eſpecially Memnon, who was an excellent commander.

Ochus ſpent the reſt of his life immerſed in indolence and pleaſure, committing the whole management of public affairs to the eunuch Bagoas an Egyptian. That favourite, provoked at his maſter for having polluted the Egyptian temples, and for having killed their god Apis, which was no other than a ſacred bull, in revenge, deprived him of his life by poiſon. The eunuch finding himſelf, by that event, inveſted with the whole power of Perſia, advanced to the throne Arſes, the youngeſt of the late king's ſons. But perceiving that young prince to diſcover ſome uneaſineſs at being a king, in no other reſpect than his bearing the title, he had him aſſaſſinated, and put in his place Darius Codomannus.

Philip, who was conſtantly attentive to every circumſtance that might turn to his advantage, perceiving the ſtates of Greece to be greatly weakened by their inteſtine wars, reſolved to attempt the conqueſt of them, with that view, led an army towards the country of

Phocis,

Phocis, and, for the firſt time, entered Greece with hoſtile intentions. The defile of Thermopylæ being the only paſs by which he could penetrate into Achaia, he endeavoured to take poſſeſſion of it, under the pretence of marching againſt the Phoceans. But the Athenians having prevented him, he did not think it adviſeable to force the paſſage, and therefore relinquiſhed the project for the preſent.

Philip owed his diſappointment, on this occaſion, to the eloquence of Demoſthenes, who rouſed the attention, and animated the courage, of his fellow-citizens by a celebrated oration. The Athenians, now wholly taken up with their games and ſhows, as we have already remarked, had occaſion for a man of ſuch diſcernment and prudence, of ſuch perſuaſive eloquence, and actuated by ſo ſincere a regard for his country, as this famous orator was, to rouſe them from their lethargy. Demoſthenes made them ſenſible of the danger they ran from the exorbitant ambition of Philip, who was continually employed about ſome new enterpriſe; and perſuaded them, that the ſucceſs of his arms was altogether owing to their indolence and inattention. "While, "therefore, (ſaid he), you ſpend your whole time in "walking about in the forum, inquiring at one an- "other, *What's the news?* what more wonderful a "piece of news would you deſire, than that a Mace- "donian is making quick advances towards obtaining a "ſuperiority over the Athenians, and becoming the "ſovereign arbiter of Greece?" Then he proceeded to lay before them the proper means for checking the progreſs of Philip. He adviſed them to fit out, with all convenient ſpeed, a fleet of fifty gallies; to muſter up as great an army as poſſible from among themſelves; to take into their pay as many foreign troops as their finances would allow; and conſtantly to keep up an army of obſervation on the frontiers of Macedonia, to haraſs Philip, and to hold him in awe. To convince them of the expediency and poſſibility of complying with his advice, he entered into a very minute detail of particulars,

and,

and, on the whole, laid before them the moſt uſeful and ſalutary inſtructions.

While the Athenians were deliberating about putting in execution the plans propoſed by Demoſthenes, Philip, after his diſappointment at Thermopylæ, employed himſelf in extending his conqueſts on the ſide of Thrace; reduced moſt of the cities along the coaſt of the Helleſpont; and, by thus increaſing his power, was in a manner paving the way to the accompliſhment of his deſigns on Greece. Having at laſt laid ſiege to Olynthus, a city poſſeſſed by an Athenian colony, the inhabitants implored the protection of the Athenians, who deſired to deliberate on the affair, and to hear the opinions of their orators. Demoſthenes ſpoke on this occaſion in favour of the Olynthians; and this oration is commonly intitled his firſt Olynthian.

He there repreſents Philip, in the firſt place, as an ambitious and dangerous prince, a ſhrewd politician, an indefatigable warrior; and, as a man who, when force and cunning failed, was extremely ſkilful in accompliſhing his purpoſes by a proper application of gold. In the next place, he deſcribes him as being imprudent, raſh, deceitful, debauched, and irreligious; and, for all theſe reaſons, eaſy to be conquered. Hence he inferred, that the Athenians ought to reform the abuſes that had crept into the government, to make an end of private quarrels, and to combine their united efforts againſt their common enemy. Demoſthenes enforced his opinion with ſuch ſtrength of argument, and ſuch a power of eloquence, that he confounded the orators who ſpoke in favour of Philip, and carried his point: For Philip already had his creatures in Athens, and, among the reſt, the orator Demades, a very acute and artful reaſoner. In the mean time, thirty gallies were, in conſequence of the advice of Demoſthenes, diſpatched under the command of Chares, to the aſſiſtance of the Olynthians.

Philip himſelf avowed, that Demoſthenes alone could thwart his deſigns more than all the fleets and armies of Greece united. But as that prince was making a rapid

progreſs

progreſs in the country of Olynthia, the apprehenſions of the Olynthians increaſed, and they ſent to Athens for freſh ſuccours. Demoſthenes ſtill acted as their patron, and, on this occaſion, pronounced his third Olynthian. To prevail on the Athenians to perſiſt in aſſiſting them, he endeavoured to excite their compaſſion, by giving them a lively deſcription of the miſeries that threatened the Olynthians, unleſs they interpoſed in their behalf, and exerted their utmoſt efforts to fruſtrate the attempts of Philip. He hinted, in the moſt artful manner, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to have recourſe to the funds ſet apart for the expence of the public diverſions, and to apply part of them to raiſe troops. This was a point of extreme delicacy; for the people had long ago declared their ſentiments very plainly on that head, by prohibiting, under pain of death, any perſon, under whatever pretence, from propoſing to apply to the purpoſes of war, any part of the thouſand talents laid up by Pericles as a perpetual fund for defraying the expence of the public diverſions, and furniſhing a certain allowance of money to each of the citizens, for aſſiſting at the public aſſemblies. Demoſthenes, however, diſregarding this danger, liſtened only to his zeal for the welfare of the ſtate; but, at the ſame time, he took the moſt prudent and artful precautions, both for avoiding the danger, and for ſucceeding in his deſign, by requiring that commiſſioners ſhould be named, for examining into ſuch laws as ſhould appear repugnant to the good of the ſtate. But this ſtrange people, who rather than be deprived of their plays and amuſements, would have cheerfully lived on bread and water, looked upon this fund in too ſacred a light, to be prevailed on, even by the moſt powerful eloquence of their great orator, to encroach upon it for the moſt uſeful of purpoſes.

In the mean time, a third embaſſy arrives from the Olynthians, begging an additional reinforcement, not of mercenary ſoldiers, but of native Athenians. Their requeſt was complied with. But, in ſpite of this reinforcement,

forcement, Philip, by the treachery of two of the citizens, obtained poſſeſſion of the town, where he found great riches. He made one half of the inhabitants priſoners, and ſold the other. As for the traitors who had betrayed the city to him, he abandoned them to the inſults of the Macedonian ſoldiers; telling them ironically, that they ought not to regard the expreſſions of a parcel of unmannerly fellows, who called every thing by its proper name.—Philip, highly delighted with having gotten poſſeſſion of ſo important a poſt, celebrated his victory with games and ſhows.

The Thebans, exhauſted by their war with the Phoceans, and finding themſelves unable to bring it to
347. an honourable concluſion, implore the aſſiſtance of Philip.—Nothing could be more imprudent, than to call that prince into Greece at this time, when he deſired nothing more ardently, than under ſo ſpecious a pretext as the eſpouſing of their quarrel, to get a footing in that country; and this opportunity gave him the greater pleaſure, as he wiſhed to paſs for a religious prince. But the inveterate hatred entertained by the Thebans againſt the Phoceans, made them blind to every other conſideration, and induced them to reſort to this dangerous expedient, which eventually occaſioned their ruin. For it may be truly ſaid, that the Thebans, by this ſtep, framed chains for Greece.

About the ſame time, the orator Iſocrates, a very zealous citizen of Athens, undertook, though then of a very advanced age, to compoſe an oration addreſſed to Philip, with whom he was much connected, to diſſuade him from his deſigns againſt Greece. In this oration he uſed many arguments to perſuade that prince to reſtore the general tranquillity of Greece; which, he aſſured him, would do him more honour than the moſt brilliant conqueſts. Then he adviſed him to turn his arms againſt the Perſians; and concluded with telling him, that though the Athenians, his fellow-citizens, were much prejudiced againſt him, and thought him an artful and deceitful prince; yet, for his own part, he ne-

ver could permit himſelf to believe, that a deſcendent of Hercules would ever enſlave the Greeks. Iſocrates was then eighty years old, an age at which men are commonly very credulous, and very poſitive. It was not very probable, that a prince of Philip's character, who hearkened to no ſuggeſtions but thoſe of ambition, would ſuffer himſelf to be cajoled by the flattery of a rhetorician, though couched in ever ſo fine words. — At the ſame time, it is not unlikely, that Philip entertained ſome remote intentions of making war on the Perſians; but he deſired firſt to reduce Greece under his power. About this time the Athenians ſent him an embaſſy, with a view to ſound his real deſigns about a general peace. But Philip amuſed the ambaſſadors with a ſham treaty, in which, however, he refuſed to comprehend the Phoceans. It is even alledged, that he won over to his intereſts all the ambaſſadors except Demoſthenes; and that they protracted the period of their embaſſy, to give Philip time to advance with his army into the country of Phocis.

By this treaty, Philip engaged to deliver Eubœa to the Athenians, by way of equivalent for Amphipolis, and to repeople the cities of Theſpia and Platea, in ſpite of the Thebans. But it may be remarked, that that prince paid very little regard to treaties or alliances. The admonitions of Demoſthenes were neglected; for Æſchines, who was now corrupted by Philip's gold, aſſured the Athenians, that Philip acted, on all occaſions, with the ſtricteſt integrity. Philip, therefore, purſued his ſchemes without diſturbance; and having made himſelf maſter of the paſs of Thermopylæ, entered the country of Phocis, and ſpread terror and conſternation all around. The Phoceans, thinking themſelves on the brink of deſtruction, ſued for peace; of which they referred the conditions entirely to the mercy of Philip, who obliged them to retire within the Peloponneſe. This ſucceſs, obtained almoſt without any expence, made Philip famous through all Greece.

Philip, in the mean time, was deliberating about ma-

king the moſt of his advantage. Having, for that purpoſe, corrupted the judges of the counſel of the Amphictyons, he prevailed upon them to aſſemble, and to paſs a decree, enjoining the demolition of all the cities in the country of Phocis, and reducing them to the condition of ſimple villages; the inhabitants of which were to pay an annual tribute. At the ſame time, he procured admiſſion for himſelf into that celebrated aſſembly, with the privilege of a double vote, by way of recompence, for his having vindicated and enforced the former ſentence of the Amphictyons, which the Phoceans had treated with ſuch diſreſpect. This point was of high importance to Philip, and contributed not a little to the ſucceſs of his ſubſequent enterpriſes.

On receiving intelligence of theſe tranſactions, the eyes of the Athenians were at laſt opened, and they were now convinced of their error, in not ſupporting their allies, as Demoſthenes had adviſed. Perceiving Philip to be now maſter of the paſs of Thermopylæ, in conſequence of his conqueſt of the country of Phocis, they, with good reaſon, grew apprehenſive for the ſafety of their own city, and gave orders to fortify Pireus. But Philip, ſatisfied with having obtained a firm footing in Greece, put an end to the ſacred war, which had now continued for the ſpace of ten years, and acquired, in the opinion of this ſuperſtitious people, the character of a very religious prince, although ambition alone was the real motive of his whole conduct. Not thinking it adviſeable to puſh his advantage any further for the preſent, Philip quietly returned into his own dominions.

Philip next required the ſtates of Greece to confirm the ſentence of the Amphictyons, admitting him one of their number. Many of the Athenians were for paying no regard to that ſentence; but Demoſthenes, in his oration for the peace, convinced them, that their refuſal to comply with this requeſt, might provoke Philip to depart from his engagements; which, in the preſent conjuncture, was an event by all means to be avoided.

Philip, in the mean time, was not idle. He proſecuted

cuted his conqueſts on the ſide of Thrace, ſubdued the Athenian colonies in that country, and made himſelf abſolute maſter of Theſſaly. Next year he diſcovered his intentions of reducing the Cherſoneſe, a very rich peninſula; which, after paſſing ſucceſſively under the dominion of the Athenians, the Lacedemonians, and the kings of Thrace, had lately come into the poſſeſſion of its firſt maſters, all except the city of Cardia, whereof Cherſobleptus, ſon of Cotys king of Thrace, retained the poſſeſſion. Philip having defeated Cherſobleptus, the inhabitants of Cardia, apprehenſive leſt the Athenians ſhould reclaim the ſuperiority of their city, put themſelves under the protection of Philip, who engaged to defend them. Diopithus, governor of the Athenian colony, provoked at this behaviour of Philip, attacked that prince's territories in Thrace, and made a great booty. Philip complained to the Athenians of the irruption of Diopithus. The creatures of Philip ſupported the juſtice of this complaint, accuſed Diopithus of malverſations in his office, and uſed all their influence to procure his condemnation. But Demoſthenes undertook the defence of Diopithus, and delivered his oration "On the ſubject of the Cherſoneſe." On that occaſion, he demonſtrated to the Athenians, that the true deſign of the accuſers of Diopithus was, to divert them from examining too minutely into the conduct of Philip; who, with a powerful army, ravaged the Athenian territories, and aimed at nothing leſs than the utter deſtruction of their republic. At the ſame time, he inveighed, in the bittereſt terms, againſt thoſe venal declaimers retained by Philip; deſcribed them as ſo many domeſtic enemies, as traitors and vipers nouriſhed by the republic in her boſom, but who would one day ſting her to death. He ſhewed them in the plaineſt manner, that Philip being aſſured that his creatures would be always ready to juſtify his meaſures, would, in the ſame manner, proceed at his leiſure to take poſſeſſion of all the other provinces of the republic; and he concluded,

with exhorting them to put their forces in good order, and to provide for the other exigencies of the ſtate *.

But while Demoſthenes was in this manner diſplaying all the zeal of a worthy citizen, and all the eloquence of the moſt conſummate orator, Philip, now returned from his expedition into Illyria, was uniformly intent on profiting by the diſtractions of the Greeks, among whom diſcord had again broken out. The Spartans having in a good meaſure repaired their late loſſes, began to diſquiet the Argives and Meſſenians, who complained to Philip, and received from him a very favourable hearing. About the ſame time the Thebans, actuated by their hatred of Sparta, made propoſals to him likewiſe about forming an alliance againſt that
342. ſtate. This was more than ſufficient for determining Philip to enter the Peloponneſe. Immediately, therefore, he procured a decree of the Amphictyons enjoining the Lacedemonians to deſiſt from moleſting the Argives and Meſſenians, and to permit them to remain in full enjoyment of their liberty; and, at the ſame time, he ordered a body of troops to advance towards the frontiers of Laconia. The Spartans alarmed at theſe proceedings, diſpatched an embaſſy to Athens, to endeavour to prevail on the Athenians to conclude with them an offenſive and defenſive alliance; that they might jointly oppoſe the enterpriſes of Philip, and provide for their mutual ſecurity.

Demoſthenes on this occaſion gave full vent to his zeal, and pronounced an oration wherein he demonſtrated the juſtice and expediency of complying with the requeſt of the Lacedemonians; ſet in a clearer light ſtill the ambitious intentions of Philip, and made it very evident that he aimed at nothing leſs than the total ſubjection of Greece: "Philip, ſays he, excels you as much in "acting as you do him in ſpeaking; he is at this moment

* About this time, viz. in the year before Chriſt 343, a war broke out between the Romans and Samnites, which continued ſeventy-one years, with various ſucceſs; but terminated at laſt in the complete conqueſt of the latter.

"advancing

"advancing troops againſt the Peloponneſe. Can you "imagine that you ſhall remain in ſafety, when this "prince is in poſſeſſion of the whole country around "you?" In a word, Demoſthenes made uſe of every argument to rouſe the Athenians from their lethargy, and to perſuade them to aſſiſt the Lacedemonians. The partizans of Philip, on the other hand, repreſented to the Athenians, that as that prince had hitherto committed nothing contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting between him and the republic, it were unjuſt in the latter to declare war againſt him; and, indeed in a literal ſenſe this was true. But in the mean time Philip, unwilling to draw upon himſelf the united force of all Greece, relinquiſhed his enterpriſe againſt the Peloponneſe, and turned his thoughts to the conqueſt of Eubœa, which he uſed to call "*the ſhackles of Greece.*" Having procured good intelligence within the iſland, he found means to corrupt the principal inhabitants with money, landed a conſiderable body of troops, took the city of Orea, and appointed governors to act under his authority.

The Athenians hearing of the danger they ran of loſing that iſland, quickly ſent thither ſome troops under the command of Phocion, an Athenian general, whoſe virtue and ſingular character deſerve to be particularly taken notice of.

He was a diſciple of Xenocrates, and conformed his life to the moſt rigid maxims of the philoſophy of his maſter, being remarkably ſerious in his outward deportment, going always barefoot, and without a cloak, never frequenting the public baths, and being a profeſſed enemy of every ſort of flattery. But, notwithſtanding this ſtoical behaviour, he was endued in a ſupreme degree with the power of eloquence. He did not indeed ſtudy the pompous and florid branch of that art; but confounded his antagoniſt by the ſtrength of his arguments; came directly to the point; and often with a ſingle word confuted the reaſoning of the moſt eloquent orators. On this account Demoſthenes uſed to call him

"*The*

"*The pruner of his periods.*" — This ſort of eloquence was much reliſhed by the Athenians, who being naturally a people of a quick, lively apprehenſion, liked to be inſtructed at a word. — Phocion had already engaged in public affairs, and had given proofs of his bravery, and other eminent talents. After the example of Themiſtocles and Ariſtides, he thought it beſt to unite military ſkill with knowledge in the art of government.

Phocion, upon his arrival in Eubœa, finding
341. that Plutarch of Eretria, by an inſtance of the baſeſt treachery, had changed ſides, and taken arms againſt the very troops whoſe aſſiſtance he had ſolicited, immediately attacked him, gained a complete victory, expelled him the country, and had the honour of preſerving that important iſland to his countrymen.

Philip, to counterbalance the bad ſucceſs of his enterpriſe againſt Eubœa, reſolved to diſtreſs the city of Athens by famine. With this view he turned his arms againſt Thrace, the country whence the Athenians drew the greateſt part of their proviſions, and laid ſiege to Perinthus a city in the Propontis. But though he inveſted the place with an army of 30,000 men, and innumerable warlike engines, yet the beſieged made ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance, that the Byzantines had time to come to their aſſiſtance. Philip formed the plan of making a diverſion; and for that purpoſe marched againſt Byzantium, to which he laid ſiege with the half of his army. — It was at this time that he ſent for his ſon Alexander, who though no more than fifteen years of age, had already given marks of a bravery, and of a genius for military affairs altogether extraordinary. This attempt of Philip alarmed Greece, and gave ſome uneaſineſs even to Perſia. All the ſtates aſſembled their forces, and Demoſthenes once more exerted his utmoſt efforts to rouſe the Athenians from their indolence. The orations pronounced by that orator on this occaſion have obtained the name of *Philippics*.

In thoſe admirable diſcourſes Demoſthenes laboured to ſhew, that one of the greateſt ſupports of Grecian liberty

berty in ancient times, was the unſhaken integrity of all its citizens, of whom not one was daſtardly or baſe enough to accept of the wages of corruption from the common enemy, and in return to engage himſelf to proſtitute his talents to forward the ruin of his country; that the perfect union which ſubſiſted among the principal ſtates of Greece, likewiſe contributed in a high degree to the ſame glorious end; that at preſent their ſafety and independency depended entirely on their mutual union with one another againſt the profeſſed enemy of them all. — He then ſhewed them that Philip had broken the peace by making a conqueſt of every place round about them; and that he conſidered them as his mortal enemies. He ſaid it was abſolutely neceſſary to diſpatch an army into the Cherſoneſe; and to endeavour by every means to prevail on all the neighbouring nations to unite their forces and to ſtop the progreſs of his arms.

What Demoſthenes ſaid was but too true. Philip was then advancing towards the Cherſoneſe. It is fit to obſerve that Athens at this time ſwarmed with a multitude of mercenary orators, no better than impertinent wranglers, of whom the greater part being in the pay of Philip, invariably oppoſed the views of Demoſthenes, contradicted his opinions, and by their idle clamours often retarded the good effects produced by his harangues. At preſent, however, all their endeavours were to no purpoſe. — The Athenians, animated by the force of Demoſthenes's eloquence, ſent out a fleet under the command of Chares, a man of poor abilities, whoſe only aim was to enrich himſelf; and who owed his command to the power of a faction. No ſooner, therefore, did he appear on the coaſt of the Helleſpont, than the greater part of the cities ſhut their gates againſt him.

Philip, ſeeing that the Athenians had at laſt taken the alarm, endeavoured to quiet them with fine profeſſions, and for that purpoſe ſent them a letter of recrimination, full of complaints very artfully expreſſed, whereby he endeavoured to ſhow that the peace had been firſt infringed

ged on their part. He accuſed them of ſtirring up the Perſians againſt him; and boaſted much of his own ſtrict obſervance of treaties. This letter was written in a moſt artful manner, with much dignity and preciſion, and with all the marks of candour and truth. In a word, it appeared by this letter, that Philip was as ſkilful a writer, as he was a brave ſoldier; qualities in which he greatly reſembled the all-accompliſhed Julius, the deſtroyer of the Roman liberty. Demoſthenes exerted every reſource of his ingenuity to deſtroy the firſt impreſſions made by this letter on the minds of the Athenians. He went to the bottom of Philip's allegations, and demonſtrated them to be altogether affected and groundleſs; that Philip himſelf, and not they, was the firſt aggreſſor, by invading the Athenian territories; and that his only view in making the peace, was to diſarm them, that ſo he might attack them unawares. He concluded with telling them plainly, that theſe complaints of Philip's were equivalent to an open declaration of war; and that therefore they muſt no longer be ſparing either of the public funds, or of the wealth of individuals; and above all, that they ought to employ better commanders.

In conſequence of theſe repreſentations, the Athenians order Phocion to march to the relief of Byzantium with a freſh reinforcement. The arrival of that commander, the fame of whoſe juſtice and capacity was univerſally known, diſappointed all the ſchemes of Philip. Phocion behaved with ſo much prudence and ſkill, that he obliged Philip to raiſe the ſiege of Byzantium; took ſeveral of his ſhips; recovered ſome fortified towns; and forced him to retire from the Helleſpont. The Byzantines and Perinthians beſtowed on Phocion the higheſt marks of gratitude and affection. They offered the freedom of their cities, together with ſome extraordinary privileges, to ſuch of the Athenian ſoldiers as choſe to ſettle among them. They paſſed a ſolemn act, wherein they ſet forth, that when Philip laid waſte their country, and beſieged their cities, the Athenians came

to their relief, with a fleet of 120 ſhips, and ſaved them from the extreme miſeries wherewith they were threatened; and laſtly, they erected ſeveral ſtatues in honour of the Athenians.

Philip, to repair this diſappointment, practiſed every art to amuſe the Athenians, offering propoſals 338. of peace, and carrying on with them ſham negotiations, which he found means to protract for the ſpace of two years. About that time he marched againſt the Scythians, with an army much leſs numerous than theirs, and made a conſiderable booty. The Triballi, a people of Mæſia, oppoſed his paſſage back, and obliged him to come to an engagement. The battle proved obſtinate and bloody. Philip was wounded, and on the point of being taken by the enemy, when his ſon Alexander, then in the ſeventeenth year of his age, haſtened to his aſſiſtance, and had the glory of reſcuing him from this imminent danger. Such were the beginnings of that valour which was ſoon to aſtoniſh the univerſe.

Philip, in the mean time, deſirous of putting a ſtop to the continual depredations committed on the maritime parts of his dominions by the incurſions of the Athenians, renewed his negotiations for peace. But Demoſthenes convinced the Athenians and Phocion himſelf, who inclined to liſten to Philip's propoſals, that that prince intended only to amuſe them; and therefore prevailed with them to continue their hoſtilities. Philip finding the Athenians deaf to all terms of accommodation, and ſenſible, at the ſame time, of the ſuperiority of their naval force over his own, had recourſe to ſtratagem, and ſecretly engaged the Theſſalians and Thebans to call him to their aſſiſtance, that ſo he might enter Greece by the permiſſion of both. For this purpoſe it was neceſſary to produce a rupture between thoſe ſtates and Athens; and chance favoured his intentions.

The Ozolæ of Locris being cited before the Amphictyons, on an accuſation of appropriating to their own uſe certain grounds belonging to the temple of

Delphos, commiſſioners were appointed by the judges to viſit the territory in queſtion, and to inquire whither the Ozolæ were the lawful proprietors of it or not. The Ozolæ thinking themſelves unjuſtly diſturbed in their poſſeſſions, treated the commiſſioners of the Amphictyons as enemies; and obliged them, by ſeveral diſcharges of darts, to retire very precipitately.—This behaviour was conſidered as an act of diſobedience highly deſerving of puniſhment. And the orators retained in the pay of Philip, repreſented to the Amphictyons, that war ought to be decreed againſt that ſacrilegious people. But as the Greek ſtates ſeemed backward to engage in the enterpriſe, from the apprehenſion, no doubt, of a ſecond ſacred war, the ſame orators adviſed the Amphictyons to employ foreign troops for the execution of their vengeance, and to chooſe Philip as their commander in chief. The Amphictyons, not aware of the conſequences of making ſuch a choice, and well pleaſed to ſave their reſpective ſtates the expences of this war, approved of the propoſal, and, by a ſolemn decree, elected Philip commander in chief of the Greeks. Ambaſſadors therefore were ſent to beg of him to come and vindicate the cauſe of religion. Philip inſtantly aſſembles an army, enters the country of Phocis, ſeizes on Elatea the capital city of the country, and by that means opens himſelf a paſſage into Attica. The Athenians, on receiving intelligence of theſe proceedings, are thrown into great conſternation.

Next day an aſſembly was holden, where none of the other orators attempting to ſpeak, Demoſthenes alone endeavoured to encourage the Athenians. As acute a politician, as a powerful orator, he began by explaining to his countrymen, the true nature of the alliance between Philip and the Thebans, which gave them ſo much uneaſineſs. He ſhewed them very plainly, that the Thebans were far from being ſo cordially or firmly attached to Philip, as they believed:—That the taking of Elatea, muſt immediately open their eyes to their real intereſts; that in the preſent conjuncture it was highly

highly expedient for the Athenians to ſupport the Thebans, becauſe the ruin of Thebes muſt infallibly draw after it that of Athens; and that, therefore, they ought to bury in oblivion the enmity ſubſiſting between their ſtate and that of Thebes. He convinced them, that Philip, by the powerful army with which he was attended, meant to terrify into ſubjection ſuch ſtates as were inclined to oppoſe him. He therefore adviſed them to arm all their forces; to diſpatch ambaſſadors to the other ſtates, to perſuade them to unite in defence of the common liberty; but, above all, to give notice to the Thebans, that they were ready to aſſiſt them; in a word, to endeavour by every means to render this a national war, and to form a general confederacy againſt the common enemy. So comprehenſive and penetrating was the genius of Demoſthenes, that it conſtantly ſuggeſted to him the beſt reſources on the moſt preſſing occaſions.—The Athenians perceived the full force of all his arguments; complied with his advice in every particular; and paſſed a very ſolemn decree to that effect, which did great honour to their good ſenſe and magnanimity.

As the negotiation, whereby they were to endeavour to perſuade the Thebans to accede to the confederacy, was of the utmoſt importance; becauſe the territory of Bœotia was a barrier to that of Attica, Demoſthenes was ſet at the head of the embaſſy to Thebes. Philip, at the ſame time, ſent thither ambaſſadors on his part; one of whom named *Pithon*, celebrated for his lively eloquence, ſpoke firſt. He put the Thebans in mind of the many ſervices rendered them by Philip; recapitulated the various inſtances of bad treatment received by them from the Athenians; and exhorted them either to aſſiſt Philip in the conqueſt of Attica, or to remain neuter. Demoſthenes ſpoke next. Provoked by the captious arguments of Pithon, he that day outdid even himſelf. He convinced the aſſembly, that the ſeizure of Elatea ſufficiently diſcovered the deſigns of Philip, and that the ruin of Athens muſt infallibly be

attended with that of Thebes. Perceiving, however, that the Thebans were diſpoſed to obſerve a neutrality, and that it was a point of the utmoſt conſequence to prevail with them to enter into the alliance, his imagination continued to warm upon him, and at laſt, threw him into ſuch a wonderful enthuſiaſm of eloquence, that he aſtoniſhed the minds of his hearers, and brought them to the point he deſired. He deſcribed Philip as an ambitious, artful, and deceitful prince, abſolutely regardleſs of good faith or treaties, who had formed the plan of gradually poſſeſſing himſelf of the whole country of Greece, by ſubduing its ſtates ſeparately, and one after another; and he demonſtrated that his pretended favours were ſo many ſnares; and that it was the intereſt of both ſtates to unite their whole ſtrength againſt ſuch a common enemy.

How amazing the power of eloquence! The Thebans, convinced by the arguments of this wonderful man, and inflamed with the love of their country, forgot all former ſubjects of diſcontent with their neighbouring ſtate, and entered intirely into the views of the Athenians.

Demoſthenes, ever after, ſpoke of this negotiation with the greateſt ſatisfaction; calling it his maſterpiece in eloquence and politics; and telling the Athenians, that he had diſſipated the thunder which growled above their heads.

The news of this reſolution of the Thebans diſconcerted all Philip's projects. He therefore betook himſelf to his old ſhifts, and very artfully endeavoured to diſſuade the Athenians from taking arms, offering them advantageous terms of peace. But as he had by this time loſt every degree of credit, they were not ſilly enough to allow themſelves to be blinded by his profeſſions. Nor did they pay more regard to the dreadful reſponſes of the oracle, which Philip made to ſpeak according to his pleaſure. On this occaſion Demoſthenes uſed humorouſly to ſay, that *Pythia Philippized.*

But

Both ſides therefore prepared for war. Philip entered Bœotia with an army of 30,000 foot, and 2000 horſe. His troops were not much more numerous than thoſe of the Greeks; but they were much better diſciplined and commanded. The bravery of the ſoldiers was nearly equal on both ſides; and the Athenians wanted nothing but good generals: For the faction of Chares again raiſed him to the chief command; and he had got for colleague Lyſicles, diſtinguiſhed by his raſhneſs alone. Thus the only Athenian worthy of commanding, namely Phocion, was altogether excluded from the office. Such are the capital errors which in every ſtate occaſion the loſs of battles, and all the misfortunes that thence enſue.

The two armies came to an engagement in the neighbourhood of Cheronea, in Bœotia. Philip 338.
commanded the right wing of the Macedonian army; and his ſon Alexander, aſſiſted by the moſt experienced officers, the left. The battle was fought with great obſtinacy, and victory remained long doubtful. Alexander ſhewed himſelf worthy the command then intruſted to him for the firſt time; and by his valour and prudence gave ſigns of what he ſhould become in the end. Falling with great impetuoſity upon the Thebans, he broke and put to flight their ſacred battalion, which was the flower of their army. Philip, on the other hand, gained at firſt ſome little advantage over the Athenians; but theſe quickly repairing the diſorder, in their turn repulſed the Macedonians. The imprudence, however, of Lyſicles occaſioned their ruin; for, thinking himſelf victorious, after having broken the centre of the Macedonians, inſtead of attacking them in flank, he purſued the fugitives with a blind impetuoſity. Philip perceived and availed himſelf of his error. Rallying the wings of his phalanx on a ſmall eminence, he ruſhed with great fury on the rear of the Athenians, and put them to flight. Here Demoſthenes furniſhed a ſtriking proof, that the ſame perſon ſeldom poſſeſſes all qualifications in an equal degree. He threw away his arms,

and

and betook himſelf to flight. Of the Athenians 1000 were killed, and 2000 taken priſoners; but the loſs of the Thebans was much greater.

Philip, tranſported with joy at this victory, erected a trophy, ſacrificed to the gods, and gave preſents to his officers. It is ſaid, that having next day given a great entertainment, the wine raiſed him to ſuch an extravagant pitch of joy, that he ran to the field of battle, inſulted the dead bodies of his enemies, and fell a dancing, ſinging at the ſame time the beginning of the decree drawn up by Demoſthenes. It is added, that Demades, who was one of the priſoners, reproached him with his ungenerous behaviour, by telling him, that, being Agamemnon, he acted the part of Therſites; and that Philip was ſo far from being offended at his boldneſs, that he ſet him at liberty; and, as a farther proof of his generoſity, ſent away all the other Athenian priſoners without ranſom. Their countrymen were ſo much affected by Philip's obliging conduct on this occaſion, that they agreed to renew their ancient treaty of alliance with him. But that prince could by no means pardon the Thebans.

The Athenians, after this terrible diſaſter, inſtead of teſtifying any reſentment againſt Demoſthenes, who had adviſed them to undertake the war, ſtill followed his counſels. In vain did his enemies accuſe him as the occaſion of the misfortune at Cheronea. The people, convinced of the integrity of his intentions, acquitted him with honour, preſerved the higheſt eſteem for him, and loaded him with ſtill greater marks of their favour and confidence. Guards were poſted, and fortifications repaired by his advice. He was pitched upon to pronounce the funeral oration of the brave men who had fallen at Cheronea; and the Athenians incloſed their bones in a magnificent monument, with an inſcription, importing, that they had fallen in the cauſe of their country.

It may be here remarked in paſſing, that theſe funeral orations, and the other public marks of diſtinction beſtowed

beſtowed on thoſe who had died in battle, were, in the flouriſhing times of the republic eſpecially, admirably calculated to inſpire the Athenian youth with an ardent deſire of military glory. The ſons of thoſe who were ſlain in fight, were produced at the firſt feaſt celebrated after ſuch fight, clothed in complete armour, and attended by a herald, who made a public proclamation in the following terms: "Theſe young orphans, "whom a premature death in the ſervice of the ſtate "has deprived of their fathers, have found in the peo- "ple a common father, who charge themſelves with "the care of them till they ſhall arrive at the age of "manhood; and they are reſpectively invited to aſpire "at the foremoſt employments in the commonwealth."

Naturally fond of affecting ſcenes, we hurry to the theatre to enjoy the moving repreſentations there offered to our view; of which, however, the greater part are the mere fruit of poetical fancy. But if we would have real objects of this kind, not produced by the miſerable effects of irregular paſſions, but ariſing from the nobleſt principles of human nature, we muſt have recourſe to hiſtory. Can there poſſibly be a more affecting ſcene, than that now deſcribed among the Athenians?

The people further committed to Demoſthenes the charge of procuring proviſions for the city; and decreed him a crown of gold, for having furniſhed a ſum of money to repair the walls. The ſentence of Cteſiphon, decreeing this crown to Demoſthenes, having been arraigned by Eſchines, the cauſe was tried with very great ſolemnity, and a vaſt concourſe of people aſſembled from all quarters to hear this important diſpute between two ſo celebrated orators. Demoſthenes ſhone particularly in his anſwer to the invectives of Eſchines, on the ſubject of the defeat at Cheronea. He told the audience, that he was by no means anſwerable for that event, which, like every other, was in the power of the gods alone, who diſpoſed of victory at their pleaſure. Then he addreſſes himſelf to the Athenians in a ſtyle of rhetoric the moſt figurative and bold that is any where to be met

met with. "No, Athenians, I ſwear to you by the "manes of thoſe brave citizens, who ſacrificed their "lives for the liberty of their country, on land at Ma-"rathon and Platea, on ſea at Salamis and Artemiſium, "and by the multitude of others, who, though unſuc-"ceſsful in the ſame glorious cauſe, have been honour-"ed by the republic with the ſolemn rites of burial, not "by thoſe alone who were fortunate and victorious, "that you acted as you ought."

Though the Macedonian faction was now become very powerful at Athens, Eſchines nevertheleſs failed, was even puniſhed with baniſhment, and obliged to take refuge at Rhodes. On this occaſion Demoſthenes behaved to his rival with great generoſity; and as he was departing, forced him to accept of a conſiderable ſum of money. Eſchines was ſo ſtruck with his behaviour, that he burſt out into this exclamation: "How much," ſaid he, "muſt I regret the loſs of a country, where I "leave ſuch an enemy, that I deſpair of finding any "where elſe ſo generous a friend!" On arriving at Rhodes, he opened a ſchool for eloquence, and began with reciting his oration againſt Demoſthenes, which was very highly commended by his audience. But having proceeded to recite that made in anſwer to it by Demoſthenes, nothing was heard but a general ſhout of applauſe; inſomuch, that Eſchines could not refrain from crying out, "Ah! what ſhould you have thought "of it, had you heard him deliver it himſelf?" A ſaying that did as much honour to the candour of the one, as to the eloquence of the other. Eſchines was very much eſteemed as an orator by the Athenians, who called thoſe three diſcourſes of his that yet remain, by the name of *the three Graces*.

The misfortune at Cheronea was charged againſt the generals Chares and Lyſicles; and Lycurgus the orator became the public accuſer of the latter. This Lycurgus being a man of great integrity, but of a rigid ſevere character, inveighed againſt Lyſicles in the bittereſt terms. "You commanded," ſaid he, "and a thou-

"ſand citizens were killed: you commanded, and all "Greece was enſlaved." In a word, he ſo exaſperated the people, that Lyſicles was put to death. Chares, though equally culpable with his colleague, was, by ſome means or other, acquitted. Lyſicles was a man poſſeſſed of no other merit, than extraordinary bodily ſtrength, and the impudence and preſumption of a bully.

The decline of Grecian liberty may be dated from the battle of Cheronea. That victory, by ſpreading the terror of Philip's arms through Greece, paved his way to a more complete conqueſt. The Lacedemonian power, which lately had made both Greece and Aſia to tremble, was now ſo much decayed, that we find them hardly named among the ſtates by whom the enterpriſes of Philip were oppoſed.

That prince found he had at length attained the point at which he had ſo long aimed; and perceived, that at preſent it was no difficult matter for him to reduce the Greeks entirely under his power. He therefore reſolved to undertake an expedition, that he had long meditated, againſt the Perſians; and to prevail with the Greeks to join him in it, he procured himſelf to be choſen their commander in chief, by an aſſembly compoſed of members from all the ſtates; and ſoon after diſpatched a part of his army into Aſia Minor, under the command of Attalus and Parmenio. It is certain, however, that Philip neglected to profit as he ought by his late victory; whether he thought it ſtill dangerous to puſh the Greeks to the laſt extremity, or, whether he was ſatisfied with having humbled their pride, and obtained himſelf to be elected their generaliſſimo. Whatever may have been the cauſe, he reſolved, before proceeding on his Perſian expedition, to put his private family affairs in order.

The joy which Philip derived from the ſucceſs of his military operations, was diſturbed by the diviſions that prevailed in his family. His firſt wife, Olympias, a woman of a revengeful, jealous diſpoſition, had ſo provoked him by her ill temper, that he had divorced her,

and taken to wife Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, one of his principal officers. This new marriage was ſolemnized with much pomp and ſolemnity; but was in the end troubled by a quarrel between Attalus and Alexander. The former, being heated with wine, happening imprudently to ſay, that the Macedonians ought to pray to the gods to beſtow on them a lawful ſucceſſor by their new queen; Alexander ſtarted up in a paſſion, and threw his cup at the head of Attalus, crying out, "How! "wretch, doſt thou take me for a baſtard?" Philip, in a rage, flew at his ſon with his ſword in his hand, but being lame, ſtumbled, ſo that the reſt of the company had time to interpoſe, and to prevent his doing any miſchief. Alexander, unable to digeſt the affront, had the boldneſs to rally his father on his fall, telling him, that it was ridiculous for him to think of an expedition into Aſia, who could not ſafely walk from one table to another. Alexander ſoon after left the court, and retired with his mother into Epire. This was the prelude to a bloody tragedy.

Philip in the mean time, by the interceſſion of Demaratus, recalled his ſon to court. As he had his Perſian expedition much at heart, he reſolved to conſult the gods about the event of it, and gave a favourable interpretation to a very ambiguous reſponſe of the Delphic prieſteſs. After this, having promiſed his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Alexander king of Epire, the brother of Olympias, he reſolved to celebrate the marriage with great magnificence, and invited all the principal men in Greece to be preſent at the ceremony. Moſt of the cities, on that occaſion, laviſhed on Philip the higheſt elogiums; and ſome of them ſent him crowns of gold. Athens particularly, the nurſe of orators and poets, was among the firſt to pay her homage. A tragedy was at this time performed, wherein Philip was repreſented under a feigned name, as conqueror of Darius, and maſter of Aſia. Next day games and ſhews were celebrated.

After the marriage, a ſumptuous feaſt was given, which

which was diſtinguiſhed by a grand proceſſion from the palace to the theatre. In this proceſſion were carried twelve ſtatues of exquiſite workmanſhip; of which one that repreſented Philip, under the figure of a god, greatly ſurpaſſed the reſt. The king himſelf, dreſſed in white, appeared as the principal perſonage in this proceſſion, marching between two files of his guards, who were ranged at ſome diſtance. But in the inſtant that Philip, amidſt the moſt joyful ſhouts and acclamations of his ſubjects, was enjoying the higheſt pleaſure of which the vanity of man is ſuſceptible, a young Macedonian called *Pauſanias*, breaks through the croud, and plunging a dagger into the boſom of Philip, ſtrikes him dead on the ſpot. The aſſaſſin fled, but was purſued, taken, and in the firſt tranſports of rage excited by his bloody deed, cut in pieces. This Pauſanias, on being diſhonoured in the moſt infamous manner by Attalus, Philip's uncle, had applied for ſatisfaction to Philip, who, averſe to puniſh Attalus, amuſed Pauſanias with vain promiſes. The young man taking thoſe delays for an abſolute refuſal of juſtice, was exaſperated to the higheſt degree, and reſolved in revenge to aſſaſſinate Philip; which accordingly he accompliſhed in the manner juſt mentioned. 336.

Olympias, however, was accuſed, and with a good deal of probability, of having had a hand in the murder of her huſband; for, inſtead of ſhewing any concern for ſuch an imputation being laid to her charge, ſhe cauſed the body of the aſſaſſin to be taken down from the croſs and to be buried, and afterwards vented her rage on Cleopatra, by murdering her ſon in her arms.

The news of Philip's death was received with the greateſt joy through all Greece, but particularly at Athens, where the people crowned themſelves with garlands, and behaved with the moſt indecent marks of pleaſure and rejoicing. Even Demoſthenes himſelf appeared in the public aſſembly with a garland of flowers in his hand, and exhorted the Athenians to thank the gods for this event.

Thus periſhed, at the age of forty-ſeven years, Philip king of Macedon, after reigning twenty-four years of that period. Having found himſelf in the beginning of his reign ſurrounded with enemies, he laboured, under the moſt ſpecious pretences, to increaſe his own power; ſtudied to defeat the ſchemes of his oppoſers, by ſowing diſcord among them, and at laſt rid his hands of them, partly by addreſs, and partly by force.

He was a prince of a moſt ambitious character, and perſiſted, without any deviation, and with ſingular perſeverance, in the proſecution of all his ſchemes. This is particularly viſible in his conduct with reſpect to Greece. By his own account, the happineſs of nations, the reparation of injuries, and the deſtruction of tyranny, were the ſole motives of his conduct. But, notwithſtanding thoſe profeſſions, he was continually aiming, by imperceptible means, at ſome private deſign. He was impenetrable as to his views and intentions, and never made uſe of confidents. Fruitful in reſources, he ſeldom had recourſe to force, till addreſs failed him. But when once engaged in war, he acted with the utmoſt diligence, vigour, and intrepidity, and was inferior to no commander of his time, either for bravery or conduct. He rendered his ſoldiers the beſt in Greece; was particularly ſkilful in conciliating their affection, by a familiar and complaiſant behaviour, and in maintaining at the ſame time his authority over them in full force. Beſides the accompliſhments already mentioned, Philip had acquired a ſtock of the moſt valuable and fineſt parts of learning, and wrote and ſpoke with equal dignity and eaſe. He was a conſummate politician, always ſeizing the moſt favourable moment for attacking his enemies, availing himſelf of their weakneſs and domeſtic troubles, and by a liberal diſtribution of gold, bringing over to his intereſts ſome of the leading men in every ſtate. He readily granted his aſſiſtance to thoſe who deſired it, and laboured to weaken the ſtrongeſt.

But the defects in this prince's character did more perhaps than counterbalance his great parts. For, tho'

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a moſt artful politician, the means he employed were almoſt always contrary to juſtice and good faith. He never heſitated to deceive thoſe with whom he treated; and was little ſcrupulous about practiſing fraud, deceit, perfidy, or any other crime, provided it might contribute to the advancement of his power. He appears, too, to have been entirely devoid of religion. He uſed to ſay, that children were to be amuſed with toys, and men with oaths.——What an abominable character! Such, however, is the picture of this prince offered us by hiſtory; not the leſs deteſtable, ſurely, for being that of a prince. But though truly of no religion, he choſe, however, to aſſume the appearance of it, and affected to keep a public officer to remind him every morning of his being mortal. The Greeks were accordingly the dupes of his hypocriſy; which, together with every other artifice, he employed to foment among them diſſention and jealouſy. He ſtudied particularly to keep up and to encreaſe the animoſity that ſubſiſted between the Thebans and Athenians; and moſt of the citizens of both republics fell into the ſnare.

He was, however, a ſtrict, and, for the moſt part, an impartial juſticiary. Of this hiſtory records ſeveral examples. One day, as he was returning from a long debauch, a woman having begged of him to decide her cauſe, he had it pled on the ſpot, and gave ſentence againſt her. "I appeal from the judgement," cried the woman. "How! from your king?" anſwered Philip, "and to whom do you appeal?" "To Philip "when faſting," replied the woman. Philip, ſtruck with the words of the woman, reviewed the cauſe, and altered his firſt judgement. With reſpect to his morals, he was a profeſſed debauchee; his moſt intimate friends were perſons of the ſame character; and his court was filled with drunkards and buffoons.

Thoſe of the learned who have ſtudied with moſt accuracy the merits of the father and of the ſon, are of opinion, that the extent of Alexander's conqueſts does not equal the difficulty of thoſe of Philip; and that it

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was more eaſy for the former to ſubdue Aſia with the aſſiſtance of the Greeks, than for the latter to deſtroy the power of the Greeks with Macedonian ſtrength alone. "It muſt be allowed," ſays M. Tourreil, "that "at firſt ſight we are inclined to give the preference to "Alexander, the ſplendor of whoſe conqueſts outſhines "that of Philip's; but on a more narrow inſpection, "and on balancing the obſtacles that lay in the way of "the one, againſt the circumſtances that forwarded the "ſucceſs of the other, we ſhall be of opinion, with Ci-"cero, that the ſon was a great conqueror, but that "the father was a great man."

CHAP. IV.

Affairs of the Greeks, Macedonians, and Perſians, from the death of Philip, till the death of Darius Codomannus king of Perſia.

356. WE have already obſerved, that Alexander was born in the year before Chriſt 356. From his infancy, he, on ſeveral occaſions, gave proofs of an extraordinary loftineſs of ſentiment. Being one day aſked by his friends, whether he would not chooſe to contend in the foot races at the Olympic games (for he was extremely ſwift of foot) he anſwered, that he would, *if kings were to be his competitors.* On receiving the news of a city being taken, or a battle won by his father, ſo far from diſcovering any ſigns of joy, he uſed to appear melancholy and diſconſolate. "My friends, would he ſay, my father will "accompliſh every thing, and will leave nothing at "all for me to do."

In every branch of learning that it was thought neceſſary to teach him, he made aſtoniſhing progreſs. We have told already, that Philip gave him for preceptor the famous Ariſtotle. Alexander conceived as high an eſteem for that illuſtrious philoſopher, as Philip entertained

tertained for him. He went farther, and even honoured him as a father, ſaying, that his natural father had given him exiſtence, but that this ſecond father had taught him to make the proper uſe of his exiſtence. Under ſuch a maſter, the happy genius of Alexander made the moſt rapid progreſs, and ſoon imbibed the principles of the whole circle of philoſophy. Ariſtotle principally applied himſelf to form the judgement of his pupil, to enable him, by proper rules, to diſtinguiſh between juſt reaſoning and ſophiſtry, and to make him minutely acquainted with every branch of morals, which he regarded as the only foundation of prudence and wiſdom. In teaching him rhetoric, he took pains to ſhew what ſpecies of eloquence is moſt becoming of a ſovereign prince; that it ought to abound leſs with figures than with ſenſe; that it ought to be ſtrong and nervous, rather than florid; and to reſt more on facts than on words.

Alexander was particularly fond of Homer, whoſe works he regarded as the nobleſt productions of human genius. In them he was delighted to diſcover ſentiments worthy of a king, and of a conqueror; on account, no doubt, of their conſonancy with thoſe that now began to glow in his own breaſt; perceiving there inſtances of that valour and magnanimity with which he himſelf was animated. It is well known, that after the battle of Arbela, he ordered a moſt valuable golden box that had belonged to Darius, to be ſet apart for holding the books of Homer. Plutarch tells us, that he loved to read and to converſe with men of learning, two admirable ſources of happineſs to a prince, and not only capable of preſerving him from numberleſs misfortunes, but of inſtructing him in the art of reigning. On the fine arts, ſuch as muſic, painting, and ſculpture, he beſtowed but a curſory attention, ſufficient to give him an idea of their value and uſe; which, in ſuch matters, is all that a prince ought to know. He was of an active impetuous diſpoſition, and very tenacious of his opinion. He very early became the moſt expert horſeman

horſeman in his father's court; and was the only perſon who dared to back the famous Bucephalus, a very fine horſe, ſent as a preſent to Philip, but ſo fiery and high-mettled, that they deſpaired to be able to break him. It was on this occaſion that Philip, ſeeing Alexander returning from finiſhing the courſe, in which he had backed this ungovernable horſe, cried out to him in a rapture, "Seek, my ſoon, another kingdom, Mace-"donia is not worthy to contain you." It is ſaid, that this horſe would afterwards ſuffer no perſon but Alexander to mount him; that he leaned down on his knees to receive him on his back; that after being mortally wounded in the battle againſt Porus, he ſaved the life of Alexander, by carrying him through the crowd of enemies that ſurrounded him, and then expired; that Alexander ſhed tears for his death; and, in memory of him, built on the banks of the Hydaſpis a city, which he called after him Bucephalia.

Alexander mounted the throne of Macedonia at the age of twenty years; and in the ſame year that Darius Codomannus mounted that of Perſia. After performing the ceremonies of his father's funeral, Alexander applied his attention to ſecure the conqueſts of Philip over the neighbouring nations, which at preſent were far from being in a ſettled condition. In Greece, particularly, though Philip had awed the ſtates into ſubmiſſion by the terror of his arms; yet their minds were far from being reconciled to his authority. The conjuncture was very delicate. The queſtion was, whether he ſhould endeavour to preſerve thoſe conqueſts by mildneſs and moderation, or by the force of arms. Alexander quickly formed his reſolution, hearkening alone to the dictates of his courage.

To quell the commotions that had already broken out among ſome of the barbarous nations who had taken arms, he haſtily led his army towards the Danube, paſſed that river in the night, and defeated the Triballi in a great battle. About the ſame time, the ſtates of Greece formed a confederacy againſt him; and a rumour ha-

ving ariſen that he was killed, the Thebans made an inſurrection, and cut in pieces the Macedonian garriſon that held their city in ſubjection. At Athens, too, Demoſthenes put all in motion, calling Alexander (of whoſe real character he was yet ignorant) a giddy young man; and he wrote letters to Attalus, one of Philip's generals in Aſia Minor, adviſing him to revolt. Alexander, already ſuſpicious of the fidelity of Attalus, although he had tranſmitted to him thoſe treaſonable letters of Demoſthenes, thought it neceſſary to have him taken off.

After making the Barbarians ſenſible of his merit, he reſolved to proceed to Greece. "It is proper," ſaid he, "to ſhew Demoſthenes at the gates of Athens, that "I am every way a man." He advanced, therefore, towards the paſs of Thermopylæ, paſſed it without reſiſtance, entered Bœotia, required of the Thebans to deliver up to him Phænix and Prothentes, the authors of their inſurrection; and, on their refuſal to comply with his demand, immediately attacked them. The Thebans fought with great bravery and obſtinacy; but being much inferior to the Macedonians in point of numbers, were at laſt broken, and almoſt all cut off. More than 6000 men were killed on the ſpot. Thebes was taken, and treated with all the rigour of war. Alexander, perſonally incenſed againſt the Thebans for the extravagant joy they had teſtified at the news of his death, reſolved to ſatisfy his vengeance, by the utter deſtruction of their unhappy city. He ſold more than 30,000 of the inhabitants for ſlaves, and permitted none to enjoy their liberty except the prieſts, and the deſcendents of the celebrated poet Pindar.

The total ruin of Thebes, and the ſeverity of Alexander to its miſerable inhabitants, threw the other ſtates into the utmoſt conſternation. Every thing gave way to him; and even the Athenians, with Demoſthenes himſelf, implored the mercy of the conqueror by a ſolemn deputation. Alexander, however, diſpatched meſſengers to the Athenians, inſiſting on their delivering

up to him ten of the orators, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in forming the late confederacy againſt him. The orator Demades, a particular favourite of Alexander, undertook to ſoften him. The Macedonian having already ſatisfied his reſentment by the ruin of the Thebans, and being unwilling to be detained from the execution of the great deſign he was meditating, gave a favourable hearing to Demades, inſiſted on the baniſhment of Charidemus alone, frankly forgave the Athenians, and exhorted them to watch over the affairs of Greece during his abſence. Then he aſſembled all the ſtates at Corinth, and procured himſelf to be ſolemnly elected commander in chief of the Greeks againſt Perſia.

So grand an undertaking, calculated to dethrone the ſovereign of the eaſt, and to produce the greateſt revolution, ſo far as we know, that ever happened on our earth, required a conductor of the moſt extenſive genius, intrepid, enterpriſing, incapable of being ſtopped by any obſtacle, and endued with the greateſt talents of every kind.—Such a man was Alexander.—It is, at the ſame time, true, that he found the Greeks ſtill actuated by their inveterate hatred of the Perſians, whom to ſubdue, was the moſt ardent deſire of their ſouls. It is likewiſe true, that, however otherwiſe corrupted, they ſtill maintained their ſuperiority in arms over the Perſians. The famous retreat of the 10,000 Greeks was yet freſh in every body's remembrance; as were the exploits of Ageſilaus, who with a handful of men had made the great king to tremble on his throne. The bravery of the Macedonian troops was univerſally known.

It was at the time of this ſolemn aſſembly of the ſtates of Greece at Corinth, that Alexander, ſurpriſed at not receiving a viſit from the famous Diogenes, as he had done from all the other eminent philoſophers, reſolved to pay that Cynic a viſit. Finding Diogenes baſking in the ſun, and in a ſituation that indicated extreme poverty, Alexander aſked him, whether he wanted any thing. "Yes," anſwered Diogenes, "I want you to remove from between

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"me and the ſun-beams."—This anſwer raiſed the indignation of the courtiers, but attracted the admiration of Alexander, who declared, that if he were not Alexander, he would chuſe to be Diogenes: as if he had ſaid, "Were I not deſtined to be the maſter of the "world, I ſhould, like Diogenes, give myſelf no con-"cern about any thing in the world."

Alexander, before ſetting off for Aſia, went to Delphos, to conſult the prieſteſs of Apollo. But the prieſteſs having refuſed to go to the temple, becauſe the day happened to be one of thoſe called inauſpicious, on which ſhe was prohibited from conſulting the god, Alexander is ſaid to have laid hold of her by the arm, to force her to go thither; whereupon the prieſteſs having cried out, "O, my "ſon, it is impoſſible to reſiſt you," Alexander took theſe words for the reſponſe; and, without requiring any other, returned to Macedonia; where, after making the neceſſary preparations for his departure, offering a ſolemn ſacrifice, and celebrating public games, he gave a grand entertainment to all the princes of the blood, and general officers, at which there were no fewer than 200 tables.

Alexander having appointed Antipater governor of Macedonia during his abſence, diſtributed in preſents and largeſſes among his friends almoſt all the domains belonging to the crown, beſtowing a portion of land on one, a town on another, royal privileges and exemptions on a third; ſenſible that a prince ſhould exerciſe his power chiefly in doing good.—It is however probable, that this apparent generoſity proceeded in a great meaſure from ſome political view.

Alexander ſet out for Aſia in the beginning of ſpring, at the head of an army of 30,000 foot, 334. and 5000 horſe. Moſt of his officers were men, who having grown old in the ſervice of Philip, were thoroughly experienced in the art of war; and his ſoldiers were all veterans, and perfectly acquainted with diſcipline. Parmenio commanded the foot, as did his

ſon Philotas a part of the horſe. Alexander marched directly to the Helleſpont, which he paſſed with 160 gallies, and ſeveral ſmaller veſſels; conducting, with his own hand, the galley wherein he ſailed himſelf.

His treaſury was very inadequate to ſo great an undertaking. But both Alexander and his officers were firmly perſuaded that they were marching rather to certain conqueſt, than to attempt a doubtful expedition. Alexander was the firſt of his army that jumped on Aſiatic ground. Arriving at Ilium, he reſolved to celebrate public games to the memory of Achilles; which he cauſed to be performed accordingly around that hero's tomb. On that occaſion, he expreſſed his envy of the good fortune of Achilles, in having found a faithful friend while he lived, and after his death a Homer to immortalize his exploits.

When he arrived at the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio adviſed to halt a little, that the troops might have ſome time to repoſe themſelves. But Alexander's eagerneſs to proceed, prevented his complying with this advice; for he ſaid, it was proper to take advantage of the terror which the news of his arrival had created among the Perſians. His courage was rather animated than depreſſed at the view of the vaſt army which waited for him on the oppoſite ſide of the river; and which amounted to upwards of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horſe, under the command of Memnon the Rhodian, a very ſkilful general.

Alexander placing himſelf at the head of the right wing of his army, plunged into the river, and was followed by all his troops. The Perſians, ſeeing the Macedonians advancing, aſſailed them with a ſhower of darts. Both armies come at laſt to the charge. The Macedonians, fighting under the double diſadvantage of inferiority in point of numbers, and the worſt ground, give way a little at firſt. Alexander encourages them by his preſence, deals death with every ſtroke, and bears down all before him. He charges the Perſian cavalry, which make a brave reſiſtance. He engages Spithrobates,

throbates, the ſon-in-law of Darius, and transfixes him with a lance. Here Clitus, who fought by Alexander's ſide, ſaved his life, by intercepting the ſtroke of a battle-axe that was aimed at him. The Macedonians ſeeing the danger that threatens their king, redouble their efforts, and at laſt put the Perſian cavalry to flight. Then Alexander charges the enemy's infantry with his Macedonian phalanx, which had by this time paſſed the river. The Perſians, confounded at the boldneſs of the Macedonians, make but a feeble reſiſtance, and are quickly routed. No part of the Perſian army now kept its ground, except a body of Grecian infantry engaged in the ſervice of Darius. Theſe finding themſelves deſerted by the Perſians, and their retreat cut off by the Macedonians, began a moſt obſtinate engagement; and being all brave well-diſciplined veterans, they fought with the moſt deſperate obſtinacy, and were all killed on the ſpot except 2000, who were made priſoners. The Perſians, in this battle, loſt 20,000 foot, and 2500 horſe. The loſs of Alexander was only about 200 men, among whom were twenty-five horſemen of the royal guard, to whoſe memory Alexander ordered ſtatues to be erected. He ſhowed the utmoſt attention to the wounded, going himſelf to ſee them dreſſed. He ordered all the Greek priſoners to be conveyed to Macedonia, and ſent to the Athenians 300 Perſian bucklers, as a token of his victory.

This victory was a happy prelude to thoſe that were to follow, and ſerved to propagate the terror of the Macedonian arms. Sardis, the key of Upper Aſia, opened its gates to the conqueror. Epheſus followed the example; and Alexander there offered ſacrifices to Diana. Trallis and Magneſia, in like manner, ſent him their keys. Miletus alone, where the brave Memnon had taken refuge, reſolved to ſtand a ſiege, and made a long reſiſtance; but upon the Macedonians attempting an aſſault, after having made ſeveral breaches in the walls, the garriſon thought proper to capitulate.

Alexander, to deprive his troops of all hopes of return,

turn, unleſs victorious, ordered his fleet to be deſtroyed; reſerving only a few ſhips for tranſporting ſuch engines as might be neceſſary in the courſe of the expedition. He next marched towards Halicarnaſſus, to which he laid ſiege. The inhabitants, commanded by Memnon, made ſo very long and vigorous a reſiſtance, that a man of leſs obſtinacy and reſolution than Alexander would have been wearied out, and have abandoned the enterpriſe. But he perſiſted, and at laſt prevailed. Memnon, however, made his eſcape by ſea, with the greater part of the inhabitants, and the riches of the town.

Upon this, ſeveral princes of Aſia Minor ſubmitted to Alexander, and acknowledged him for their ſuperior and ſovereign; and, among the reſt, Mithridates king of Pontus, who, reſolving to follow the fortunes of Alexander, accompanied him in all his future expeditions. Alexander ſpent the winter in the province of Mithridates; but took the field early in the ſpring, and paſſed a narrow defile on the ſea-coaſt, that forms the communication between Syria and Pamphylia. This defile happening then to be in a great meaſure covered by the ſea, Alexander's ſoldiers were obliged to march a whole day in the water.

It was about this time that he diſcovered a conſpiracy againſt his life. Alexander, the ſon of Eropus, general of his cavalry, was the principal author of this conſpiracy, which he was induced to undertake by a promiſe of 1000 talents of gold by Darius. The traitor was immediately put to death. Alexander arriving in Phrygia, took Celené after ſome reſiſtance. From thence he proceeded to Gordion, where he deſired to ſee the chariot to which was tied the famous Gordian knot; as to which, according to tradition, ſome oracle had declared, that he who looſed it ſhould arrive at the empire of Aſia. Alexander, after trying in vain to untie it, cut it in pieces with his ſword, ſaying, That the manner of looſing it was of no importance, provided the thing were accompliſhed.

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In the mean time, Memnon the Rhodian, the beſt general that Darius had, adviſed that king to carry the war into Macedonia, by which means he could make ſuch a diverſion as ſhould lay Alexander under the neceſſity of returning to Europe, to defend his own dominions. Darius approved of the advice, and gave Memnon the command of a fleet for putting it in execution. Memnon thereupon reduced Chios and Leſbos, but died as he was beſieging Mytilene. Darius was extremely ſorry for the loſs of that general; and having now no other commander capable of ſupplying his place, he was obliged to take the command of his armies himſelf.

Alexander thus freed of Memnon, whoſe abilities might have thrown great obſtacles in the way of his projects, in a little time ſubdued Cappadocia, advanced towards the Higher Aſia, and arrived at the paſs of Cilicia, by which alone he could penetrate into the country of Tarſus. On this occaſion, he was highly favoured by his good fortune; for though his army might have been long ſtopped and perhaps defeated at this paſs, which was very narrow; yet he found it quite unguarded, paſſed it without oppoſition, and arrived at Tarſus in time enough to prevent that very rich town from being burnt by the Perſians.

It was now about the end of ſummer, and the weather was violently hot. Alexander, ſtruck 333.
with the clearneſs of the waters of the river Cydnus, which waſhes that city, reſolved to bathe in it. But he had hardly entered the water, when he was ſeized with an exceſſive chilneſs. Thoſe that were with him inſtantly conveyed him to his tent in a ſtate of utter inſenſibility. The news of this accident filled the camp with the higheſt conſternation; and the ſoldiers began to figure to themſelves the numberleſs misfortunes to which the death of their prince ſhould expoſe them. Alexander, in the mean time, recovering his ſenſes, perceived the whole danger of his diſeaſe. We may eaſily figure to ourſelves the violent agitation of his mind,

mind, thus to find himſelf ſtopped in the very entry of his career, and almoſt on the point of ending his days in ſo unhappy and obſcure a manner. He fancied he already heard the noiſe of the Perſian army; and not ſo deſirous of life as of glory, commanded his phyſicians to adminiſter the moſt ſpeedy remedies.

But the phyſicians, conſidering that Darius had promiſed a reward of 1000 talents to any perſon who would rid him of Alexander, dreaded to apply any remedy, and, by that means, to render themſelves reſponſible for his life; leſt, in caſe of his death, they might be ſuſpected of having been the cauſe of it. But one of them, named *Philip*, who had been about the perſon of Alexander from his infancy, and entertained a ſtrong affection for him, ſeeing his beloved maſter in ſuch extremity, deſpiſed all danger, and propoſed to give him a draught that ſhould quickly procure him relief. But, in the mean time, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, whom he had left behind him in Cappadocia, counſelling him to beware of Philip, whom Darius had corrupted by a promiſe of 1000 talents. How great muſt have been the perplexity of Alexander on this trying occaſion, diſtracted between fear and hope, racked by ſuſpicion on one ſide, and encouraged by his confidence in Philip on the other! His diſtruſt at laſt gave way to his confidence in Philip; and taking the draught prepared for him in one hand, he, with the other, gave Parmenio's letter to Philip; and, looking ſtedfaſtly at the phyſician's countenance, drank out the potion without heſitation, or the appearance of any uneaſineſs; but, at the ſame time, he perceived in Philip's face evident marks of honeſt indignation. The phyſician, after reading the letter, ſaid no more, than that the recovery of his king would ſoon wipe off all ſuſpicion of the ſhocking crime laid to his charge; and he intreated Alexander not to prevent the effects of his preſcription, by giving way to anxious inquietudes. The remedy, in the mean time, began to operate, but not without occaſioning very ſevere effects on the king; which, for

ſome time, held the minds of thoſe preſent in painful ſuſpence. But a ſpeedy cure ſoon diſpelled all their fears, and reſtored the king, in perfect health, to the eyes of his deſponding ſoldiers, who, at the ſight, paſſed from the loweſt dejection to the higheſt joy.

Darius, in the mean time, who lay encamped on the plains of Aſſyria with an army of between 400,000 and 500,000 men, reſolved to go in queſt of his enemy, inſtead of waiting for him. That monarch, accuſtomed to the extravagant flattery of his ſatraps, who aſſured him of a certain victory, aſked Charidemus, the Athenian orator, whoſe baniſhment from his native country had been procured by Alexander, as already mentioned, whether he believed the Perſian army to be powerful enough to conquer that of the preſumptuous Macedonian. Charidemus, incapable of flattery or diſſimulation, anſwered, with the honeſt freedom of a republican, that all the pompous and magnificent warlike preparations of the Perſian army, and their prodigious number of men, might indeed terrify and confound the neighbouring powers of the Perſian monarchy, but would make no ſuch impreſſion on the Macedonian army, which was all covered with ſteel: That the Macedonian phalanx was an impenetrable bulwark; that all their ſoldiers were inured to war, were thoroughly diſciplined, and were ſatisfied with the plaineſt food; that the Theſſalian horſemen were not to be repulſed by ſlings; and that all the gold and ſilver, of which the Perſian camp diſplayed ſuch a vain parade, might be much more uſefully employed in hiring good troops.

To ſpeak ſo honeſtly and plainly to a prince corrupted by flattery, and who regards himſelf as the moſt powerful monarch in the world, is highly dangerous. Charidemus experienced to his coſt the truth of this maxim; for Darius, though naturally of a mild and gentle diſpoſition, was ſo provoked at the bluntneſs of the Athenian, that he ordered him to be put to death. But that awful proſpect by no means altered the tone of Charidemus; who, as Quintus Curtius tells us, when led to

execution, cried out, "My death ſhall be quickly a-
"venged, even by the very man againſt whom I have
"given my beſt advice. But you ſhall furniſh an ex-
"ample to poſterity, that when men once allow them-
"ſelves to be dazzled by proſperity, all the good qua-
"lities beſtowed by nature are quickly eradicated."

Darius repented, when too late, of having put Charidemus to death. In the mean time, he advanced with his army towards the Euphrates, never beginning his march in the morning till after ſun-riſe. Quintus Curtius has given us a deſcription of the march, or rather of the royal proceſſion immediately about the perſon of the Perſian monarch, whereof the ſubſtance follows.

Altars of ſilver with the fire called *eternal*; 365 young boys clothed in purple robes: the chariot of Jupiter drawn by white horſes: ten chariots: a body of cavalry compoſed of men of twelve different nations: another body of cavalry called *the immortal*, amounting to 10,000, dreſſed in robes of cloth of gold: the relations of the king, to the number of 10,000, moſt ſumptuouſly dreſſed: the Doriphori, or body guards of the king: the chariot of the king, adorned with images of the gods, and two ſtatues, one of war, the other of peace, placed in the middle of the yoke, and ſet off with precious ſtones; between theſe ſtatues was an eagle of gold with his wings extended: The king appeared on this chariot, dreſſed in the higheſt magnificence, begirt with a belt of gold, whence depended his ſcymitar, having his head adorned with a tiara ſurmounted with a crown of blue and white: on each ſide of him marched 200 of his relations: he was followed by 10,000 pike men. His rear was compoſed of 30,000 foot: then came a chariot, carrying Syſigambis, the mother of Darius, accompanied by his wife: fifteen large chariots, bearing the king's children, with their governors and eunuchs; and his concubines, to the number of 360: 600 mules, and 300 waggons loaded with money: The wives of the officers of ſtate all mounted on chariots: The proceſſion was cloſed by companies

companies of light-armed troops. One ſhould be inclined to think the deſcription of this march a mere fable; it appears ſo ridiculous and abſurd to take the field with all this pomp, of which three fourth parts were totally uſeleſs for every purpoſe of war.

Parmenio had already, by the direction of Alexander, taken poſſeſſion of the paſs between Syria and Cilicia, to ſecure a retreat to his troops in caſe of neceſſity, and he had likewiſe taken poſſeſſion of the ſmall city of Iſſus. Alexander hearing that Darius was encamped at Soca in Aſſyria, marched directly againſt him, paſſed the defile of Syria, and took poſt near the city of Myriandra. The Greek commanders, in the ſervice of Darius, adviſed that monarch to wait for the enemy in the plains of Aſſyria, where he might avail himſelf of all his ſtrength. This prudent advice was by the courtiers accounted traiterous; who, therefore, were of opinion, that thoſe Greeks, together with their men, ought to be immediately cut in pieces. But Darius rejected this propoſal with horror; and after thanking the Greeks for their advice, ſet forward to meet his enemy. — Darius directed his march towards Cilicia, entering into that country by the paſs of Ammanicus, which lies above that of Syria, and then advanced towards Iſſus, without knowing that he was in the rear of Alexander. Intelligence being brought him, that the Macedonian was flying, he thought he had no more ado but to go in purſuit of him.

Alexander hearing of the ſituation of Darius's army, was overjoyed at the thoughts of engaging in ſo narrow and unequal a ſpot, where he had room enough to bring all his forces into action, while, on the other hand, Darius could not make uſe of the twentieth part of his. He felt, however, ſome anxiety at being on the eve of coming to ſo important an action; but his natural intrepidity quickly got the better of all his apprehenſions. After cauſing his troops to refreſh themſelves, and offering up a ſolemn ſacrifice to the gods, he gave orders at midnight for marching, 333.

and brought his army by day-break to the ſtation he intended to occupy. Hearing that Darius was within a league and a half of him, he immediately ranged his troops in battle order. The ſpot whereon they were drawn up was a fine plain in the neighbourhood of the river Iſſus, confined by mountains on one ſide, and by the ſea on the other. He diſpoſed his cavalry on the wings; and formed the phalanx into ſix diviſions.—— Craterus commanded the infantry on the extremity of the left wing; Parmenio the reſt of that wing; and Alexander himſelf the right wing.—His cavalry was covered by his light horſe, and his infantry by a body of archers under Antiochus.

Darius placed in the center of his firſt line 30,000 Greeks who were in his ſervice, and being all completely armed and diſciplined after the Grecian manner, formed the main ſtrength of his army. The reſt of his infantry were drawn up behind the firſt line, except 20,000 who were poſted on the mountain on the right of the Macedonians. His cavalry was ordered to croſs the river Pinarus which ran through the middle of the plain; and then a large detachment of them puſhed on towards Parmenio. Alexander obſerving this motion of the Perſian cavalry, altered his former diſpoſition a little, commanded the Theſſalian cavalry to occupy the poſt at which the Perſian cavalry ſeemed to aim, and ſtationed his light armed troops in front of his infantry.

The main bodies of both armies coming at laſt in view of each other, Alexander rode through his ranks and exhorted his ſoldiers to do their duty, reminding the Macedonians of their repeated victories in Europe, and of their recent and moſt glorious ſucceſs at the Granicus, and aſſuring them, that a ſingle victory ſhould render them maſters of the empire of Perſia; exhorting the Greeks to recall to their remembrance the heroic behaviour of their anceſtors at Marathon, Thermopylæ, and Salamis, and the miſeries brought upon their country by the Perſians; and animating the Illyrians and Thracians with the hopes of the immenſe plunder the Perſian army, if beaten, ſhould afford them,

them. The whole army called aloud to be led on to the engagement.

The right wing of the Macedonians, to avoid as much as poſſible the ſhowers of darts poured upon them by the Perſians, plunged immediately into the river, and advanced to the charge. The ſhock was extremely violent, and they fought man to man. Alexander was very deſirous of having the honour to kill Darius with his own hand; and the ſight of that monarch conſpicuouſly mounted on his ſuperb chariot, redoubled this deſire in the Macedonian hero, who inſtantly puſhed forward, and exerted his utmoſt efforts to reach him. The battle round the king becomes very deſperate, and a great number of Perſian noblemen are killed fighting bravely. The horſes of Darius being wounded, rear and break looſe from the yoke. Darius jumps from that chariot, mounts another, flies, and is followed by the whole right wing of his army. On the other hand, the reſt of the Macedonian army being attacked in flank by the Greek troops, as warlike and well diſciplined as themſelves, had occaſion for all their bravery to ſupport the charge. The battle between them was very bloody and doubtful. But the Macedonian right wing, now victorious, flies to the aſſiſtance of their left, attacks the Greeks in flank, and obliges them to give way. At the ſame time the Perſian had charged the Theſſalian cavalry, and had at firſt broken through ſeveral ſquadrons.—The Theſſalians affecting to take flight, as if ſtruck with a panic, the Perſians purſue them in great diſorder; but the Theſſalians rallying all of a ſudden, renew the engagement. Intelligence arriving, in the mean time, that Darius had fled, the Perſian horſemen are diſcouraged, betake themſelves to flight, and a great number of them are cut off in the retreat. The rout is now general: 8000 Greeks make good their eſcape, and retire towards Leſbos. The barbarians take different roads; ſome fly towards Perſia; ſome take refuge in the woods. The Macedonians, in the mean time, poſſeſs themſelves of Darius's camp, where they find his

mother

mother and his wife, together with two princeſſes and a ſon, his infant children.—The Perſians loſt a vaſt number of men in this battle, while the loſs on the ſide of the Macedonians was very inconſiderable. Alexander himſelf was wounded in the thigh by a ſword. But the wound was attended with no dangerous conſequences.

Alexander weary of purſuing Darius, returned to the Perſian camp, where he gave a grand entertainment to his principal officers. In the mean time, the noiſe of crying and mourning reaches their ears. This proceeded from the mother and wife of Darius, who were made priſoners, and on ſeeing Darius's chariot and bow, which Alexander had taken in the purſuit, imagined Darius was killed, and were bewailing his death in the moſt diſconſolate manner. Alexander, moved with their misfortune, ſent Leonatus, one of his officers, to aſſure them that Darius was alive. But the women ſeeing Leonatus enter, imagined he was ſent to put them to death, and intreated to have permiſſion before their execution, to bury the body of Darius. Leonatus ſoon made them ſenſible of their miſtake, and aſſured them of an honourable protection from Alexander. That prince, after viſiting the wounded, and ſeeing the dead buried, teſtified great joy to his officers on account of his victory; beſtowed the higheſt commendations on their bravery, and loaded them with preſents. Then he went to pay a viſit to Syſigambis and the other princeſſes, and entered their tent with no other attendant but his favourite Epheſtion.

This interview was extremely moving, and exhibited thoſe diſtinguiſhed characters in a point of view ſo very affecting, and from their ſituation ſo peculiarly intereſting, that the greateſt painters have exerted their utmoſt ſkill to eternize the ſcene, with the moſt elegant touches of the pencil. Epheſtion being of the ſame age with Alexander, and of a more advantageous ſtature, was miſtaken for the king by the ladies, who accordingly threw themſelves at his feet. Syſigambis, on being informed

formed of her miſtake, proſtrated herſelf before Alexander, and excuſed herſelf becauſe ſhe had never ſeen him before. But Alexander raiſing her from the ground, "My dear mother, (ſaid he), you are not miſtaken, "for he is likewiſe Alexander," a noble expreſſion, as honourable for the prince as for the favourite.—Syſigambis, amidſt all her grief, expreſſed the higheſt gratitude for the favours and obliging attention he had ſhewn them; and Alexander took the ſon of Darius in his arms, and careſſed him very fondly. Here the real heroiſm and virtue of Alexander ſhone forth in full ſplendor; for he appeared to be maſter of himſelf on an occaſion when the greateſt heroes and conquerors have failed. He gave orders to treat the princeſſes with all the reſpect due to their rank, making his camp as ſacred an aſylum for their virtue as any temple; nor would he afterwards truſt himſelf in the preſence of Darius's Queen who was a woman of ſingular beauty. To underſtand the full extent of his magnanimity on this occaſion, we muſt remember that Alexander was then in the full bloom of youth, unmarried, and a conqueror. But far from attempting to derive any ungenerous advantage from his victory, he ſtudied to alleviate the misfortunes of his illuſtrious captives by the moſt polite attention, and the moſt reſpectful kindneſs and indulgence.

Parmenio having, in the mean time, marched to Damaſcus, received from the governor of that city all the treaſures depoſited there by Darius, for defraying the expences of his warlike expeditions, together with the equipages of many Perſian lords, the whole amounting to an immenſe value. The Macedonians likewiſe found in that city ſeveral princeſſes of the royal blood of Perſia, with a great number of the wives of the ſatraps, and a multitude of officers belonging to the houſhold of Darius.

Darius continued to fly with the utmoſt precipitation through many deſart provinces, till he croſſed the Euphrates, and arrived at Thapſacus. Alexander in the mean

mean time entered Syria, where moſt of the cities voluntarily opened their gates to him. In one of theſe cities that prince received a letter from Darius, couched in ſuch haughty terms as but ill became his preſent ſituation. Without giving Alexander the title of king, he offered him any ſum of money he ſhould demand, as the ranſom of his mother, his wife, and children; and counſelled him to reſt ſatisfied with the dominions of his anceſtors, and not to perſiſt in his attempt to uſurp the kingdom of another. Alexander returned an anſwer in the ſame ſtrain. He enumerated the misfortunes brought on Greece by the Perſians. He reproached them with having ſuborned aſſaſſins to murder his father Philip; and upbraided Darius with having himſelf followed that villanous example, by offering a reward of 1000 talents to any perſon who ſhould kill him, Alexander: he therefore concluded, that he was not the aggreſſor. He intimated however to Darius, that on his applying to him in a ſuppliant manner, he ſhould receive his mother and wife without any ranſom; and concluded, by deſiring him to remember, when he wrote to him next, that he not only wrote to a king, but to *his own king*.

Upon Alexander's arrival in Phenicia, the Sidonians paid him their homage with great pleaſure, becauſe, eighteen years before, Ochus had deſtroyed their city, and cut off moſt of the inhabitants. Their king, Strato, having declared for Darius, was deprived of the crown by Alexander, who deſired Ephæſtion to pitch on any of the Sidonians whom he thought moſt worthy of ſucceeding to that dignity. Ephæſtion accordingly offered the ſceptre to two young men, who were brothers, and in whoſe houſe he happened to lodge. But they generouſly declined the honour, becauſe they were not of the royal blood. Ephæſtion ſtruck with admiration at their magnanimity, begged of them to inform him of any perſon who had that advantage. They thereupon named Abdolonymus, whoſe generoſity and integrity had reduced him to ſuch poverty, that he was

obliged to cultivate his garden with his own hands for his ſubſiſtence. The young men were deſired to find him, and to acquaint him with his good fortune. Having accordingly gone to him, they ſaluted him as king, and told him, that he muſt throw aſide the wretched apparel he then was wearing, and put on the royal robe they had brought him. It was with great difficulty that they convinced him they were not jeſting. "Aſſume," ſaid they, "with theſe royal robes the ſentiments of a "king, preſerve on the throne that virtue which has "made you worthy of it; and when you ſhall preſide "there as the arbiter of life and death, forget not the "ſituation from which you were exalted to that im-"portant dignity."

All the inhabitants of Sidon were overjoyed at hearing on whom the choice had fallen. Alexander deſired to ſee the new king; and having aſked him, whether he had been able to ſupport with patience his former ſituation? "Would to heaven," anſwered Abdolonymus, "I may be able to ſupport with equal reſolu-"tion the crown you have been pleaſed to place on "my head." Alexander conceived a high opinion of the virtue of Abdolonymus, and ordered all the furniture and rich effects of the late king Strato to be given to him.

The only city in Phenicia which did not acknowledge its dependence on the Macedonians was Tyre, accounted, even before the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, the moſt flouriſhing city in the world. Its advantageous ſituation, the induſtry of its inhabitants, the ſuperior excellence of its purple, and other commodities, rendered it the center of commerce, the richeſt city of the eaſt, and the miſtreſs of the ſea.

The Tyrians were deſirous of making Alexander their friend, but did not chuſe to make him their maſter; and therefore on his offering to enter their city, they ſhut the gates againſt him. Incenſed at this affront, Alexander reſolved to take vengeance on them, by laying ſiege to their city. This undertaking 332.

carried with it the appearance of extreme difficulty, the city being ſituated in an iſland, at the diſtance of a quarter of a league from the continent, and likewiſe very ſtrongly fortified, and the Tyrians being firmly reſolved to make an obſtinate reſiſtance. It was however of great importance to Alexander to get poſſeſſion of Tyre, as by that means he ſhould command all Phenicia, ſhould deprive the Perſians of one half of their naval ſtrength, become ſovereign at ſea, and ſo reduce in a little time both Egypt and the iſland of Cyprus. Beſides theſe motives in point of expediency, Alexander was of a diſpoſition that could brook no reſiſtance; and difficulties ſerved only to render him more obſtinate. Perceiving, however, that it would be neceſſary to conſtruct between the continent and the iſland a paſſage of earth or mound, which, at the ſame time that it muſt be a tedious and laborious work, might after all be ſweeped away by the violence of the waves; and that the obſtacles of every kind were ſo great, as that they might detain him too long from the proſecution of his other enterpriſes, Alexander thought it adviſeable to attempt an accommodation, and therefore ſent heralds to offer terms of peace to the Tyrians. But inſtead of liſtening to his propoſals, the preſumptuous citizens killed the heralds, and threw their bodies from the top of the walls into the ſea. Alexander, tranſported with rage at this inſult, determined to undertake the ſiege, whatever it might coſt him.

As a circumſtantial detail of the particulars of this famous ſiege would require more room than the nature of the preſent work will admit of, we ſhall confine ourſelves to the moſt remarkable circumſtances attending it.

Alexander, in the firſt place, ordered a foundation to be laid for raiſing a mound to communicate between the continent and the iſland. This work was attended with incredible labour, and the Tyrians exerted their utmoſt efforts to impede its execution. At laſt, however, when it drew towards a cloſe, a violent tempeſt ariſing, overthrew by the force of the waves the effect of all their labours. This unfortunate accident, capable of

diſcouraging

diſcouraging any other man than Alexander, had no ſuch effect upon him, nor upon his ſoldiers, who recommenced their labours with wonderful alacrity.

In the mean time the news of his victory at Iſſus brought to his aſſiſtance a vaſt number of gallies from different quarters. Sidon, Rhodes, Cyprus, and ſeveral maritime cities in Lycia, contributed each its quota; and when to theſe ſupplies were joined the remains of his own fleet, he appeared before Tyre with upwards of 200 gallies. The Tyrians now finding the Macedonians ſuperior to them in naval ſtrength, durſt no more venture out of their harbour; ſo that the latter proſecuted their work unmoleſted, and ſoon finiſhed the mole. Warlike engines were quickly erected on it; and Alexander ordered his fleet to attack the city from the ſea, while he inveſted it from the mole. The beſieged were overwhelmed with ſhowers of ſtones, and the walls of their city were inceſſantly battered by all ſorts of engines. The Tyrians finding themſelves thus vigorouſly attacked, ſent away moſt of their women and children to Carthage, but ſtill continued to defend themſelves with wonderful obſtinacy, and every day put in practice ſome new invention to fruſtrate the attempts of the beſiegers, in ſo much, that Alexander deliberated more than once about raiſing the ſiege. A ſea-fight at laſt enſues, wherein the Tyrians are defeated, and many of their ſhips ſunk. Alexander takes advantage of the conſternation produced among the beſieged by this defeat, to give a general aſſault. Both the attack and defence were moſt deſperate. The battering rams make breaches in ſeveral parts of the wall: The Macedonians inſtantly ruſh forward by thoſe breaches: Alexander expoſes himſelf to the moſt imminent danger, performs prodigies of valour, and by his example encourages his ſoldiers: The Macedonians at laſt get poſſeſſion of the ramparts: The Tyrians fly on all ſides, are put to the ſword without diſtinction, and moſt of them are ſacrificed to the fury of the conquerors *.

The

* In the courſe of the ſiege Alexander having made an incur-

The Sidonians, compaſſionating the miſeries of the unhappy Tyrians, ſave the lives of more than 15,000 of them, by conveying them privately aboard their ſhips. Alexander, exaſperated to the higheſt degree by the length and obſtinacy of the ſiege, crucified 2000 of the Tyrians along the ſea-ſhore, and ſold for ſlaves upwards of 30,000 of them, whom he had made priſoners. Thus was taken the famous city of Tyre, after a ſiege of ſeven months duration, and one of the moſt memorable recorded in hiſtory.

At this ſiege Alexander was wounded in the ſhoulder. Darius, in the mean time, ſent Alexander another letter offering him 1000 talents, as the ranſom of the princeſſes, with his daughter Statira in marriage, together with all the provinces he had conquered, as far as the Euphrates. Parmenio was of opinion, that Alexander ought to accept of theſe terms, declaring, that if he were in Alexander's place, he would accept of them himſelf: "And ſo would I," anſwered Alexander, "were I Parmenio." He therefore informed Darius, that he had no occaſion for his money: That with reſpect to the conquered provinces he, Darius, offered with a bad grace what it was not in his power to beſtow; but that he might, whenever he pleaſed, venture another battle, which, in all probability, would quickly decide which of them ſhould remain the conqueror and maſter. This anſwer convinced Darius, that he had now no alternative but once more to try the fate of war.

Alexander, provoked againſt the Jews, for their having refuſed to ſupply his army with proviſions during the ſiege of Tyre, under pretence of an oath of fidelity ſworn by them to Darius, marched towards Jeruſalem,

ſion into the country of the Arabians who dwelt about Antilibanus, involved himſelf in very imminent danger from an affectionate attachment to his preceptor Lyſimachus, who being unable through age to keep up with the reſt of the party, Alexander reſolved to ſtay behind with him. Thus ſeparated from the main body of the ſoldiers, they remained a whole night in a moſt diſagreeable ſituation, ſurrounded by parties of the enemy. But by Alexander's intrepidity and good fortune, they were extricated from their dangerous dilemma.

with

with an intention to treat that city as he had treated Tyre. Jaddus, the high prieſt, hearing of his approach, had recourſe to ſacrifice and prayer; and in conſequence of a revelation made to him in a dream, cloathed himſelf in his pontifical veſtments, and taking with him all the ſervants belonging to the temple, marched out in a ſolemn proceſſion to meet Alexander. That prince, on ſeeing the high prieſt, was ſtruck with ſurprize and veneration, and coming up to him, ſaluted him with a religious reſpect. His officers appearing confounded at this behaviour, Alexander told them, that it was not the man, but the great God, whoſe ſervant he was, whom he meant to honour by this reſpectful behaviour; aſſuring them at the ſame time, that before leaving Macedonia, as he was anxiouſly revolving in his mind his future expedition, he had ſeen in a viſion this very high prieſt, dreſſed in the ſame robes he now wore, who encouraged him to proſecute his intended invaſion of the Perſian empire, and told him, that the God whom he worſhipped, would conduct his undertakings, and crown him with victory: That he recollected this viſion the moment he had at this time ſet eyes on the high prieſt, and that therefore he entertained no further doubt of conquering Darius.

It is moſt likely that this pretended dream of Alexander's was the child of political hypocriſy. The intention is obvious. Alexander wiſhed his own ſoldiers, as well as the Perſians, to be perſuaded that the gods had deſtined him to ſubdue the empire of the eaſt; — a belief that muſt inſpire his troops with additional confidence, and his enemies with deſpair. Several other paſſages of Alexander's conduct ſhow very clearly that this was a principal point of policy with that prince: and it is probable that the opinion he laboured to inſpire, firſt of his divine miſſion, next of his divine deſcent, and finally of his own perſonal divinity, gradually broached as he advanced among more ignorant and more ſuperſtitious nations, contributed conſiderably to his ſubſequent conqueſts. I am therefore thoroughly perſuaded, that in propagating

propagating this idea Alexander was leſs prompted by vanity than by policy.

Alexander, delighted with the accompliſhment of this flattering prediction, embraced the high prieſt, and entering Jeruſalem, proceeded to the temple, and offered ſacrifices, complying in every particular with the directions of Jaddus. After which the high prieſt laid before him the paſſages of Daniel's prophecies, which reſpected himſelf and his conqueſts.

Overjoyed at thoſe wonderful prophecies, Alexander beſtowed many marks of his kindneſs on the Jews, and deſired them to aſk of him ſome favour. They demanded permiſſion to live in conformity to the laws of their fathers; and Alexander granted their requeſt.

Alexander next directed his march towards Gaza, which he deſired to ſubdue, that ſo he might open to himſelf a way into Egypt. But Betis, the governor placed there by Darius, thought it his duty to defend the place to the laſt extremity, by which means the Macedonian was ſtopped before it no leſs than two months. Having however taken it at laſt, out of reſentment of the obſtinate defence made by the inhabitants, he put 10,000 of them to the ſword, ſold the reſt for ſlaves, and inſtead of ſhewing that reſpect for Betis which his bravery and his fidelity to his ſovereign deſerved, uſed him with the moſt diſgraceful cruelty. Commanding his feet to be pierced, and a cord to be paſſed through the holes, he cauſed him to be dragged round the city till he died, affecting to imitate Achilles, who uſed the body of Hector in the ſame manner.

Leaving a garriſon in Gaza, Alexander advanced towards Egypt, and arrived before Peluſium. The Egyptians had long ſubmitted with impatience to the Perſian government. They entertained a ſtrong reſentment of the cruelty of Ochus, and deſired nothing more ardently than an opportunity to throw off the yoke under which they groaned. As ſoon therefore as Alexander appeared among them, they chearfully ſubmitted to his authority. Mazeus, Darius's governor at Memphis, ſeeing

ſeeing Alexander at the head of a powerful army, opened to him the gates of that capital, and put him in poſſeſſion of 800 talents, and all the rich effects of the king.

Every thing giving way in this manner to Alexander, his heart, elated by ſo many victories, was no longer proof againſt the baneful influence of proſperity, which generally corrupts the heart, and renders men blind to their real ſituation. The vanity of Alexander ſuggeſted to him the ridiculous project of imitating the example of ſome of the ancient heroes, by pretending to be the ſon of Jupiter. With this abſurd view, he reſolved to pay a viſit to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, ſituated in the midſt of the deſarts of Libya, at the diſtance of twelve days journey from Memphis; and he found means previouſly to corrupt the prieſts, by large preſents, to behave to him in the manner he deſired.

In this journey he obſerved beyond Canopus a ſpot very advantageouſly ſituated for being the foundation of a maritime city. He gave orders therefore for immediately beginning the work, and called the city after his own name *Alexandria*. Its happy ſituation, and fine harbour, afterwards rendered it one of the moſt flouriſhing in the world, and evinced the ſingular penetration and comprehenſive ideas of its great founder.

The journey of Alexander proved as dangerous as its motive was extravagant; for the road lay through deſarts covered with mountains of burning ſand. The ſoldiers ſeeing themſelves environed on all hands with frightful deſarts, were ſeized with conſternation; and their water having failed them, they were on the point of periſhing for thirſt, when a ſtorm of rain coming on, relieved them from that diſtreſs. At length they arrived at the temple of the god, ſituated on a ſpot of pretty good ground, ſurrounded by a very thick wood. The god was repreſented under the figure of a ram, covered with precious ſtones. Alexander, on entering the temple, was ſaluted as ſon of Jupiter by the chief prieſt, who aſſured him, that the god himſelf acknowledged

ledged him as such. Alexander received the appellation with joy, and worshipped Jupiter as his father. The priest likewise foretold him, that he should become sovereign monarch of the whole world. Here again we find vanity, ambition, and hypocrisy, united in this strange transaction and its consequences.

Alexander constantly after his return from this visit, assumed in all his letters and dispatches the title of son of Jupiter Ammon. His subjects privately pitied this ridiculous folly; but his mother Olympias rallied him pleasantly enough on his vanity, begging of him in her letters to desist from promoting a quarrel between Juno and her.

That prince, before leaving Memphis, settled a proper form of government for Egypt, conferring the principal military offices on Macedonians alone; and distributing the country into various departments. But he permitted the Egyptians to make use of their ancient laws.

Alexander leaving Egypt, proceeded towards the east to pursue Darius. During a short stay which he made at Tyre, having been informed of the death of Statira, Darius's queen, he immediately paid a visit to Sysigambis, and the other princesses, testified much compassion for their misfortune, omitted nothing that might contribute to divert their grief, and celebrated the queen's funerals with vast magnificence. Darius, on receiving the news of his wife's death, from a eunuch who had made his escape from the Macedonian camp for that purpose, was extremely grieved, and inquired of the eunuch with the utmost earnestness, whether Alexander had ever attempted her virtue. The eunuch assured him with the most solemn oaths, that Alexander had constantly behaved to Statira with the utmost delicacy and respect; and that he had discovered on all occasions the highest attention and regard for the other princesses. Darius, on hearing this, beseeched the gods, in presence of his courtiers, that if by their immutable decree the royal line of Persia was destined to fail, Alexander alone might mount the throne of Cyrus.

Alexander, in the mean time, continuing his march, paſſed the Euphrates, and advanced towards the Tigris with his whole army. Darius perceiving that the Macedonian would liſten to no terms of accommodation, aſſembled an army more numerous ſtill than any of the former, in ſo much, that it is ſaid, the plains of Meſopotamia were covered with his troops. Darius himſelf directed his march through the country of Nineveh; but he diſpatched Mazeus with a detachment of 6000 men to oppoſe Alexander's paſſage over the Tigris, the moſt rapid of all the rivers of the eaſt. Alexander, in the mean time, having diſcovered a ford, effected the paſſage of his army, his foot being diſpoſed in the middle, and his cavalry on the two wings. The paſſage was attended with a good deal of confuſion and much trouble, the ſoldiers being obliged to carry their arms and their baggage on their heads; and if Mazeus had arrived in time, the Macedonians in all probability might have been defeated. But ſuch was the ſingular good fortune of Alexander, that he conſtantly eſcaped the greateſt dangers.

Alexander encamped for two days on the farther ſide of the Tigris. As the army was preparing for their departure on the third, an eclipſe of the moon happening, occaſioned a ſuperſtitious alarm among the troops, which happily, however, produced no bad conſequences. The ſoldiers complained loudly, that to ſatisfy the ambition of a ſingle man, they ſhould in that manner be obliged to travel to the extremities of the earth, and that even contrary to the will of the gods, who thus refuſed them the light of the heavenly bodies. But upon the ſoothſayers declaring, that the moon was the luminary which favoured the Perſians, while, on the contrary, the Greeks were patronized by the ſun; and that therefore this eclipſe threatened the former with ſome impending misfortune, the ſuperſtitious multitude approved of the interpretation, and reſumed their courage. Letters in the mean time were intercepted, wherein Darius endeavoured, by vaſt promiſes, to perſuade the Greek ſoldiers

to aſſaſſinate Alexander. But that prince, by the advice of Parmenio, took no notice of theſe letters to the army. Darius, who was now only at the diſtance of ſeven or eight leagues, diſpatched ten of his relations, to propoſe to the Macedonian new terms of peace, more advantageous ſtill than any of the former. Alexander returned for anſwer, That Darius pretended to treat of peace with an inſidious intention, ſince he was at that very inſtant endeavouring by every means to perſuade his, Alexander's, own ſoldiers to kill him; and that therefore he was determined to uſe him not as a generous enemy, but as a baſe aſſaſſin: and he concluded with a ridiculous enough figure, telling him, that the world could no more admit of two maſters, than it could of two ſuns.

Darius's army was encamped near the village of Gaugamella, in a large plain, at ſome diſtance from Arbela, a city of Aſſyria. Alexander, after halting ſome time to repoſe his troops, and to fortify his camp, there depoſited all his baggage, and advanced in battle-order towards the Perſians. Parmenio adviſing to attack the enemy in the night, by which means they might obtain a more eaſy victory, Alexander anſwered, that he diſdained to ſteal a victory, and that he was reſolved to fight and conquer in the face of day. The army of Darius paſſed the night under arms. Alexander, after offering up ſacrifices to the gods, retired to reſt, not without ſome anxiety; but falling aſleep at laſt, he continued to ſleep ſo ſoundly, that they were obliged to awaken him. Parmenio having expreſſed much ſurpriſe to Alexander, that he could enjoy ſuch perfect tranquillity and compoſure on the very point of coming to ſo important an engagement: "Why," anſwered Alexander, "ſhould I be otherwiſe, ſeeing the enemy has "come to deliver himſelf into our hands?"

Arming himſelf immediately, he mounts his horſe, rides through the ranks, and exhorts his men to maintain their former reputation. Never did he diſcover more cheerfulneſs or reſolution. The army of Darius, according

according to the moſt received account, amounted to no fewer than 600,000 foot, and 40,000 horſe: that of Alexander's to no more than 40,000 foot, and between 7000 and 8000 horſe. The troops on each ſide were drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry on the wings. 200 chariots, armed with ſcythes, were ranged in the front of the Perſian army; and Darius had taken poſt in the centre of the foremoſt line. Alexander had placed his archers at the head of his army; and to prevent any bad effects from his being ſurrounded, he gave orders to the ſecond line to face about in caſe they were attacked in the rear.

The battle was begun by the cavalry. Alexander's being charged by thoſe of the enemy, ſuſtained the firſt ſhock with a good deal of difficulty; but at laſt were ſo lucky as to repulſe them. The Perſian chariots, armed with ſcythes, were next let looſe. Upon which the Macedonian archers diſcharged a ſhower of arrows, that galled and frightened the horſes, and cauſed many of them to run back among the Perſian troops, while the Macedonians opening their ranks, permitted the reſt of them to paſs.

In the mean time, the ſoothſayer Ariſtander, dreſſed in a white robe, advances into the midſt of the troops, and cries out, that he ſees an eagle above Alexander's head; which being a preſage of victory, animates the troops with freſh courage. Alexander inſtantly ruſhes forward to ſupport Aretus, who had put to flight the Perſian cavalry; and attacking, along with him, the left of the enemy, fairly breaks them, and then advances againſt the quarter where Darius fought. A very bloody and obſtinate engagement enſued, the ſoldiers about the Perſian monarch exerting extraordinary efforts in his defence. But that prince's armour bearer being killed by a javelin thrown from Alexander's own hand, the Perſian troops in that wing thinking it was the king himſelf who had fallen, ſet up a frightful cry, are filled with conſternation, and begin to give ground. Darius, afraid of falling into the hands of the Macedo-

nians, conſults his ſafety by flight. A dreadful ſlaughter followed. In the mean time, however, the left of the Macedonians, commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger. A detachment of the Perſian cavalry having forced their way through them, galloped up to the very baggage. But the infantry in the centre of the ſecond line facing about, attacked this body of cavalry in the rear, and obliged them to retreat. The danger, however, was not yet over. Mazeus next fell upon them, with all the cavalry under his command. Alexander, informed of the danger that threatened Parmenio, returned from purſuing Darius, hurried to ſupport his own troops, and falling in with the body of cavalry that had made the attempt on the camp, charged them with the greateſt vigour. The battle was very obſtinate. Alexander loſt ſixty of his guards; but, at length, the Perſians were repulſed and put to flight. On the other hand, Mazeus hearing of the flight of Darius, and of the defeat of the troops that had fought about the king's perſon, was ſo confounded at the news, that he gave over the purſuit of the Macedonians, whom he had thrown into great diſorder. Parmenio obſerving this change in the behaviour of Mazeus, called out to his troops, that the enemy was ſeized with a panic, and that one bold effort would inſure them the victory. The Macedonians, animated by this information, advance againſt the enemy, charge them with irreſiſtible fury, and put them to flight. Alexander perceiving that victory every where declared for him, returned to the purſuit of Darius, whom he expected to find in Arbela, where great part of his treaſures were depoſited. But Darius, afraid to ſtop there, abandoned the city, together with an immenſe booty, to the Macedonians.

331. Thus ended this famous battle, in which the Perſians are ſaid to have loſt 300,000 men, and the Macedonians no more than 200. Alexander, after expreſſing, by proper ſacrifices, his gratitude to the gods for this great victory, diſtributed magnificent preſents among the officers who had principally diſtinguiſhed themſelves.

ſelves. He expreſſed particular ſatisfaction with the conduct of his Greek ſoldiers; and, by way of recompence, ordered all the Greek cities to be ſet at liberty, and every ſpecies of tyrannical government, then prevailing among them, to be aboliſhed.

Darius, in the mean time, paſſed the river Lycus, and hurried towards Media, by the way of the mountains of Armenia, attended by a very ſlender retinue.

Alexander having taken poſſeſſion of Arbela, found, in that city, 4000 talents of money, (near L. 600,000 Sterling), and other treaſures to an immenſe value.—From Arbela he marched to Babylon, where Mazeus made his ſubmiſſions, and delivered up the city. Moſt of the Babylonians, impatient to ſee their new maſter, went out of the city to meet him. Alexander made his entry at the head of his army. The walls of Babylon, ſo celebrated in hiſtory, were covered with multitudes of ſpectators; the roads were ſtrewed with flowers, by order of the governor of the citadel; and, on both ſides of the way, altars were erected, whereon were burnt perfumes of an excellent flavour. Immediately behind the retinue of Alexander, were carried the preſents deſtined for him; among which were many wild beaſts, ſuch as lions, panthers, &c. confined in cages: Next came the Magi ſinging hymns; then the Chaldeans, ſoothſayers, muſicians, and the Babylonian horſemen: Alexander was mounted on a chariot ſurrounded by his guards, and marched along in triumph. He diſtributed a great part of the money found in Babylon, in preſents among his ſoldiers; every Macedonian horſeman receiving about L. 13 Sterling; every other horſeman about L. 4; and every foot ſoldier about L. 2.

As Alexander poſſeſſed an extraordinary taſte for the ſciences, he paſſed a good deal of time in converſation with the Chaldeans, who entertained him with their moſt curious aſtronomical obſervations. He ſtaid thirty-four days in Babylon, which being then immerſed in luxury, and abounding with every ſort of pleaſures and debauchery,

debauchery, greatly corrupted his troops. While in that city, he was joined by a good number of recruits ſent him by Antipater. Alexander departing at laſt from Babylon, entered the province of Sitacena, a very fruitful country. Here, to keep up a ſpirit of emulation among his ſoldiers, he appointed rewards to be diſtributed among the moſt valiant, by the officers who had been witneſſes of the bravery diſplayed by each of them in the ſeveral battles. Here, too, he made ſome neceſſary alterations in his military diſcipline. Then he proceeded towards Suſa, a city in Perſia, and arrived there on the twentieth day after his departure from Babylon. The governor of the province ſent his ſon to meet him, and followed ſoon after himſelf, with a preſent conſiſting of dromedaries, and twelve elephants, which he delivered to Alexander, on the banks of the river Choaſpus, ſo celebrated in hiſtory for the delicious taſte of its waters. Alexander entering Suſa, found there 50,000 talents of money, (upwards of L. 6,000,000 Sterling), and rich furniture and effects, to an immenſe value. Before quitting Suſa, Alexander put a garriſon into that city, conſiſting of 3000 men, and 1000 of his veteran Macedonian ſoldiers. He likewiſe left there Syſigambis and Darius's children, and made that princeſs a preſent of ſome beautiful purple ſtuffs that had been ſent him from Macedonia. For Alexander conſtantly behaved to her with as high reſpect, as if ſhe had been his own mother; and ſo far conformed himſelf even to the Perſian manners, that he never ſat down in her preſence till ſhe gave him permiſſion.

Alexander next advanced into the country of the Uxii; where, after eſtabliſhing his authority, he committed the greateſt part of his army to Parmenio; and taking none but the light-armed troops along with himſelf, penetrated into Perſia through the mountains, till he reached the paſs of Suſa. Ariobarzanes, with 4000 men, having taken poſſeſſion of the rocks that commanded that paſs, rolled down from the top of them large ſtones, which cruſhed the Macedonians in pieces,

who finding it impoſſible to proceed, were obliged to ſtop ſhort in the midſt of their victorious career. In this dilemma, a Greek having offered to conduct the Macedonians by a ſecret unfrequented path to the ſummit of thoſe rocks, Alexander reſolved to accept of his ſervice; and taking along with him a good part of his troops, ſet out on the attempt. But they met with incredible difficulties in their way, and narrowly eſcaped periſhing among the ſnow. Arriving, however, at the top of the mountain at laſt, and diſcovering the main body of the enemy, he inſtantly attacked and cut them in pieces. Whereupon Craterus, whom he had left at the bottom of the hill with the reſt of the troops, took poſſeſſion of the paſs, and put the enemy to flight.

Alexander having thus extricated himſelf from this dangerous ſituation, advanced towards Perſepolis, the ancient reſidence of the Perſian monarchs, and the capital of their empire, where a part of Darius's treaſures were depoſited. After paſſing the Araxus, he was met, not far from Perſepolis, by about 800 Greeks, all old men, who having been formerly made priſoners by the Perſians, had been by them maimed and diſfigured in their bodies with the moſt ſhocking inhumanity. They came to implore the protection of Alexander; who, on ſeeing their miſerable ſituation, could not refrain from ſhedding tears. He did all in his power to comfort them; and offered to procure them a paſſage home to their native country. But the Greeks told him, that, in their preſent frightful condition, they durſt not appear in Greece; and that, beſides, they were unable to ſupport the fatigue of ſo long a journey. Alexander, therefore, conſented to let them ſtay in the ſame place, where they had already ſpent ſo many years; and after preſenting each of them with three drachmas, four oxen, and five ſuits of cloaths, he ſtrictly enjoined the governor of the province carefully to protect them from all bad uſage for the future; and granted them an exemption from every kind of tribute.

Moſt of the Perſians abandoned Perſepolis on the approach

proach of Alexander, who entered it at the head of his phalanx. The ſoldiers, recalling to their remembrance, that it was from this city thoſe immenſe armies of Barbarians had proceeded, who had ſpread devaſtation through Greece, were ſeized with a furious ſpirit of reſentment, and cut in pieces the remaining inhabitants. The treaſures amaſſed in this city, greatly exceeded all that had hitherto fallen into the hands of Alexander. One would have imagined, that the whole riches of Perſia had been here collected together. For beſides effects of ineſtimable value, near L. 16,000,000 Sterling were found in the royal treaſury. This city was indeed the fountain of the Aſiatic luxury. Beſides thoſe already mentioned, Alexander had got poſſeſſion of ſeveral other very rich towns; and, in particular, had found at Paſagardus alone near L. 900,000 Sterling.

While Alexander remained at Perſepolis, he gave a grand entertainment; at which, beſides other ladies, a courtezan, named Thais, a native of Attica, happened to be preſent. In the height of their jollity, this Thais having very indiſcreetly declared, that ſhe would account it a very great happineſs to have the pleaſure of ſetting fire, with her own hands, to the palace of Xerxes, the greateſt enemy of Greece, and the deſtroyer of Athens, all the courtiers highly applauded the thought, and Alexander himſelf among the firſt. The whole company, therefore, inſtantly ſnatching up burning torches, ruſhed out; and, in a moment, reduced that magnificent palace to aſhes. A piece of extravagant folly, for which Alexander repented very ſincerely afterwards.

Darius had by this time reached Ecbatana, the capital of Media. Of all his mighty forces, no more than 30,000 now remained with him; among whom were 4000 Greeks, 4000 archers, and 3000 horſe, commanded by Beſſus, ſatrap of Bactriana. The unhappy monarch, aſſembling his officers, returned them thanks, in the moſt moving manner, for having adhered to his

fortunes, and for not having deſerted him like the reſt; a fidelity for which the gods, he told them, muſt certainly reward them, though, perhaps, it might never be in his power. He aſſured them, at the ſame time, that, with their aſſiſtance, he would ſtill boldly face the enemy; that, for himſelf, he never would ſubmit to the conqueror; and that they had the means of defence in their arms and valour. Moſt of the officers applauded this heroic reſolution; and aſſured him, that they would ſpend the laſt drop of their blood in his ſervice. But Beſſus had already formed a traiterous conſpiracy with Nabarzanes commander of the horſe, to ſeize the perſon of Darius, and either to deliver him up to Alexander, if ſo warmly purſued that they could not hope to eſcape, or, in caſe of eſcaping, to put him to death, and to uſurp the ſovereignty in his place. In proſecution of their plan, the traitors perſuaded a part of their ſoldiers to ſupport their meaſures, by telling them, that they were on the point of falling into the hands of Alexander. Darius got intelligence of this conſpiracy; and it is eaſy to imagine what extreme ſorrow he muſt have felt on that occaſion. Patro, the commander of the Greeks, and a man of ſtrict honour, ſhocked at ſo baſe an inſtance of treachery, preſſed Darius to commit the care of his perſon to his Greek ſoldiers, whoſe faithful attachment he had often experienced. But Darius would not conſent to take that ſtep, whereby he ſhould affront his natural-born ſubjects, by truſting his ſafety to ſtrangers, in preference to them. That unfortunate monarch ſoon became a victim to this exceſſive tenderneſs for the Perſians. The traitors ſeized him, and conducted him in a covered chariot towards Bactriana.

Alexander arriving at Ecbatana, cauſed to be depoſited, in the citadel, all the treaſures he had found in Perſia, amounting, by Strabo's account, to about 120,000,000 Sterling. Then he ordered Parmenio to march towards Hircania with the Thracians, and the reſt of the cavalry; and ſent orders to Cliti, who had been left behind at Suſa, to come and join him in Par-

thia. In the mean time, Alexander himſelf went in purſuit of Darius, who had left Ecbatana only five days before. Arriving at the Caſpian defile, he encamped there, and halted all next day. Here he received intelligence, that Darius had paſſed the defile, was ſeized by the traitors, and was dragged about in a chariot by Beſſus. Alexander, ſhocked at the news, haſtened his march. The barbarians, though ſuperior in numbers, had not courage to ſtand their ground; but fled whenever they heard of his approach. Beſſus ordered Darius to get on horſeback, the more eaſily to eſcape from his enemies. But that prince refuſed to comply, telling Beſſus, that the gods were ſending him an avenger in the perſon of Alexander. Beſſus, and his accomplices, enraged at this anſwer, diſcharged their arrows at him, and having wounded him mortally, they and their ſoldiers diſperſed by different routs.

The advanced guard of Alexander's army found Darius in a retired place, lying in his chariot at the point of death. He had ſtill ſtrength enough left to deſire ſome drink, which having been brought him by Poliſtratus a Macedonian, he ſaid ſeveral very moving things to that officer, "Friend, (ſaid he) the ſenſe of my inability to reward thee for this kind office, completes "the ſum of my misfortunes." He begged of him to aſſure Alexander, that he died with a moſt grateful ſenſe of his extraordinary kindneſs to his mother, his wife, and his children; that he prayed to the gods to bleſs his arms with victory, and to make him monarch of the whole world; and that he truſted to his generoſity to take vengeance for his death on his treacherous murderer. Then laying hold on the hand of Poliſtratus, "Give him, added he, thy hand in my name, as I "give thee mine, as the only token I can now beſtow "on him of my eſteem and gratitude." After uttering theſe words, he expired. Alexander arriving
330. ſoon after, was penetrated with grief on ſeeing the mangled body of Darius, and ſhed many tears. After cauſing the body to be embalmed, he ſent

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it to Syſigambis, that ſhe might cauſe it to be buried with all the funeral honours uſually paid to the deceaſed kings of Perſia.

Darius at his death was not fifty years of age, and of that time he had only reigned ſix. He was a prince of a mild peaceable diſpoſition. In his perſon ended the Perſian empire, after having ſtood 206 years, under thirteen kings, viz. Cyrus, who was the founder of it, Cambyſes, Smerdis the magian, Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpis, Xerxes I. Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II. Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Ochus, Arſes, Darius Codomannus.

The Perſian empire was chiefly compoſed of two nations totally diſſonant to each other, both in their tempers and manners. The Perſians led a ſober hardy life; the Medes, on the contrary, were effeminate and luxurious. The manners of the latter quickly corrupted thoſe of the former; and the attention of both was ſolely directed to pleaſure and magnificence. The conqueſt of Babylon by Cyrus contributed greatly to this pernicious change, by ſupplying him with all the means of luxury and refinement. The Perſians were ſo thoroughly degenerated from the original virtue of their forefathers, that of all the people on earth they were the moſt addicted to luxury and voluptuouſneſs, the moſt overbearing, haughty, cruel, and perfidious. Add to this, that after the unſucceſsful enterpriſes of Darius and Xerxes againſt Greece, they gave themſelves wholly up to indolence and ſloth. Military diſcipline being quite neglected, their armies were no better than a confuſed multitude of men ignorant of war. The Greek ſoldiers retained in their pay, formed their choiceſt troops; and Memnon the Rhodian was their beſt general. The command too of thoſe armies was not committed to experienced officers, but to grandees, without any other merit than their high birth, or their ſuperior intereſt at court; their kings being in a manner buried in their palaces in ſloth and debauchery, all public affairs were managed by the interpoſition of eunuchs and women.

The very education of their princes was calculated to render them vicious and weak; for being accuſtomed from their earlieſt years to hear nothing but the baſeſt adulation, they were incapable for the reſt of their lives either to underſtand good and wholeſome counſel, or to make the proper uſe of it. Their perſons being debilitated by effeminacy, and their minds corrupted by flattery, their reſolutions generally wanted wiſdom, and their enterpriſes vigour.

CHAP. V.

Affairs of the Greeks, Macedonians, and Perſians, from the death of Darius Codomannus, to that of Alexander the Great.

LET us now for a moment turn our eyes to Greece.

The Lacedemonians hearing that Antipater
330. was gone with all his forces upon an expedition into Thrace, thought the opportunity favourable for ſhaking off the Macedonian yoke; and formed a confederacy for that purpoſe with moſt of the ſtates of the Peloponneſe. Antipater receiving intelligence of theſe proceedings, returns with all poſſible expedition, and leads his troops againſt the Lacedemonians. The army of the latter amounted altogether to no more than 20,000 foot and 2000 horſe, while that of Antipater contained double that number. An engagement enſued. Both parties fought with extraordinary bravery, and the action was moſt ſharp and obſtinate. But Antipater, by affecting to fly, having drawn the enemy into plainer ground, where he could more effectually employ all his ſtrength, gained the victory at laſt. King Agis fell fighting valiantly, after having performed aſtoniſhing feats of bravery. The Lacedemonians loſt more than 3000 men, and the power of Sparta was thereby irretrievably ruined. Antipater communicated the

the news of this victory to Alexander in very modeſt terms, for fear of exciting his jealouſy; and, by the directions of Alexander, he puniſhed ſome of the principal authors of the revolt.

Some of the Greek troops having been about this time diſcharged by Alexander, the reſt of the ſoldiers, imagining that he was preparing to return to Macedonia, were tranſported with joy at the thought, and inſtantly fell to packing up their baggage and loading the waggons.—Alexander, alarmed at this unexpected tumult, commanded the attendance of the officers, who endeavoured to calm his apprehenſions, by aſſuring him that they could eaſily bring back the troops to a proper ſenſe of their duty. Alexander, however, thought it neceſſary to aſſemble the whole army, and to make them a ſpeech, which he delivered in the moſt prudent and artful terms; commending exceedingly the bravery of both officers and ſoldiers, and extolling their exploits; but repreſenting to them, that it was abſolutely neceſſary firmly to eſtabliſh his conqueſts; and particularly, that it was highly worthy, both of him and his generous ſoldiers, to puniſh the treachery of Beſſus, who had aſſaſſinated his king, with a view to deprive them of the glory of ſaving him; a piece of juſtice which he was extremely impatient to diſcharge.

The ſoldiers inſtantly exclaimed, with one voice, that they were ready to follow their prince where-ever he pleaſed. Alexander immediately led them into the country of Hyrcania, which he ſoon ſubdued; and, with equal celerity, he conquered the Mardes, Arii, and ſeveral other nations. About this time Nabarzanes ſurrendered himſelf to Alexander, and brought along with him to that prince the eunuch Bagoas, who had been the chief favourite of Darius. Quintus Curtius pretends that it was much about this time too that Thaleſtris queen of the Amazons, who was very deſirous of ſeeing Alexander, came and paid him a viſit at the head of 300 women armed with lances. The ſame author tells us, that as ſoon as ſhe ſaw Alexander, ſhe diſmounted

mounted from her horſe; but that after conſidering him attentively, ſhe could not help taking notice, that his ſtature by no means correſponded to his fame. She teſtified, however, an inclination of becoming his wife for ſome time, that ſhe might have a child of his begetting to inherit her kingdom; and that Alexander granted her requeſt. But as the beſt authors, particularly Arrian, take no notice of this adventure, the ſtory of Quintus Curtius is juſtly accounted a mere fable.

From this period Alexander begins to appear quite another man than we have hitherto ſeen him. His manners take a different turn. Henceforward he ſets no bounds to his pleaſures or to his paſſions, but abandons himſelf without reſerve to voluptuouſneſs and debauchery; and after having appeared ſuperior to all the fatigues and dangers of war, he ſuffers himſelf to be overcome by the attractions of pleaſure. So true it is, as M. Rollin obſerves, that too high a pitch of proſperity is a weight above the power of human ſtrength to bear. Nothing now prevailed but an uninterrupted courſe of games and feaſts, in which he and his officers conſumed whole days and nights, in the company of a great number of captive women, who amuſed them with their ſinging and other female arts. Grown giddy with his good fortune, and dazzled with theſe inchanting ſcenes, he began to deſpiſe the auſtere and hardy manners of the kings of Macedonia, aſſumed the ſumptuous dreſs of the Perſian monarchs, and obliged his officers and friends, much againſt their inclination, to dreſs after the ſame faſhion. He deſired too, to imitate the pomp and effeminacy of the Perſian kings. He filled his palace with 360 concubines, and inſiſted on being addreſſed with proſtration by thoſe who were admitted into his preſence. This behaviour excited murmurs among his troops, eſpecially among the oldeſt ſoldiers, who ſaid that Alexander was become a ſatrap of Darius. To put an end to this diſcontent, he reſolved to lead his army againſt

againſt Beſſus. But, before departing, he ordered all his own baggage and that of his ſoldiers to be brought to one place, where he ſet fire with his own hand to his own, and deſired his ſoldiers to follow his example by ſetting fire to theirs. They obeyed, but with great regret, as they thus deſtroyed all their former booty. Then he ſet off towards Bactriana, where he ſtill had much danger and fatigue to undergo.

It was about this time that the pretended conſpiracy of Philotas happened. Alexander imputed it as a crime to that officer, who was the ſon of Parmenio, that he had not informed him of a conſpiracy againſt his life by one Dymnus, who had voluntarily put himſelf to death juſt as he was on the point of being apprehended. Philotas was tried by an aſſembly of the whole army, and, in ſpite of the ſtrongeſt reaſons alledged by him in his juſtification, was condemned to the moſt cruel torture. The intenſeneſs of the pain not only extorted from him a confeſſion that he himſelf was guilty, but even that his father was concerned in the plot. Thereupon he was condemned and executed after the manner of the Macedonians, being ſtoned to death. 330.

It is true, that ſome parts of the former behaviour of Philotas had given umbrage to Alexander, and that his haughtineſs had procured him many enemies, of whom, unfortunately for him, ſeveral were his judges. But it is uncertain whether Alexander really believed Parmenio to be guilty; or whether his ſubſequent treatment of him did not rather proceed from a dread of the reſentment of ſo able a commander for the cruel injuſtice done to his ſon. However that might be, he reſolved, in ſpite of the numberleſs important ſervices performed for him by that excellent officer, to ſacrifice him to his quiet and ſecurity; and for that purpoſe diſpatched Polydamus into Media, where Parmenio then commanded, with private inſtructions to the governor of the province, and the principal officers.

All the proper meaſures being accordingly concerted, thoſe

thoſe to whom the execution was intruſted, went to Parmenio, whom they found walking in his park, and preſented him with a letter as if from Philotas. The old general immediately began to inquire very anxiouſly about the king, and to expreſs the higheſt admiration at his ſurpriſing activity in puſhing his conqueſts. But while thus profuſely beſtowing praiſes on Alexander, the venerable old man is, by the orders of that ſame Alexander, baſely aſſaſſinated. Thus were rewarded the important ſervices and inviolable attachment of a man ſeventy years old, who had conſtantly aſſiſted Alexander with his beſt advice, and without whom it is highly probable that the warlike operations of that prince had never been attended with ſuch ſucceſs: and this ungrateful and inhuman treatment was inflicted on no better ground, than a moſt improbable ſuſpicion, unſupported by any evidence. This is one of the actions that has thrown the deepeſt ſtain on the memory of Alexander.

Alexander, in the mean time, perſiſted in his purſuit of Beſſus; in the courſe of which he had many fatigues to undergo, many countries to traverſe, and many dangers to encounter. — The news of his approach determined the Bactrians to deſert Beſſus, to whom they had hitherto remained firmly attached. Beſſus, therefore, was forced to betake himſelf to flight; and paſſing the river Oxus, he took refuge in Sogdiana with a ſmall body of troops. Alexander having purſued him thither, Spitamenes, the accomplice and confident of Beſſus, formed a conſpiracy of the principal officers againſt him, ſeized him, loaded him with chains, and delivered him up to Alexander. That prince highly commended the behaviour of Spitamenes, and turning to Beſſus, "What "cruelty, ſaid he, more barbarous than that of a tyger, "could incite thee to dip thy hands in the blood of thy "ſovereign, and to deprive him of life?" Then he delivered him over to Axatres the brother of Darius, to be uſed with all the ignominy he deſerved. But his puniſhment was delayed till he ſhould be tried in the aſſembly of the Perſians.

It was during his purſuit of Beſſus, that Alexander committed an action of the greateſt injuſtice and cruelty that occurs in hiſtory, by murdering all the inhabitants of a ſmall city where the Branchidæ reſided, although they had voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves, and had received him with the higheſt demonſtrations of joy. And for what cauſe this unprovoked inhumanity? Under pretence that the anceſtors of thoſe citizens had behaved perfidiouſly to the Mileſians, by delivering up to Xerxes the treaſures of the temple of Idumean-Apollo, whereof the Mileſians were the guardians.

Alexander, in the mean time, penetrated ſtill farther and farther into Bactriana, in ſearch of new conqueſts. Upon his arrival at the Jaxartes he was attacked by a barbarous people, who ruſhing down upon him from the mountains, made ſome of his men priſoners. Alexander reſolved to force them from their ſtrong holds; but in the attempt was wounded in the leg by an arrow, and carried off to his tent. The barbarians, aſtoniſhed at the bravery with which they had ſeen him fight, believed him to be a god, and ſent ambaſſadors to make their ſubmiſſions.

Having next made himſelf maſter of Maracanda the capital of Sogdiana, he ſtill continued his progreſs, ravaging the country. In theſe parts he received an embaſſy from the Abian-Scythians, a poor nation, who placed their chief glory in the practice of juſtice, and never made war but in their own defence. They ſent to let Alexander know that they ſubmitted to him; and he received them accordingly under his protection. But in the mean time, the Sogdians and Bactrians having revolted at the inſtigation of Spitamenes, Alexander reſolved to puniſh their treachery, and that of their leader. Laying ſiege therefore to Cyropolis the utmoſt city in the Perſian dominions, he took it by aſſault, and gave it up to be plundered. Then he beſieged the city of the Memaconians, who had put to death fifty of his horſemen, whom he had ſent to them with friendly intentions. The beſieged made a moſt deſperate reſiſtance.

Many of Alexander's beſt ſoldiers periſhed in the enterprize; and he himſelf narrowly eſcaped being killed by a ſtone. As difficulties ſerved only to heighten his courage, he proceeded with more vigour than uſual, and having made a breach in the wall by means of a mine, entered the city, and deſtroyed every thing with fire and ſword. He treated ſeveral other cities of Sogdiana in the ſame manner, to puniſh their revolt. Then he cauſed a city to be built on the Jaxartes, and called it *Alexandria*.

While his army was engaged at this work, the king of the Scythians, taking umbrage at this new ſettlement, ſent an army to interrupt the work, and to drive away the Macedonians; and about the ſame time a detachment that had been ſent to Maracanda againſt Spitamenes was cut in pieces. This threw Alexander into ſome ſort of difficulty; but he inſtantly formed his reſolution, and aſſembling his troops, encouraged them by a harangue to paſs the Jaxartes. In the mean time, twenty ambaſſadors arriving from the Scythians were introduced into the tent of Alexander, where they delivered the celebrated ſpeech recorded by Quintus Curtius, which is ſo much admired for its ſolidity, ingenuity, and ſimplicity; and is perhaps the beſt piece of compoſition to be met with in the whole work of that frothy writer. — Theſe Scythian ambaſſadors are made to addreſs themſelves to Alexander in very plain terms. They call him without any ceremony a *robber, who employed himſelf in making war on people who had never injured him.* "You, ſay they, who boaſt of your coming to exter-
"minate robbers, are yourſelf the greateſt robber in
"the world. You have plundered all the nations
"whom you have ſubdued. Are not thoſe who live in
"the woods to be exempted from knowing you, and
"from feeling your violence? If you are a god, you
"ought to do good to mankind. If you are a man,
"you ought to hearken to the dictates of reaſon and
"humanity."

To this ſpeech Alexander made a very ſhort anſwer, telling

telling the ambaſſadors, that he would make the proper uſe both of his own good fortune, and of their advice. He perſiſted, however, in his former reſolution, and tranſported his army over the Jaxartes on rafts. This was a very bold undertaking. The river was very rapid, and a powerful army appeared on the oppoſite bank prepared to diſpute their landing. The paſſage accordingly was attended with much difficulty; the Macedonians being obliged to engage before they could make good their landing. But the good fortune of Alexander ſurmounted all obſtacles. The barbarians unable to ſuſtain the ſhock of the Macedonian cavalry, were broken and put to flight. Alexander loſt in the action ſixty horſemen. The fame of this victory obtained over the Scythians made the Macedonians to be regarded as invincible.

Alexander eager to get hold of Spitamenes, returned towards Maracanda; but Spitamenes fled on his approach. Having ſacked the city of Sogdiana, he found there, among other priſoners, thirty young men of extraordinary beauty, with whoſe fortitude he was no leſs delighted, than with their fine appearance; for they teſtified a cheerful reſolution on hearing that they were to be put to death. Alexander aſked them, whether they would not accept of life, on condition of engaging in his ſervice. The young men conſented, and afterwards ſerved him with great fidelity.—From thence he proceeded to Bactria, where he cauſed the noſe and ears of Beſſus to be cut off, and then ſent him to Ecbatana. There the traitor's four limbs were tied to as many bended trees, which tore his body in pieces.

About this time Alexander received a reinforcement of 16,000 men from Macedonia, with whoſe aſſiſtance he was enabled to ſubdue the reſt of the country of Sogdiana, of which only one place called *Petra Oxiana* now held out. This being a ſtrong fort, ſituated in the face of a ſteep rock, inacceſſible on all ſides except by one narrow path, and being defended by a powerful garriſon, its governor would liſten to no terms of ſur-

render.—Any other perſon but Alexander would have thought it madneſs to attempt the attack of ſuch a place; but he loved to contend with obſtacles that appeared inſurmountable. Selecting therefore 300 of his moſt active ſoldiers, he commanded them to climb this rock in the moſt acceſſible place. They complied with the orders of their king; but about thirty of them loſt their lives in the enterpriſe, by falling from the precipices.—At laſt, however, after incredible labour and difficulty, they reached the ſummit of the rock, and diſplayed the appointed ſignal to the Macedonians below, who thereupon pointed out to Arimazus, the governor of the place, the ſoldiers who had taken poſt on the top of the rock above him; and at the ſame time the whole army ſhouted for joy. Arimazus aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of Alexander's troops, thought himſelf undone, and offered to deliver up the place, on the ſole condition of having the lives of himſelf and his garriſon ſpared. But Alexander refuſed to grant him even that; and having got poſſeſſion of the place, crucified him at the foot of the rock.

Then Alexander ſubdued the country of the Maſſagetæ and Dahæ. In this country having been attacked by a lion when hunting, he killed the furious animal with one ſtroke.

On his return to Maracanda he gave a grand entertainment; at which being fluſtered more than ordinary by the great quantity of wine he had drunk, he boaſted very highly of his own exploits, undervalued exceedingly thoſe of his father, and even ridiculed ſome paſſages of Philip's life. The oldeſt officers who had ſerved under Philip were much offended at this behaviour; and Clitus, in particular, who had ſaved Alexander's life at the battle of the Granicus, could not conceal his diſſatisfaction.—It is true, that Clitus carried the matter too far; for, not ſatisfied with extolling to the ſkies the actions of Philip, and ſetting them far above thoſe of Alexander, he was raſh enough to enter on the defence of Parmenio's memory, inſiſted on the particulars of his

tragical fate with great acrimony, and concluded with obſerving, that the officers of Alexander might judge from thence what ſort of reward they had to expect for their paſt ſervices. Alexander, though much exaſperated, retained his paſſion for ſome moments, and commanded Clitus to leave the room. Clitus accordingly riſing up, exclaimed, addreſſing himſelf to Alexander, "I ſee plainly you can no longer endure the converſa-"tion of men who are free; and that you deſire rather "to live among ſlaves, diſpoſed on all occaſions to pay "homage to your Perſian robe." Alexander unable any longer to contain himſelf, ſeized a javelin to kill Clitus; but ſome of the gueſts interpoſed and prevented him, while others forced Clitus away.—A little while after, however, Clitus having returned ſinging verſes injurious to Alexander, the enraged prince ſprang forwards, transfixed him with a javelin, and threw him to the ground, exclaiming, "Go, then, and join "Philip and Parmenio." But ſeeing Clitus 328.
dead, he was inſtantly ſtruck with horror at what he had done, reflecting that he had killed a man to whom he owed his life, and that for a few imprudent words which the power of wine alone had made him utter. Tranſported with grief, he threw himſelf on the body of Clitus, and ſeizing the javelin with which he had killed him, attempted to plunge it into his own body. But his friends prevented him, and carried him into his chamber by force. There he continued near two days ſtretched on the floor, weeping and lamenting, and determined to let himſelf periſh of hunger. But the ſoothſayer Ariſtander, aſſiſted by the philoſophers Calliſthenes and Anaxarchus, argued him out of this reſolution. This tragical event exhibits a very ſignal proof of the dreadful effects of drunkenneſs and anger; and ſhews the great importance of early avoiding thoſe moſt dangerous vices, which obſcured all the glory of Alexander's ſplendid actions, and enſlaved that great conqueror of ſo many nations.

Alexander having in a good meaſure recovered from his

his grief, again took the field, ſubdued a province on the borders of Scythia, and got poſſeſſion of the rock Choriana, though not without very great labour and difficulty. It was after this expedition that the wife of Spitamenes, after endeavouring in vain by every ſort of entreaty to perſuade her huſband to make his peace with Alexander, murdered him at laſt during the night, and brought his head to that prince, who, ſhocked at ſo horrible an action in a woman, ordered her to be diſmiſſed with ignominy. Still continuing his march, he was overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm, which was ſucceeded by weather ſo exceſſively cold, that more than 1000 ſoldiers died of it; and if Alexander had not given orders to cut down a great number of trees, and to make fires of them, the whole army muſt have periſhed.

Arriving in the country of the Sacæ, he was received in a moſt reſpectful and magnificent manner by Oxiartes their king, who gave him a grand entertainment, at which his daughter Roxana was preſent. This lady, beſides the moſt exquiſite beauty, poſſeſſed a great deal of gaiety and wit, and captivated Alexander ſo highly, that he made her his wife. But the marriage gave much diſſatisfaction to the Macedonians.

Alexander inſatiably bent on conqueſt, reſolved to penetrate into the Indies, which was accounted the richeſt country on earth. With this view he ordered the ſhields of his ſoldiers to be indented with plates of ſilver, their coats of mail to be adorned with gold, and the bridles of the horſes to be gilded. But before ſetting out, he reſolved to put in execution a ſcheme that he had long revolved in his mind, namely, to obtain divine honours to be paid him by his ſoldiers. For this purpoſe he gave a moſt magnificent entertainment, to which he invited his whole court, as well Greeks and Macedonians, as Perſians. After remaining ſome time at table himſelf, he retired. Then Cleon, one of the moſt ſervile of his flatterers, in conſequence of a previous concert, began a pompous oration, in which he expatiated on the wonderful merit and extraordinary exploits

ploits of Alexander, enumerated with extreme oſtentation, the many obligations conferred by him on all who were preſent, and concluded with a propoſal to acknowledge him for a divinity. For this he cited the example of former great conquerors placed among the number of the gods, ſuch as Hercules and Bacchus. He aſſured the company, that, on Alexander's returning, he himſelf would be the firſt to ſalute him as a god; and he exhorted all the other gueſts, and particularly the beſt and wiſeſt among them, to follow his example. By theſe laſt words he hinted at the philoſopher Calliſthenes, a man very highly eſteemed for his knowledge in the ſciences, and for the purity of his manners. Calliſthenes perceiving the eyes of the whole company fixed on him, ſtood up, and made a ſpeech, in which, after obſerving that the king himſelf, if he had been preſent, would never have permitted Cleon to utter ſuch groſs flattery, he declared, that though that prince was worthy the higheſt honour and praiſe, yet there was an immenſe difference between the honour merited by the moſt perfect mortal, and the worſhip due to the almighty gods; that to the laſt, no man living could ever be intitled, nor could preſume to accept that divine title till he had thrown off mortality; that the practice of the Perſians, which had been urged as a precedent by Cleon, ought on many accounts to be of no weight here, ſince it was impoſſible that the vanquiſhed could ever give law to the victors. Alexander, who was concealed in an adjoining apartment, overheard every ſyllable of what paſt; and returning ſoon after into the hall of entertainment, was immediately adored by the Perſians.

Calliſthenes very ſoon received the reward of his generous ſentiments. A plot having been diſcovered againſt the life of Alexander, whereof one Hermolaus was the principal author, Calliſthenes was comprehended in the number of conſpirators, on account of his friendſhip with Hermolaus, was thrown into priſon, and put to the torture; under the torments of which he expired, proteſting his innocence with his laſt breath.

What

What horrid barbarity! This inſtance of unjuſt vengeance is a perpetual diſhonour on the character of Alexander. Seneca calls it, with great juſtice, an eternal reproach, and a crime that never can be wiped out by the greateſt talents, and moſt ſhining exploits: "For, "(adds the philoſopher), if we mention Alexander's "having ſlain 1000 Perſians; his having dethroned the "moſt powerful king in the world; his having pene"trated to the ocean; ſtill the remembrance of his ha"ving unjuſtly murdered Calliſthenes will recur upon "us, and efface the ſplendor of all thoſe great actions."

Independent of the eager deſire for conqueſt entertained by Alexander, he had learned from the fabulous traditions of the Greeks, that Hercules and Bacchus, both ſons of Jupiter, had carried their arms into the Indies, which, of itſelf, was a ſufficient motive for him to undertake the ſame expedition. The danger and difficulty that attended ſuch an enterpriſe, was to Alexander an additional motive ſtill. We will not pretend to ſay how far his conduct in that reſpect was juſtifiable. But ſo far we may venture to aſſert, that true glory never can conſiſt in increaſing human miſery, too great already through the unavoidable accidents of life, by diffuſing ruin and deſtruction over the face of the earth, and wantonly diſturbing the peace and quiet of mankind.

As ſoon as Alexander entered India, many petty ſovereigns paid him their homage and obedience. One nation, however, had the courage to oppoſe him; but they were defeated after a ſlight engagement; and Alexander, to ſtrike terror into others, who might be inclined to follow their example, beſieged their capital city, took it, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. Then he marched againſt the city of Nyſus, which ſurrendered at diſcretion. And now nothing was heard of but the daily reduction of cities on all ſides, and that in ſpite of a thouſand difficulties. But Alexander ſurmounted every obſtacle of art and nature, by ſuch an uninterrupted ſeries of good fortune, as appeared alto-

gether ſupernatural. Happening to be wounded in the leg by an arrow, at the ſiege of one of theſe towns named *Magoſa*, the pain extorted from him theſe remarkable words: "The whole world calls me the ſon "of Jupiter, but this wound makes me ſenſible that I "am ſtill a man."

Arriving at the river Indus, he paſſed it without any difficulty, the neceſſary preparations having been made by Epheſtion, who had gone before for that purpoſe. The king of that country, called *Taxilus*, came to meet him, and put into his power both his perſon and dominions, "knowing, (as he ſaid), that Alexander fought "for glory alone." On being aſked by Alexander, who was highly pleaſed with this addreſs, of what he ſtood moſt in need? he anſwered, "Of ſoldiers;" becauſe he had a war to maintain againſt two neighbouring kings, Abiſares and Porus, of whom the latter, who lived beyond the Hydaſpes, was the moſt powerful. Taxilus ſent a preſent of fifty elephants to Alexander, who, in return, beſtowed on that prince magnificent marks of his bounty.

Abiſares followed the example of Taxilus, and ſent ambaſſadors to put all his dominions under the power and protection of Alexander. But Porus was a prince of ſentiments too generous and elevated to permit him to ſtoop to ſo mean a behaviour. Alexander, ſurpriſed at neither receiving a viſit from Porus himſelf, nor from any perſon in his name, ſent to inform him that he muſt pay him tribute, and come in perſon to make his ſubmiſſions. Porus anſwered, that if he were to pay him a viſit, it ſhould be with his arms in his hand. Alexander then advanced to the river Hydaſpes, which was very broad, deep, and rapid; and, on the oppoſite bank, Porus appeared at the head of a formidable army prepared to diſpute the paſſage, with a number of elephants ranged in its front. But the danger of paſſing the river was what terrified the Macedonians the moſt; for they could nowhere find a ford. Alexander had previouſly cauſed a great number of boats to be ſo con-

ſtructed that they could be taken to pieces, and, by that means, be eaſily tranſported from place to place. As the river was full of iſlands, the youngeſt and moſt vigorous of the Macedonians threw themſelves into the water with no other arms than their javelins, and ſwimming to one of thoſe iſlands in which the enemy had made a lodgement, attacked and killed a great number of them. But a freſh reinforcement arriving to the aſſiſtance of the Indians, they advanced againſt the Macedonians, overwhelmed them with their darts, and obliged them to ſwim back again to the reſt of their army. Porus, who beheld this ſkirmiſh, was much elated with its ſucceſs.

Alexander being very deſirous of croſſing the river, had recourſe to a ſtratagem to effectuate his purpoſe. He therefore gave orders to make a buſtle and noiſe in ſeveral different places, as if he had a mind to attempt a paſſage there. By theſe means he diſtracted the attention of Porus, who immediately hurried towards thoſe places. Alexander, in the mean time, after committing the charge of the camp to Craterus, with part of the troops, to impreſs the enemy with a belief that the whole army ſtill continued in its former poſition, marched away with the reſt, and paſſed, undiſcovered, in boats, into a ſmall iſland overgrown with wood. A violent ſtorm of rain and thunder coming on, capable of diſcouraging any other perſon but Alexander, favoured his paſſage. While paſſing the river in a boat, he is ſaid to have let drop theſe ſtriking expreſſions; "O, A-"thenians, could you believe that I would willingly ex-"poſe myſelf to ſo great dangers to attract your com-"mendations."

While Porus kept a ſtrict eye on Craterus, who, by his motions, ſeemed determined to attempt the paſſage, Alexander reached the farther ſide without moleſtation; and immediately drawing up his army in battle order, tho' it conſiſted of no more than 6000 men, and 5000 horſe, made the proper diſpoſitions for fighting.

Porus hearing that Alexander had made good his paſſage,

paſſage, detached againſt him 2000 horſe, under the command of one of his ſons. But Alexander attacking this detachment with great vigour, cut off the greateſt part of them, and killed their commander. Porus, informed of the death of his ſon, and of the defeat of the troops under his command, advanced againſt Alexander with his whole army, conſiſting of 30,000 foot, 300 chariots, and 200 elephants, which he drew up in battle order, with the elephants in the front. Alexander made various evolutions with his cavalry, to protract the time till the reſt of his infantry ſhould arrive. Then, inſtead of attacking the main body of the enemy, he diſpatched 1000 archers to aſſail the cavalry on their left wing in front; ordered Cœnus to make a ſudden evolution, and to attack the ſame cavalry in the rear, and he himſelf charged them in flank.

The Indians, thus haraſſed on all ſides, gave ground, and retreated towards their elephants. In the mean time, the Macedonian infantry having formed themſelves into their phalanx, advanced againſt thoſe dreadful animals, and aſſailed them with their ſpears. The elephants, rendered furious by their wounds, broke through the thickeſt of the Macedonian battalions. But Alexander, after throwing the enemy's left wing into confuſion, united his cavalry, which was ſuperior to that of the enemy, into one body, and carried terror and diſorder throughout. The elephants, now deprived of their conductors, ran about at random, and overthrew every thing that came in their way. At laſt, the Macedonian infantry formed again, made a vigorous effort, completed the diſorder among the Indian cavalry, and cut moſt of them in pieces. Craterus having by this time paſſed the river with the reſt of the army, fell upon thoſe who were retreating, and made a great ſlaughter. The Indians loſt, in this battle, 20,000 foot; and moſt of their elephants were either killed or taken. Alexander loſt no more than 112 men. 327.

Porus, after behaving with ſurpriſing bravery, and being

being wounded in the ſhoulder, was obliged at laſt, when he ſaw his army totally defeated, to retreat on his elephant. Alexander, deſirous to ſave him, ſent Taxilus to perſuade him to ſurrender. But Porus, inſtead of liſtening to his perſuaſions, cried out, on ſeeing him approach, "Is not that Taxilus, the traitor to his ſubjects "and his native country!" Other officers, therefore, being diſpatched to Porus with the ſame intention, at laſt, with much difficulty, prevailed upon him to conſent; and Alexander himſelf advanced to meet him. Porus approaching him with a reſolute undaunted air, was aſked by Alexander, "How he deſired to be treat-"ed?"—"As a king," anſwered Porus. "Do "you wiſh for nothing elſe," replied Alexander:—"No, ſaid Porus, *that compreheńds every thing.*" Alexander, ſtruck with admiration at his magnanimity, left him in poſſeſſion of his kingdom, and behaved to him with the higheſt marks of honour and eſteem. Alexander ordered a city to be built on the field of battle, and called it *Nicea*.

Advancing ſtill further into the Indies, he ſubdued many nations. Alexander now ſeemed to regard himſelf as commiſſioned by the gods to enſlave the univerſe, and to exterminate thoſe who ſhould preſume to oppoſe his power. Marching at laſt againſt the Catheans, a very valiant people, who had united for the defence of their common liberty, he defeated them in a great battle near a city called *Pangala*, which he next took and deſtroyed. It was there that he found the Brachmans, who were both the philoſophers, and likewiſe the miniſters of religion in India, and were very highly reverenced and eſteemed by their countrymen. Theſe Brachmans led a moſt auſtere life. They drank nothing but water, ſubſiſted on herbs and roots, ſpent much of their time in ſinging hymns to the gods, faſted often, continued all their lives in a ſtate of celibacy, and when oppreſſed by decrepitude, or the infirmities of old age, voluntarily and chearfully burnt themſelves to death. Cicero relates ſeveral inſtances of their aſtoniſhing patience.

tience. They believed, that the world has had a beginning, and that it ſhall have an end. They entertained the ſame opinion as Plato, with reſpect to the immortality of the ſoul; but they adopted the doctrine of the metempſychoſis.

When theſe philoſophers ſaw Alexander, they ſtamped on the ground with their feet. Being aſked their reaſon for this behaviour, they informed that prince, that no perſon could really poſſeſs more of that element, the earth, than the ſmall ſpace of it which he actually occupied; that Alexander differed not materially from other men in any other reſpect, except in being more reſtleſs and ambitious; and that when he ſhould die, as die he muſt, he could then occupy no greater a part of all his vaſt conqueſts than any other man. One of theſe philoſophers, named *Calanus*, at the earneſt intreaty of one of Alexander's officers, agreed to accompany that prince in his expeditions. Theſe philoſophers commonly made uſe of alluſions and metaphors, the better to explain their meaning. Their chief, to give Alexander a more lively idea of the ſtate of a great empire, having laid on the ground a large dry ox's hide, preſſed with his foot each of its corners, one after another, and deſired the king to remark, that, on his doing ſo, the other parts of the hide roſe up; but at laſt placing his foot in the middle, he kept the whole level. By this he meant to inſinuate, that a king ought to reſide in the centre of his dominions, ſo as to be able to prevent all revolts and diſorders in the remoteſt quarters of it; and that he ought never to undertake ſuch diſtant expeditions as that which Alexander was then proſecuting.

The Macedonians perceiving, in the mean time, that Alexander, whoſe intention was ſtill to puſh forward, was taking meaſures for paſſing the river Hyphaſus, could no longer conceal their diſcontent. They complained loudly, that their king ſeemed determined to ſet no bounds to his expeditions; that he was ſtill advancing farther and farther from their native country; and that

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he ſeemed quite unconcerned at the exceſſive dangers and fatigues to which he was continually expoſing his troops. Alexander hearing of this commotion, aſſembled the whole army, and made a long ſpeech, wherein he laboured to perſuade them to paſs the Hyphaſus, telling them, that, to retreat at preſent, would appear a diſgraceful flight; that all his hopes were placed on their courage and reſolution; that, by their aſſiſtance, he aſſured himſelf of ſucceſs in all his enterpriſes; and he begged of them not to fruſtrate his glorious expectations, of rivalling the exploits of Hercules and of Bacchus. Perceiving, however, that his arguments produced no effect on his ſoldiers, who held down their heads in mournful ſilence, he exclaimed, "What! not one "of you anſwer me! Then I am abandoned, betrayed, "delivered over to my enemies. Be it ſo, then; but "ſtill I will paſs this river, ſhould not a ſingle man of you "accompany me. The Scythians, the Bactrians, more "faithful than you, will follow me where-ever I lead "them. Return, return to your native country, baſe "betrayers of your king, and boaſt of having deſerted "him amidſt barbarous and hoſtile nations. As for "me, I ſhall either find here the victory of which you "deſpair, or a glorious death."

In ſpite of this pathetic addreſs, both officers and ſoldiers perſiſted in their ſilence. At length their grief burſt forth in ſighs and tears, in ſo much, that Alexander himſelf could not refrain from weeping. Then Cænus advancing forward to the throne, and taking off his helmet, pled the cauſe of the army. He aſſured Alexander, that the affection entertained for him by his ſoldiers was nowiſe diminiſhed; that they were ready to march whitherſoever he deſired to lead them; but he begged him to liſten to their reſpectful repreſentations. "We have performed every thing for you," continued he, "that it is in the power of men to per-"form: We have traverſed the earth and the ſeas; we "have arrived victorious at the end of one world, and "yet you meditate the conqueſt of another; look on

"theſe

" theſe diſfigured countenances, and on theſe limbs " covered with ſcars; the poor remains of us that " have eſcaped from ſo many dangers and fatigues, " want courage to follow you farther. We all earneſt- " ly deſire to reviſit our native country, there to enjoy " the fruits of our toils. Forgive this deſire, which na- " ture has implanted in the breaſts of all men." Theſe words were accompanied by the groans and tears of the whole army, who called Alexander their lord and father. The officers next addreſſed him to the ſame purpoſe. Still, however, he remained inflexible, and ſhut himſelf up alone in his tent; but finding the ſoldiers obſtinate in their reſolution, he at laſt iſſued orders for their preparing to return. This news ſpread inconceiveable joy through the troops; and the camp reſounded with the praiſes of the king.

Before ſetting out, Alexander cauſed twelve altars of an extraordinary height to be erected, a 326. camp of far greater dimenſions than the one he really occupied, to be marked out; a bed, ſeven foot and a half in length to be made in each tent; and mangers much larger than uſual. By theſe extravagant preparations, he intended to impreſs poſterity with a belief, that he and his men exceeded in ſtature all the reſt of the human race. The neceſſary preparations being made, the army imbarked a-board a fleet of 800 veſſels, and proceeded to the conflux of the Hydaſpes and Aceſinus.

After ſuffering greatly from the violence of thoſe rivers, Alexander entered the country of the Oxydracæ and Mallians, two warlike nations. Having defeated them in ſeveral engagements, he marched againſt the capital of the Oxydracæ, and beſieged it. Here he was the firſt man that mounted the wall; his men haſten to ſupport him; but the ladders break, and he is left alone. To avoid the darts hurled at him from all quarters, he jumps into the city amidſt the enemy. Here he ran the greateſt danger he was ever expoſed to in his life. He places his back to the trunk of a large tree, wards off with his ſhield the darts aimed at him, and

and with his ſword keeps the neareſt of the enemy at bay: At laſt he is ſo deeply wounded with an arrow, that his arms fall from his hands. An Indian believing him dead, approaches to ſtrip him of his armour. Alexander recovers himſelf, and plunges a dagger into the Indian's body. His principal officers arriving, in the mean time, perform prodigies of valour to ſave their king, and ſuſtain all the efforts of the enemy, till the reſt of the army force the gates, and ruſhing in, put all they meet to the ſword. Then Alexander is carried off to his tent; but as the ſurgeons were obliged to enlarge the wound before they could extract the arrow, he fainted under the operation, and his men imagined him dead. It was ſeveral days before he recovered of this wound. As ſoon as he was able to go abroad, he preſented himſelf to his ſoldiers, to diſpel their apprehenſions.

In the mean time deputies, to the number of 150, arrived from the Oxydracæ and Mallians, bringing him preſents, promiſing to pay him tribute, and offering to deliver him hoſtages. Alexander accepted of thoſe tokens of ſubmiſſion, and appeared well pleaſed with the embaſſy. Craterus ſeizing this favourable moment, repreſented to him the terror into which his late danger had thrown the army; entreated him to be more careful of ſo precious a life for the future, and to reſerve his bravery for ſome occaſion worthy of it. We ſhudder with horror, added he, at the very idea of the extreme danger to which you expoſed your important life in a diſpute for ſo paultry a place. Alexander, delighted with ſo ſtrong a mark of the affection of his officers, embraced them one after another, and made them an excellent ſpeech, in which he diſcovered all his greatneſs of ſoul. He aſſured them, that he entertained the moſt grateful ſenſe of the repeated marks of affection they had ſhewn him; "but," continued he, "you and I "think of this matter very differently; you deſire to "enjoy my ſociety for a long while; but I do not value "life by the length of its duration, but by the oppor-

" tunities it affords me of gaining glory. I might, in-
" deed, circumſcribe my ambition within the narrow
" limits of Macedonia, and ſpend my life in inactivity
" and ſloth; and I confeſs, too, that, counting by my
" victories, and not by my years, I may be ſaid to have
" lived long already. But were it not unbecoming in
" me, after making but one empire of Europe and of
" Aſia, to ſtop ſhort in ſo noble a career, and to re-
" linquiſh the path of glory, in which I have reſolved
" for ever to tread? Only protect me from baſe trea-
" chery, and domeſtic enemies, by which moſt princes
" have periſhed, and I myſelf will take care of what re-
" mains."

The magnanimity that ſhines through this diſcourſe, is ſufficiently expreſſive of that great ſoul that animated the Macedonian hero; and whatever our opinion of his conqueſts and ambition may be, it is impoſſible for us not to admire his grand and lofty ſentiments.

Alexander next led his army into the country of the Sabarcæ, who, though a powerful nation, were ſtruck with terror at his arrival, and immediately made him their ſubmiſſions. Thence continuing his rout, he arrived at Patala, where he cauſed a citadel and harbour to be built. In this place the river Indus divides itſelf into two large branches. Seized with a deſire to ſee the ocean, he embarked his whole army at this place upon the right-hand branch of the river. As ſoon as he felt the air of the ocean, his heart exulted with joy, and he aſſured his ſoldiers, that they were now at the end of their labours, and that their exploits had reached to the farthest bounds of nature. His fleet, in the mean time, was expoſed to great danger, by the ebbing and flowing of the ocean, by which, being ignorant of the cauſe of it, they were thrown into the greateſt conſternation. Alexander, however, ſtill proceeded forward with part of the fleet, to get a view of the vaſt extent of ſea that was before him; and arriving at the ocean at laſt, he performed a ſolemn ſacrifice to Neptune. After having thus, as he imagined, puſhed his conqueſts

to the remoteſt corners of the earth, he returned to join the reſt of his army in the neighbourhood of Patala.

Then he ſeriouſly gave orders for making the neceſſary preparations for his return. He embarked the beſt of his troops aboard his fleet, of which he gave Nearchus the command, and with the reſt he himſelf ſet out for Babylon by land. Nearchus being obliged to wait till the ſeaſon became favourable, did not leave India till about the end of September. Alexander ſuffered much on his march by famine and the inclemency of the weather, inſomuch that three fourths of his army, which at his departure amounted, by Arrian's account, to 120,000 foot, and 15,000 horſe, periſhed on the way, of bad food and exceſſive heat. They were obliged to eat even the beaſts of burden; and, to crown their miſeries, the plague broke out among the troops. After continuing his journey for ſixty days, he arrived at laſt in the fruitful country of Gedroſia, where he halted ſome time to repoſe his troops, and to recruit his cavalry, receiving every kind of proviſions in great abundance from the neighbouring princes. Being now on the confines of Perſia, he gave his ſoldiers moſt beautiful arms, and traverſed the province of Carmania, not ſo much
325. like a conqueror as like another Bacchus; affecting to imitate the pretended triumph of that god in his progreſs through Aſia, after his conqueſt of the Indies.

Alexander was mounted on a chariot drawn by eight horſes, and appeared ſitting at a table, where he ſpent the whole day in feaſting and debauchery. This chariot was preceded by ſeveral others, of which ſome were covered with rich tapeſtry, in the form of tents, and others with branches of trees, diſpoſed in the form of arbours. Along the road the ſoldiers found large caſks full of wine, ready broached, of which they drank as much as they pleaſed. The whole country re-echoed with the ſound of muſical inſtruments, and with the noiſe of bacchanals, running about in the moſt frantic manner, with their hair looſe and diſhevelled. This

proceſſion,

proceſſion, which preſented nothing to the eyes but people drunk with wine, laſted ſeven days.

Nearchus in the mean time proſecuted his voyage, by coaſting along the ſhores of the ocean. Arriving at laſt at a place diſtant, as he was told, only five days journey from where Alexander happened to be; he ſet out to find him, and informed him, that the fleet, about the fate of which Alexander began to be very uneaſy, was out of all danger. After acquainting Alexander with this agreeable piece of news, Nearchus returned to his fleet, and ſailed up the Euphrates, till he reached Babylon.

While Alexander remained in the country of Carmania, he received grievous complaints againſt ſeveral of his governors of provinces, who, concluding that he never would return to call them to an account for their conduct, had exerciſed every ſort of tyranny and rapine during his abſence. Alexander thinking it proper, by a ſpeedy execution of juſtice, to enſure the affections of the conquered provinces, cauſed to be put to death all the governors convicted of oppreſſion, together with thoſe who had acted as the miniſters of their violence. What a happineſs for a ſtate, when its prince applies the ſword, which he ought not to carry in vain, to puniſh the oppreſſors of his ſubjects, and to take vengeance on all the inſtruments of tyranny and injuſtice!

Alexander arriving at Paſagarda, a city of Perſia, was met by Orſinus, the governor of that country, a man poſſeſſed of immenſe riches, who brought to the king a great number of magnificent preſents, among which were many fine horſes, chariots adorned with gold, ſeveral precious pieces of furniture, golden vaſes, and 4000 talents of ſilver. Beſides theſe preſents to the king, Orſinus beſtowed marks of his bounty on all the principal officers of Alexander, except the eunuch Bagoas, that prince's chief favourite, for whom he entertained a thorough contempt. Servants employed about princes, as the inſtruments of their vileſt paſſions, are always endued with ſouls as ſordid as their ſtations, and

are capable of ſacrificing to their baſe reſentments the moſt ſacred conſiderations. This infamous eunuch omitted no means to ruin Orſinus in the opinion of the king, and was perpetually accuſing him of treaſon and of rapine. Not ſatisfied with employing calumny for this villanous purpoſe, he ſuborned ſome of Orſinus's retainers to become at a proper ſeaſon the accuſers of their maſter. After having by theſe means inſtilled into the mind of Alexander ſuſpicions againſt his ſubject, and by that means having artfully diſpoſed him to give credit to the groſſeſt accuſations againſt him, he at laſt got him accuſed to the king, of having plundered the tomb of Cyrus, within which Alexander, in place of the immenſe riches he was made to expect, found nothing but a ſhield and ſome arms. The magi, who were entruſted with the care of the tomb, were put to the torture in vain. Bagoas at laſt prevailed with the followers of Orſinus, whom he had corrupted, to accuſe their maſter of having ſtolen thoſe treaſures; and Orſinus was thereupon ſeized and put to death, without being allowed to make any defence. A ſtriking example to princes of the danger of ſuffering themſelves to be too eaſily prepoſſeſſed againſt any of their ſubjects or dependents, by the inſidious arts of their favourites.

While Alexander remained at Paſagarda, the brachman Calanus, who had accompanied that prince in many of his expeditions, having been attacked by a violent fit of the cholic, reſolved to put an end to his days; and, by the moſt earneſt intreaties, at laſt obtained permiſſion to cauſe a funeral pile to be erected, upon which he might burn himſelf. After offering up his prayers to the gods, and performing the other ceremonies practiſed in his native country, he embraced his friends, begged of them to ſpend the day in feaſting, and making merry with Alexander, mounted the funeral pile, covered his face, and ſuffered himſelf to be burnt with all the marks of cheerfulneſs and ſatisfaction. Alexander, in compliance with the requeſt of Calanus, aſſembled his friends, and having propoſed a prize to him who

ſhould

ſhould drink the moſt, the whole company indulged themſelves in ſo great an exceſs of wine, that forty-one of them died of it. What a monſtrous ſcene *!

Then Alexander viſited Perſepolis, and was ſtruck with great regret at having burnt that fine city.—From Perſepolis he proceeded to Suſa, where the fleet and army met. In this city, Alexander took to wife Statira, the eldeſt daughter of Darius, and beſtowed the youngeſt on Epheſtion. Moſt of his principal officers followed their example, and married the daughters of the nobleſt Perſians. Alexander gave a grand entertainment to all the new married, at which 9000 gueſts are ſaid to have been preſent. The king, on this occaſion, reſolved to diſcharge all the debts of his ſoldiers, a generoſity worthy of Alexander; for they amounted to 10,000 talents. He did not even deſire them to ſpecify the particular debts each of them owed. As the ſoldiers ſeemed, at firſt, to doubt of the ſincerity of his intentions, he delivered to them that excellent ſentiment, "That a king ought never to break his word with his "ſubjects; nor ought ſubjects ever to ſuſpect the ſin-"cerity of their ſovereign's profeſſions."

While Alexander continued at Suſa, he was joined by 30,000 young Perſians, deſtined to ſupply the place of the old decayed ſoldiers. They were all ſtrong and well made, and were armed and diſciplined after the Macedonian manner. They paſſed in review before the king, who was delighted to ſee the fine appearance of this new army.

Harpalus, whom Alexander had left governor of Babylon, had diſſipated, in the moſt extravagant manner, the immenſe riches that had been committed to his care, indulging himſelf in all kinds of debauchery, on the ſuppoſition that Alexander never would return to call him to an account. But getting notice at laſt of his

* The conqueror in this abominable conteſt was named *Promachus*. He is ſaid to have drunk on this occaſion fourteen bottles, or fourteen Engliſh quarts; and to have ſurvived his victory but three days.

arrival,

arrival, and of the ſeverity with which he had treated the other governors who had been guilty of malverſations in their duty, he quitted the ſervice of Alexander, and taking with him 5000 talents, the remains of his former wealth, retired to Athens. On his arrival there, the mercenary orators immediately offered him their beſt ſervices. Harpalus, finding that Phocion poſſeſſed great credit with the people, offered him a preſent of 700 talents. But that virtuous republican rejected his offer with diſdain, and deſired him to deſiſt from corrupting his fellow-citizens with his money. This was not the firſt time that Phocion had given proof of his diſintereſtedneſs and integrity. He had rejected, with the ſame firmneſs, the offers both of Philip and Alexander. Harpalus attempted likewiſe to corrupt Demoſthenes, who was at firſt proof againſt all his offers; but happening one day to expreſs great admiration at the ſight of a ſumptuous cup that had belonged to one of the kings of Perſia, but of which Harpalus had got poſſeſſion, the Perſian ſent him, that ſame night, the cup, together with twenty talents, the value of it. This coming to the knowledge of the people, threw them into a violent rage againſt Demoſthenes, who, to avoid the effects of their diſpleaſure, fled from Athens, and remained in exile till ſome time after the death of Alexander, reſiding for the moſt part at Trezené.—In the opinion of Pauſanias, it is far from being ſufficiently proved, that Demoſthenes really gave way to this temptation of Harpalus.

Alexander, in the mean time, deſirous of indulging his eyes with another view of the ocean, deſcended to it by the river Elea; and after coaſting along the Perſian gulf to the mouth of the Tigris, he remounted that river, till he arrived at the place where his army encamped. At his return he iſſued a proclamation, permitting ſuch of the Macedonian ſoldiers as were unable any longer to ſupport the fatigues of war, to return into Greece. The troops gave an unfavourable interpretation to this indulgence of their king, believing, that he

he intended to fix the ſeat of his empire in Aſia inſtead of Macedonia, and that he deſired to free his hands altogether of his Macedonian ſoldiers, to whom he preferred his late Perſian levies. Rendered furious at this thought, they hurried in a tumultuous manner to find their king, and demanded of him, that ſince he no longer valued his Macedonian ſoldiers, he would diſcharge them all, for they were reſolved to ſerve him no longer. This ſeditious addreſs threw Alexander into ſo violent a paſſion, that he ordered thirteen of the ringleaders to be inſtantly ſeized and put to death. This inſtance of authority ſo terrified the reſt, that they durſt not look up, nor utter a ſyllable. Then Alexander, mounting his tribunal, reproached them, in very ſevere terms, with the many marks of kindneſs he had beſtowed on them, and concluded with theſe words: "You require your diſcharge; I grant "it; depart, and publiſh to the world, that you have "abandoned your king to the mercy of the nations he "has conquered, who have ſhown greater attachment "to him than you." Having ſpoken thus, he retired to his tent.

The Macedonians now ſenſible of their folly, burſt out into ſighs and lamentations, haſten to the tent of the king, throw down their arms, and confeſs their fault with tears. Alexander, ſeeing them in this ſituation, could not himſelf refrain from weeping. Coming out of his tent, therefore, he told them, that he reſtored to them his friendſhip. Then he diſcharged all who were unable longer to bear arms; made each of them large preſents, and gave orders, that the foremoſt ſeats at all public games ſhould be reſerved for them. Craterus was appointed to conduct them home; and, at the ſame time, created governor of Macedonia in place of Antipater, whom Alexander, in compliance with the earneſt requeſt of his mother, who was continually plaguing him with accuſations againſt that officer, deſired to have near his own perſon.

Thence proceeding to Ecbatana in Media, he celebrated numberleſs games and feaſts, at which the whole

court

court gave themſelves up to the moſt extravagant exceſſes of drinking. Theſe debauches proved fatal to Epheſtion, the moſt intimate friend of Alexander, 324. and whom he uſed to call another ſelf. As Epheſtion was modeſt, and benevolent, and employed his influence with great diſcretion, his death was univerſally regreted. Even Alexander himſelf, forgetting his dignity, gave way to the moſt tender feelings of friendſhip, and appeared quite inconſolable. To divert his grief, he undertook an expedition againſt the Coſſeians, a warlike nation; and having conquered them, he ſet out for Babylon.

Before he arrived at that city, the aſtrologers and Chaldean ſoothſayers ſent him word, that great danger threatened his life in caſe he entered Babylon. This denunciation alarmed Alexander very much at firſt; but the Greek philoſophers having demonſtrated to him, upon the principles of Anaxagoras, the folly of aſtrology, he immediately advanced towards Babylon with his whole army. But he had ſtill another motive for haſtening towards that city, namely, that he might there receive the homage of many ambaſſadors, who had come hither for that purpoſe, from different kingdoms of the world. Alexander, therefore, made his entry into Babylon with the utmoſt pomp imaginable. He received, with equal dignity and complaiſance, the congratulations of all the ambaſſadors, but particularly of thoſe from the ſtates of Greece. Upon the deputies from Corinth making him an offer of the freedom of their city, he could not help ſmiling at the ſingularity of ſuch an offer to ſo mighty a prince. But on being informed, that this privilege had never been before beſtowed on any ſtranger but Hercules alone, he immediately received it with joy. Then he applied all his attention to celebrate the funerals of Epheſtion, which were attended with ſuch pomp and magnificence, as to ſurpaſs every thing of the ſame kind that had ever appeared in the world before. He got together the moſt ſkilful architects from all quarters, and beſtowed great

pains on levelling the ſpot whereon the pile was to be placed.

The edifice formed a ſquare conſiſting of thirty diviſions, in each of which was erected a ſimilar building to that in the reſt, covered and embelliſhed with extraordinary magnificence. Along the front were diſpoſed 240 prows of ſhips, on which were placed figures of archers and warriors ſix and a half feet high: The ſpaces between the prows were hung with purple ſtuffs: Above the prows was a range of torches twenty-four feet high, forming a ſort of colonade, adorned with fifty-three crowns of gold: The capitals of this colonade conſiſted of figures in the ſhape of eagles: Above this colonade ſtood another, repreſenting a hunting-match: Above this appeared a fourth, exhibiting the battle of the Centaurs: The roof of the edifice was decorated with trophies and urns; and on the entablatures, were placed figures repreſenting Syrens, within which were concealed muſicians who ſung mournful airs in honour of the deceaſed. This edifice was upwards of 200 feet high; and the whole expence of the funeral amounted to about 1,500,000 l. Sterling *.

What folly, thus to conſume in empty ſhow ſuch an immenſe ſum, produced by the toil and labour of the moſt uſeful ſubjects. But not ſatisfied with all theſe marks of honour paid to the memory of his beloved Epheſtion, Alexander reſolved to offer ſacrifices to him as a god, and that under the authority of a reſponſe of the oracle of Jupiter Ammon; to obtain which a proper perſon was diſpatched with the neceſſary inſtructions. He himſelf ſet the example; after which, in order to pleaſe the prince, numberleſs temples were every where

* The principal architect of the monument erected by Alexander to the memory of Epheſtion is ſaid to have been named Steſicrates. This artiſt had ſome time before propoſed to Alexander to cut Mount Athos into a ſtatue, repreſenting him, which ſhould in its right hand hold a large river, and in its left a city containing 10,000 inhabitants.

erected to Epheſtion; and it was reckoned criminal even to doubt of his being a god.

As Babylon was the greateſt and the moſt beautiful city of the eaſt, Alexander reſolved to beautify it ſtill more, and to make it the ſeat of his empire. In the firſt place, therefore, he gave orders to repair the bulwark formerly conſtructed to confine the Euphrates to its channel, but which that river had in a great meaſure demoliſhed. This uſeful project, however, as well as that of rebuilding the temple of Belus, which had been ruined by Xerxes, as the idol worſhipped in it had been by Cyrus, together with all his other projects, were put a ſtop to by his death.

The melancholy idea of approaching death, had now laid faſt hold on the imagination of Alexander. Every accident, therefore, ſtruck him with terror, and carried an evil preſage along with it. He became a downright ſlave to ſuperſtition, and was perpetually offering up ſacrifices to render fate propitious, and to obtain the knowledge of futurity. To divert the conſtant ſtings of apprehenſion, he employed his time in an uninterrupted courſe of feaſting and drinking, particularly the latter, in which he indulged himſelf to ſuch exceſs, that he thereby greatly accelerated his death. After having, at one of theſe feaſts, already drunk to great exceſs, he reſolved, nevertheleſs, to empty the cup of Hercules, which contained ſix bottles. But he had no ſooner ſwallowed it, than he fell to the ground, and was ſeized with a violent fever, which quickly reduced him to the point of death. Finding that there was no hope of recovery left, he delivered his ring to Perdiccas, and permitted all his ſoldiers to kiſs his hand. On being aſked, to whom he left his empire? "*To the moſt worthy*," anſwered he; adding, at the ſame time, that he foreſaw with what ſtrange rites they would celebrate his funeral. Perdiccas having aſked him, how ſoon he deſired they ſhould pay divine honours to his memory, he anſwered, "When you ſhall be happy." Theſe were his

his laſt words.—He died at the age of 32, after reigning 12 years.

Some authors, and Quintus Curtius, among the reſt, pretend that he died by poiſon. But beſides 323.
many other irrefragable arguments to the contrary, it is clear that he died of exceſſive drinking, and not by poiſon; from this ſingle circumſtance, that in the warm climate of Babylon, his body continued for ſeveral days without any appearance of corruption.

As ſoon as his death was known, nothing was heard but weeping and lamentation. The victors and the vanquiſhed equally bewailed his death; the Perſians calling him the mildeſt and the juſteſt of their monarchs; the Macedonians, the beſt and the braveſt prince in the world. The grief of the latter was heightened by their preſent melancholy ſituation beyond the Euphrates, and in the midſt of their enemies, foreſeeing, at the ſame time, the wars and diviſions that muſt unavoidably ariſe from his having named no ſucceſſor. Syſigambis mourned his death as ſincerely as ſhe had done that of her own ſon; and finding herſelf, by this event, without further reſource or hope, ſhe gave way to the ſuggeſtions of deſpair, and ſtarved herſelf to death.

The officers, after diſputing for ſeven days, at laſt agreed, that Arideus, the brother of Alexander, ſhould be declared king; and that his perſon (for he was a poor weak man) ſhould be intruſted to the care of Perdiccas.—The body of Alexander, after being embalmed by the Chaldeans, was, according to his own directions, conveyed to the temple of Jupiter Ammon; but two years interveened before the neceſſary preparations could be gotten ready.

Alexander's character is marked by numberleſs blemiſhes; but, on due conſideration, it may perhaps appear to ſome readers, that his great and good qualities predomined over his vicious and bad.

He was born with the fineſt natural parts; and his magnanimity and lofty ſentiments were almoſt without

example.—He early diſcovered marks of the greateſt generoſity; but he as early gave proofs of an unequalled ambition. He received a perfect education under the moſt ſkilful of maſters, Ariſtotle, who took great pains to cultivate his genius, and inſtructed him not only in the fine arts, but in the moſt ſublime ſciences. The ſcholar's progreſs correſponded to the zeal and ſkill of his inſtructor.

While young, he diſcovered very ſingular prudence, and found means, during the abſence of his father, to pacify ſome dangerous commotions that had broken out in Macedonia. At the age of twenty years, he ſubdued his moſt formidable enemies, namely, all the ſtates of Greece combined againſt him, which ſhewed him to be poſſeſſed of undaunted reſolution, and heroical bravery. In the opinion indeed of ſome, the firſt years of his reign were the moſt glorious of his life. He ſupported the ſame character in his expedition againſt Darius, which was not undertaken with a youthful raſhneſs, but with all the vaſt preparations that the greatneſs of the enterpriſe required; "I mean, ſays Plutarch, magna-"nimity, prudence, temperance, courage, all which "he had learnt from the ſtudy of philoſophy."

To judge how far he poſſeſſed every talent of a complete general, it is only neceſſary to contemplate his paſſage of the Granicus, his battles at Iſſus and Arbela, and his ſiege of Tyre. We ſhall there perceive his ſkill at drawing up an army in battle order, his preſence of mind in the heat of action, his intrepidity in the midſt of danger, and his firmneſs and conſtancy under diſappointments. His father Philip ſtudied to ſubdue his enemies by ſtratagem and circumvention; but Alexander practiſed for that purpoſe open force and bravery alone. His behaviour, after the battle of Iſſus, is perhaps the action of his whole life that did him the moſt honour; for, on that occaſion, he gained a more difficult victory over his own paſſions, than that over the Perſian monarch.

His conduct to the wife and daughters of Darius, who found,

found, in his very camp, an aſylum for their honour and virtue, places him, in that reſpect, on a level with the elder Scipio Africanus and beſpeaks him truly great. Another circumſtance that redounds much to the praiſe of Alexander, is his being ſuſceptible of the moſt tender and conſtant friendſhip; and as he invariably maintained that amiable character to the laſt period of his life, ſo he was rewarded, by finding ſeveral ſincere and real friends, a happineſs rarely incident to perſons of high rank. His familiarity and kindneſs to his ſoldiers convinced them that they were beloved by their king; and gratitude for that honour, prompted them to exert their utmoſt efforts to pleaſe him, and to obey his commands with the higheſt ardour. Nothing, in a word, was wanting to render the glory of Alexander complete, had he only known how to ſet proper bounds to his ambition; but, infatuated by an uninterrupted and dazzling courſe of proſperity, he ſoon became entirely different from what he had formerly been.

After the ſiege of Tyre, we perceive the good qualities of Alexander to be daily degenerating. On ſeeing him expoſe his own life, and that of his troops, in a journey through the burning deſarts of Libya, with the abſurd view of having himſelf acknowledged to be the ſon of Jupiter Ammon, we wonder what had become of his former prudence. We are ſhocked to ſee him give himſelf up in Aſia to ſuch immoderate exceſſes of drinking. By this vice, equally deſpicable and dangerous, we ſee him inſtigated to dip his hands in the blood of a friend who had ſaved his life. We likewiſe ſee his underſtanding ſo much affected by his intemperance, that he is not aſhamed to vilify the glory of his father, and to undervalue his actions; although, at the ſame time, it ſeems to be pretty evident that Philip was in ſeveral reſpects ſuperior to Alexander. For on due conſideration we ſhall perceive that Philip was not only the ſole author of his own power, but likewiſe of that of his ſon. He tranſmitted to him the kingdom of Macedonia enlarged exceedingly on all ſides; he left him maſter of Greece;

and

and above all, he put into his hands a powerful army of veteran ſoldiers, admirably diſciplined, and commanded by a great number of brave and experienced officers. Nor can it be diſputed that Philip gave the moſt indubitable proofs of his ability to effect the conqueſts effected by his ſon, while on the other hand it is not ſo clear that Alexander could have performed what his father performed.

But what numberleſs actions of violence and injuſtice have we not to arraign him with, after his ſubverting the Perſian empire, by his victory at Arbela, and the death of Darius? Thenceforward he ſhews himſelf an unprovoked perſecutor of nations who deſired only to live in peace. He appears no longer in the light of a conqueror, ſtill leſs in that of a hero; he is a downright uſurper, a robber, a ſcourge ſent by the Almighty Diſpoſer of all things to execute his vengeance on mankind.

For his carrying the war into Aſia, he had indeed a very ſpecious pretext, namely to revenge the numberleſs miſeries brought upon the Greeks by the kings of Perſia. But what pretence could he alledge for ſpreading ravage and deſtruction among nations who had never injured him, and to whom the very name of Greece was unknown; and for putting to the ſword all the inhabitants of cities, guilty of no other crime, than the defending of their lives and liberties, with the bravery inſpired by the moſt natural of all paſſions, ſelf-preſervation? But Alexander placed his glory in making himſelf the terror of mankind; and his extravagant ambition confined itſelf neither by rule nor meaſure. On hearing the philoſopher Anaxarchus give it as his opinion, that the univerſe contained an infinity of worlds, he is ſaid to have wept, becauſe it was impoſſible for him to conquer any more of them than one. His raſhneſs too deſerves to be numbered among his faults. We ſee him on all occaſions expoſing his life like a ſimple volunteer; advancing the firſt to the aſſault, climbing along ſteep and dangerous precipices, and conſtantly ſtudying to perform the moſt hazardous and daring exploits, truſting ſtill to his good fortune, and,

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in a manner, to miracles. Such is far from being the glory at which a ſovereign ought to aim. He ſhould always bear in mind, that he is reſponſible for his life to his ſoldiers and to his ſubjects.

Eminent Writers, Philoſophers, Artiſts, &c.

THIS third age of Greece produced a great number of philoſophers. At the head of all theſe Socrates deſerves to be ranked; but as we have already ſpoken of him at great length, we ſhall ſay no more of him here, but paſs on to others, and begin with

Plato, a native of Athens, and the moſt famous diſciple of Socrates. Plato did not confine himſelf, like his maſter, to the ſubject of morals alone, but ſtudied every branch of philoſophy. His thirſt after knowledge prompted him to travel into Egypt, where he learned from the prieſts various branches of knowledge generally unknown. His accurate notions about the exiſtence of God, and the immortality of the ſoul, are generally thought to have been communicated to him in that country. We ſhall have occaſion afterwards to mention his journies to Syracuſe at the requeſt of the younger Dionyſius. At laſt he fixed his conſtant reſidence at Athens, in a quarter of that city called the *Academy*, where he delivered his leſſons, and whence his diſciples got the name of *Academicians*.

Among his principal tenets may be reckoned the following: That there is but one world:—That there is but one God, the author of all things:—That the ſoul is immortal:—That men ought to reſiſt their paſſions:—That, after this life, the good and virtuous ſhall be rewarded, and the wicked and vicious puniſhed. Plato delivered his doctrines in the form of dialogues. He appears to have poſſeſſed a very ſtrong imagination. His ſtyle is extremely florid and ſublime, and is particularly diſtinguiſhed by a delicacy known to the Greeks by the name of *Atticiſm*. His works abound with the moſt lofty ſentiments, and with the moſt uſeful maxims for the conduct of life, and for the ſcience of government.

ment. He declined engaging in the affairs of the republic, preferring the calm unruffled life of a philoſopher. He was very highly eſteemed for the mildneſs of his manners; and was ſo much admired on account of his vaſt extent of knowledge, and his ſublime ſentiments, that he was honoured with the name of the *divine Plato*. Even kings deſired to be directed by his
348. counſels. He died at eighty years of age. His nephew, Speuſippus, ſucceeded him in his ſchool. But his ſcholars, after his death, diſtinguiſhed themſelves into two ſects; the followers of the one taking the name of *Academicians*, and continuing to teach in the ſame place where Plato had taught; and thoſe of the other that of *Peripateticks*, who gave their leſſons in the Lyceum. Plato deſerves likewiſe to be ranked in the claſs of rhetoricians, on account of the excellent principles of rhetoric laid down in his dialogues, and eſpecially in the Gorgias.

Ariſtotle was a native of Stagira, a city of Macedonia. He came to Athens at the age of ſeventeen, ſtudied philoſophy under Plato, and applied with ſuch induſtry and ſucceſs to the ſtudy of his maſter's doctrines, that he became the ſoul of his ſchool. On the birth of Alexander, Philip wrote him, that he intended to make him preceptor to his ſon. "I account," ſays Philip in his letter, "the favour of the gods greater in ſend-"ing me this ſon during the life of Ariſtotle, than in "beſtowing him upon me at all."

After ſpending ſeveral years on the education of Alexander, he returned to Athens, opened a ſchool in the Lyceum, and became the founder of the Peripatetic ſect. His lectures drew together a vaſt crowd of hearers. He carried to a wonderful degree of perfection, the art of dialectic, whereof Zeno was the inventor. But he did not confine himſelf to matters of philoſophy. He gave leſſons on rhetoric, and compoſed a treatiſe on that ſubject, which has been juſtly regarded by the learned of all ages as the moſt accurate and complete that has ever appeared. It is on this ac-

count that Ariſtotle, as well as his maſter Plato, is numbered among the rhetoricians.

Ariſtotle met with the fate of moſt great men. He attracted the envy of his cotemporaries, who accuſed him of impiety; and one Eurymedon appeared as his proſecutor. To diſappoint the malice of his enemies, and to avoid the unhappy fate of Socrates, he fled to the iſland of Eubœa, where he ended his days. His works, after remaining 130 years buried in oblivion, came to light at laſt, and were juſtly adopted as the moſt perfect ſtandard on every ſubject there handled. The ſurpriſing diverſity of thoſe ſubjects, the profound erudition, the wonderful acuteneſs, and the ſingular accuracy with which every point is treated of, ſufficiently evince the comprehenſive genius of the author. A courſe of obſervations and experiments, for many ages, has indeed produced the diſcovery of various ſecrets of nature, of which Ariſtotle ſeems to have been ignorant, and which no force of genius ever could divine. But in every matter of ſcience, thoſe who are the beſt acquainted with his philoſophy, and that of the moſt approved modern philoſophers, are ſtruck with amazement at his vaſt ſuperiority.

Xenocrates ſucceeded Speuſippus in the ſchool of Plato. Being a man of a gloomy auſtere diſpoſition, Plato, whoſe ſcholar he was, uſed to adviſe him to ſacrifice to the Graces. His contempt of riches is much talked of; for he carried it ſo far as voluntarily to reduce himſelf to downright poverty. Having been ſent by the Athenians in quality of deputy, to negociate ſome matters with Philip King of Macedon, that crafty prince attempted to corrupt him by preſents, but found all his endeavours ineffectual. Alexander made the ſame attempt with the ſame ſucceſs. Xenocrates refuſed a preſent he offered him of fifty talents; but, apprehenſive leſt that prince might interpret his refuſal as an effect of pride, he accepted of thirty minæ. The Athenians entertained the higheſt opinion of his integrity; in ſo much, that one day when he was to have given teſtimo-

ny about a certain affair, the judges diſpenſed with demanding his oath, ſatisfying themſelves with his ſimple affirmation. He was ſo fond of ſolitude and ſtudy, that he ſeldom appeared abroad. His lectures on virtue were attended with amazing effects, often reclaiming the Athenian youth from every kind of debauchery.

Diogenes lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and was of the ſect of the Cynics, founded by Antiſthenes, a diſciple of Socrates. The philoſophers of this ſect lived a moſt rigid life: Wearing no other cloaths than a cloak; and carrying about with them no other proviſions than a ſort of knapſack, a ſtaff, and a kind of two-eared bowl of wood or metal. Diogenes diſtinguiſhed himſelf more than any other of this ſect by his cynical behaviour, which he carried to ſuch an extravagant pitch, as to become ridiculous. He walked barefoot, and lodged in a tub. But under this beggarly equipage, he entertained a more than kingly pride, and a ſovereign contempt for all mankind. The reader has already ſeen his anſwer to Alexander the Great. He is celebrated for many witty ſayings, and for ſome excellent maxims of morality. But his conduct evinces, that he was at no pains to practiſe thoſe precepts himſelf; for never did man carry impudence in point of morals to a greater pitch. This impudence, his contemptuous airs, and his ſatirical remarks, were his diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics. Hence came the name of *Cynic*, a Greek word derived from the name of *Dog*, to denote, that the philoſophers of this caſt took delight in railing, or rather barking and ſnarling like dogs, at the reſt of mankind.

Zeno was the founder of the ſect of *Stoics*. He was originally a diſciple of Crates, a cynical philoſopher. But diſguſted at the impudence of that ſect, he attached himſelf to Xenocrates and Polemon, and eſtabliſhed a new ſect at Athens, namely that of the *Stoics*, as already obſerved. This ſect derived its name from a gallery in which they taught, called in Greek στοα. Zeno ſoon acquired a great reputation. He was much eſteemed

ſteemed by the Athenians for the purity of his precepts, which he himſelf practiſed with the greateſt exactneſs; and for the zeal with which he inculcated the principles of virtue.

Cleanthus, Chryſippus, and Poſſidonius, were ſcholars of Zeno. They all valued themſelves on their perfect contempt of riches. Zeno was the inventor of dialectick, the art that teaches us to deduce certain concluſions from certain principles. The Stoics piqued themſelves much on their excelling in this art; but their reaſoning often degenerated into ſophiſtical arguments.

The Stoics maintained, that the ſovereign good conſiſted in living virtuouſly according to the dictates of conſcience. In other words, they placed all happineſs in the practice of virtue.—Their chief aim was to render themſelves inſenſible to the miſeries incident to human life. For that purpoſe they laboured to convince themſelves, that "*every thing that happens is for* "*the beſt*;" and thence argued, that our diſtinctions between good and evil, are merely chimerical.—A perfect Stoic, therefore, did not regard even pain as an evil. Their philoſophy was calculated to render them entirely devoid of paſſion, and of frailty. But it ſhould ſeem, that, to reform nature, they meant to extinguiſh it altogether; for they muſt have known that paſſion is conſtitutionally inherent in man. It muſt, however, be allowed, that the Stoics were, of all the ancient philoſophers, the moſt virtuous both in point of principles and of practice; and that ſome of the greateſt and wiſeſt men of antiquity were formed in their ſchool.

The Peripatetics entertained nearly the ſame opinion with the Stoics as to the chief good; but they conſidered riches and health as good; and poverty and diſeaſe as evil.

Epicurus was founder of the Epicurean ſect of philoſophers. He was a native of a village in Attica, and opened his ſchool in a delightful garden at Athens, where he was attended by a vaſt concourſe of hearers, and arrived at a diſtinguiſhed reputation. None of his

many works having been tranſmitted to us, it is from the poem of Lucretius that we learn the ſyſtem of his philoſophy. Lucretius may be ranked at the head of thoſe poets, who would have been happier to have been born without genius, than to have perverted their talents to ſubvert all religion, decency, and ſound reaſoning.

Epicurus maintained, that pleaſure was the ſovereign good. By pleaſure, according to Cicero, he meant the pleaſures of ſenſe, ſuch as the contemplation of beautiful objects; eating and drinking; ſhows and diverſions. Cicero thinks, that he did not believe in the exiſtence of gods, although he ſpoke in very pompous terms of the reſpect to be paid them. He maintained, that the ſovereign evil conſiſted in pain; to which, although his ſage was liable, yet he ſaid, that he found ſources of happineſs even in pain itſelf.—On the other hand, in point of the moral duties of man, he delivered very admirable precepts, and extremely oppoſite to thoſe we ſhould expect from a philoſopher who placed the ſovereign good in pleaſure. But the moſt extraordinary circumſtance of all is, that he lived a moſt pure and irreproachable life. Epicurus regarded the ſenſes as the infallible rules of truth. What an abſurd miſtake! Surely our conſciouſneſs of our conceptions about time and ſpace, and of our poſſeſſing exiſtence, and the faculty of thinking, do not appear to be directly deducible from the teſtimony of our ſenſes. It ſeems to be now admitted, that our ſenſes were not beſtowed by God to inform us of the inherent nature of objects, but to appriſe us of their relation with reſpect to one another, and to our own bodies.—But this is too abſtruſe and foreign to our purpoſe.

Pyrrho, a philoſopher of the ſect of Sceptics, was a native of Elis in the Peloponneſe, and lived in the time of Alexander. His doctrine was, that, with reſpect to the qualities of every ſubject about which the human mind is converſant, there is ground for affirmation and denial; that, therefore, there can be no certainty; and

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we muſt never form any abſolute judgement of any thing.—Hence this doctrine has obtained the name of *Pyrrhoniſm*. From thoſe principles he deduced the moſt pernicious conſequences; that nothing was in itſelf honourable, ſhameful, juſt or unjuſt; theſe diſtinctions depending entirely on human inſtitution. This was opening a door to every ſort of crime. It would, therefore, have been for the honour and happineſs of mankind, that theſe opinions had gone out of the world with their author. But ſuch is the depravity of the human heart, that even in our days they find abbettors and ſupporters among men of genius and learning.

In this third age of Greece, flouriſhed *Menander* the poet, who is regarded as the father of polite comedy. He was perfectly free of the faults of Ariſtophanes, who reſpected neither decency nor modeſty, not even the gods themſelves; and who gratified the malevolence of his audience by ſcurrilous reflections againſt the beſt men in the ſtate. In the judgement of Quintilian, Menander outſhone all thoſe who had applied to comedy before him, his humour being exquiſite, graceful and delicate. From a deſpair no doubt of equalling him, Terence, who applied to the ſame ſtudy, ſatisfied himſelf with tranſlating, in a manner, the productions of Menander, and with preſenting them to the Roman people, ſet off with all the graces and purity of the Latin tongue.

Protogenes, the famous painter, flouriſhed in the time of Ariſtotle, with whom he was connected by the moſt intimate friendſhip. He was a native of Cauna, a city on the ſea-coaſt of Rhodes. His excellency in his profeſſion induced the Athenians to employ him in ſeveral pieces of work, which afterwards attracted univerſal admiration. His maſterpiece was his Jaliſus, who was reported to have been the ſon of Apollo, and a great hunter.

Praxiteles, the celebrated ſtatuary, likewiſe lived in this age. He wrought principally on marble. His maſterpiece was a ſtatue of Cupid, which he gave as

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a preſent to the courteſan Phryne, of whom he was very fond. She ſet it up at Theſpia her native country, whither numbers of the curious repaired to view it *.

Polycletes, another ſtatuary, and a native of Sicyon, was famous for his ſtatues of braſs. His maſterpiece was a Doriphorus, the name of thoſe who ſerved in the Perſian King's guards. This ſtatue was ſo much admired for the extraordinary juſtneſs of its proportions, that it was called the *Canon* or *Rule*, and as ſuch was carefully ſtudied by ſucceeding ſculptors.

Apelles the celebrated painter was a native of the iſland of Cos, but reſided for the moſt part at Epheſus. He is placed at the head of all the ancient painters, and is ſaid to have contributed no leſs to the perfection of painting by his writings on that ſubject, than by his admirable performances. The particular in which he principally excelled, was the grace, that is to ſay, an eaſy noble air, tempered with ſweetneſs, but which is much eaſier felt than expreſſed. He executed ſeveral portraits of Alexander, whereof that which repreſented him launching the thunder, was the moſt highly finiſhed. His engaging manners even procured him the friendſhip of the Macedonian hero, who did not diſdain to viſit him frequently, that he might ſee him work, and enjoy the pleaſure of his converſation. Alexander prohibited any other perſon than Apelles to preſume to paint him. The ſingular merit of Apelles expoſed him to much envy, and ſtirred up many enemies againſt him during his ſtay

* This is ſuppoſed to be the *antique* mentioned in *De Thon's* Memoirs. He tells, that having gone to Italy, when young, with De Foix, they ſaw at Pavia, in the collection of *Iſabella D'Eſte*, a ſtatue of a ſleeping cupid executed by M. Angelo; which, after the moſt attentive conſideration, appeared ſupremely excellent, and filled them with inexpreſſible admiration. After admiring it for ſome time, another ſtatue of a cupid was ſhown them, ſtill ſoiled with the earth out of which it had been digged. On comparing this with the former, all preſent were aſhamed of their firſt judgement, and agreed, that the ancient ſtatue ſeemed to be an animated ſubſtance, and that the modern, compared with it, was but a block of marble without expreſſion.

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at the court of Ptolemy King of Egypt. On returning to Epheſus, he revenged himſelf upon his detractors, by his famous picture of calumny, which was reckoned one of his capital performances. His Venus riſing from the ſea was accounted his maſterpiece.

Lyſippus the famous ſtatuary likewiſe lived in the time of Alexander. He was a native of Sicyon. He ſaid that Polycletus's Doryphorus at firſt ſerved him inſtead of a maſter. But having afterwards conſulted the painter Eupompus, which of the preceding ſculptors was moſt worthy of his imitation, he received for anſwer, "None of them, but Nature herſelf." Lyſippus followed the advice, and carried the art of ſtatuary to the ſummit of perfection. It is well known that Alexander prohibited any other perſon but Lyſippus to attempt to make his ſtatue, as he had forbidden any body but Apelles to draw his portrait: For he did not doubt that the ſingular merit of thoſe artiſts, as it would immortalize their own names, ſhould beſtow additional fame even on his. Lyſippus is ſaid to have wrought with much eaſe and quickneſs, and to have executed more works than any other ſtatuary whatever. His two capital performances were, 1*ſt*, The ſtatue of a man rubbing himſelf after coming out of the bath; which Agrippa afterwards cauſed to be placed before his baths at Rome. 2*dly*, A ſtatue of Alexander in braſs, of exquiſite beauty: The Emperor Nero, from a moſt depraved taſte, reſolved to have this laſt ſtatue gilded.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE.

BOOK IV.

Containing the Hiſtory of the FOURTH AGE of Greece.

From the death of Alexander the Great till Greece became a Roman province, ſome time after the deſtruction of Corinth.

THE beautiful days of Greece, ſo fruitful in great men, and in great actions, are now paſt; and if ſome traces and remains of ancient virtue ſhall ſtill appear, they may be compared to burſts of lightning in a dark night, which ſhine but for a moment, and ſerve only to make the gloom more conſpicuous.

We ſhall now ſee the chief officers of Alexander, to the number of ten or twelve, make war on each other for the ſpace of twenty years, to procure an independent eſtabliſhment in ſome portion of his vaſt empire. Sometimes pretended friends, ſometimes declared enemies, they embrace now one ſide, now another, juſt as intereſt or caprice inclines them. We ſhall ſee Macedonia change its maſter five or ſix times. We ſhall perceive,

that Alexander by puſhing his conqueſts to ſo immenſe an extent, was the occaſion of the utter ruin of his own family, and of the total extirpation of all his relations; that murder and deſtruction were the fruits of his conqueſts, about which his generals ſlaughtered one another with the moſt ſhocking cruelty; and that the ſtates of Greece were the victims of their quarrels. To enter on a detail of the various events reſulting from theſe diſputes among Alexander's captains, would be in effect to write the hiſtory of all the then known world inſtead of that of Greece. We ſhall, therefore, confine ourſelves to the particulars immediately reſpecting that country, and paſs over the reſt in ſilence, which we do with the greater pleaſure, as thoſe other tranſactions would preſent little elſe to the reader than one continued ſcene of murder and the baſeſt perfidy.

The Greeks ſtill make ſome efforts for regaining their former independency. But theſe are only the weak exertions of expiring liberty; and the princes to whom they apply for protection, inſtead of delivering them from their miſeries, take advantage of their weakneſs, to enſlave them the more, and to make them ſubſervient to their own deſigns. — At laſt the Romans, whoſe power inſenſibly ſwallowed up that of all the other ſtates in this hemiſphere, ſubjected them as it were imperceptibly, proclaiming themſelves all the while to be the deliverers of mankind, and that they never made war, but to reinſtate nations in their natural rights and liberty. But they ſoon changed their tone, and dictated their pleaſure as conquerors and ſovereigns. The deſtruction of Corinth at laſt convinced the Greeks of the neceſſity they were under of ſubmitting to that warlike people, who, under various pretences, totally ſubdued all the ſtates of Greece, and added the whole of that country to the reſt of their great empire.

CHAP. I.

Affairs of Greece, from the death of Alexander the Great, to the reduction of Sparta by Antigonus, after the battle of Selaſia.

THE generals of Alexander, after much altercation and diſpute, at length agreed to divide among them the provinces of his empire in the following manner. Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece, were aſſigned to Antipater; Thrace, and the neighbouring provinces, to Lyſimachus; Egypt, Arabia, and Libya, to Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, whoſe ſucceſſors in that government were on that account called the race of the Lagidæ; Lycia, Phrygia, and the provinces of Aſia Minor, were given to Antigonus; Caria to Caſſander; Lydia to Menander; little Phrygia to Leonatus; Armenia to Neoptolemus; Cappadocia and Pamphylia, provinces not yet thoroughly conquered, to Eumenes; Syria and Phenicia to Laomedon; the two Medias to Perdiccas and Atropatus; Perſia to Peuceſtes; Babylonia to Archon; Meſopotamia to Arceſilas; Parthia and Hircania to Phrataphernes; Bactriana and Sogdiana to Philip. Higher Aſia and the Indies were left to thoſe put in poſſeſſion of them by Alexander. Seleucus, the ſon of Antiochus, was made general of the horſe; and Caſſander, ſon of Antipater, of the guards.

Of theſe governors ſeveral diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their extraordinary merit; but above all Eumenes, a native of Thrace, obſcurely born indeed, but whoſe magnanimity and elevated ſentiments amply ſupplied that defect, if it may be accounted one. His great talents made him to be ſoon taken notice of, and highly eſteemed, firſt by Philip, and afterwards by Alexander, with whom he poſſeſſed a high degree of credit.

Statira, the widow of Alexander, and daughter of Darius, ſoon followed her unhappy father to the grave; her

her death having been brought about by the procurement of Roxana, who ſuſpected her to be with child. Perdiccas was an accomplice in this murder.

The Greek colonies ſettled by Alexander in higher Aſia, weary of being in that manner baniſhed from their native country, reſolved to return home; and uniting to the number of 20,000 men, prepared for their departure, without aſking permiſſion of Perdiccas. But intelligence of their reſolution coming to the ears of that governor, he diſpatched againſt them a general called *Python*, who having found means to bribe 3000 of them to deſert to him, eaſily defeated the reſt; of whom the greater part were, in conſequence of orders from Perdiccas, cut in pieces by the Macedonians.

In the mean time, the news of Alexander's death having reached Greece, occaſioned an univerſal joy among the Athenians, who immediately reſolved upon war, and uſed their utmoſt endeavours with the reſt of the ſtates of Greece to perſuade them to enter into a general confederacy for their common liberty. A powerful fleet is immediately fitted out; all the citizens able to carry arms are inliſted; and an army under the command of Leoſthenes is ſent againſt Antipater. Demoſthenes then in exile at Megara, having employed his eloquence to prevail on the ſtates of Sicyon, Argos, and Corinth, to accede to the confederacy; the Athenians, ſtruck with this inſtance of his generoſity, recall him from baniſhment, and on his return march all out of the city to meet him, to welcome him back, and to ſhew him every mark of honour and diſtinction. It is obſervable, that Phocion oppoſed this war. Antipater, informed of theſe tranſactions, takes the field with no more than 13,000 Macedonians and 600 horſe; and advances towards Theſſaly, a fleet of 110 gallies attending him along the coaſt. But the army of the Athenians and their allies being more numerous than his, defeated him in the firſt engagement, and obliged him to retreat.

The Athenians having next year formed the ſiege of

Lamia in Macedonia; both beſiegers and beſieged behaved at firſt with great bravery. But Leonatus arriving to the aſſiſtance of Antipater, an engagement enſued, wherein the Greeks, by means of their cavalry, of which the greater part was raiſed in Theſſaly, obtained the victory, ſlew Leonatus, and obliged the city to capitulate. Antipater however eſcaped out of Lamia, and put himſelf at the head of his troops; but carefully avoided another engagement, till Craterus ſhould come to his aſſiſtance with a freſh reinforcement of troops. Theſe arriving ſoon afterwards, formed, on their junction with thoſe of Antipater, an army of 40,000 foot, 5000 horſe, and 3000 bowmen, while that of the Athenians amounted to no more than 25,000 men, and 3500 horſe. A battle enſuing, the Greeks were defeated; owing almoſt entirely to the want of diſcipline among their ſoldiers. The allies having applied to Antipater for terms of accommodation, received for anſwer, that he would treat ſeparately with each of the ſtates. Upon this the negotiation was broken off; and the allies, inſtead of remaining united, having diſperſed, Antipater preſented himſelf with his army before each of their cities ſeparately, and dictated his pleaſure to the inhabitants.

The Athenians thus deſerted by their allies, upon hearing that Antipater was advancing againſt them from Thebes, deputed Phocion to go and meet him. Antipater inſiſted, that the Athenians ſhould ſubmit themſelves entirely to his mercy; and with this hard condition they found themſelves obliged to comply. But Antipater afterwards condeſcended to enter into an alliance with them, on condition of their delivering up to him Demoſthenes and Hyperides; of their reſtoring the government to its ancient ſtate, when the public employments were conferred on the wealthier ſort alone; of their receiving a garriſon of his troops; and of their repaying him the expences of the war.

After this, hearing that Demoſthenes and Hyperides had fled, he diſpatched Archias in purſuit of them, who finding

finding Hyperides in Egina, dragged him from the temple, whither he had betaken himſelf for ſafety, and ſent him to Antipater, by whom he was put to death. Archias having likewiſe diſcovered Demoſthenes in the iſland of Calauria, where he had taken refuge in the temple of Neptune, endeavoured to perſuade him to go along with him to Antipater, by aſſuring him, that he would do him no harm. But Demoſthenes, juſtly diſtruſtful both of the ſervant of the tyrant, and of the tyrant himſelf, drank off the poiſon that 322. he conſtantly carried about with him, which a few moments afterwards put a period to his glorious life.

Demoſthenes was the prince of orators, as we have already had frequent occaſion to obſerve, and as may be more fully ſeen from the compariſon drawn up by Quintilian between his eloquence and that of Cicero. He was likewiſe a profound politician, actuated by the warmeſt zeal for the intereſt of his country, and the moſt violent deteſtation of every thing that ſavoured of tyranny. He was endued with ſuch an admirable foreſight, that he was hardly ever miſtaken. Had the Athenians followed his advice, Philip never would have been able to arrive at the ſovereignty of Greece.

But it was the moſt extraordinary circumſtance of all in the character of Demoſthenes as an orator, that he never made a vain or oſtentatious parade of his genius, nor ever indulged himſelf in any flouriſh with the ſole intention of ſhining; his conſtant aim being to engage the attention of his audience to the merits of his cauſe, and to convince their judgements. Some time after his death the Athenians erected a ſtatue of braſs to his memory.

The Athenians ſoon became ſenſible that by ſubjecting themſelves to Antipater, they had aſſumed a very ſevere and imperious maſter. As the virtue of Phocion compelled in a manner the admiration of this new tyrant, ſeveral exiled citizens were permitted to return on the interceſſion of that celebrated Athenian; but a great number of the poorer inhabitants voluntarily abandoned the

the city. The government however of Antipater was exerciſed with great juſtice; and public employments were conferred on perſons of merit alone. At the ſame time it is true, that men of factious diſpoſitions, from whom Antipater apprehended diſturbance, were excluded from all offices in the ſtate; a meaſure, however, that might perhaps redound no leſs to the happineſs of Athens, than to the quiet and ſecurity of the tyrant.

Eumenes, in the mean time, was put in poſſeſſion of Cappadocia.—Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus fall out, form confederacies againſt one another, and Craterus periſhes in the diſpute.—Perdiccas dies in an expedition againſt Egypt.—Antipater likewiſe dies, after naming Poliſperchon his ſucceſſor in the government, in preference to his own ſon Caſſander, who was by no means deſtitute of merit. This behaviour of Antipater, in making choice of Poliſperchon a ſtranger, but the oldeſt of all Alexander's generals, and a man of ſuch experience as the nation ſtood in need of, preferably to his own ſon, cannot be too highly commended. But Caſſander, provoked at what he called his father's injuſtice, reſolved to form a party againſt Poliſperchon; and engaged in his favour Ptolemy and Antigonus, of whom the latter having the command of all the provinces of Aſia Minor, was the moſt powerful of Alexander's ſucceſſors. Poliſperchon, on the other hand, laboured to ſtrengthen his party; and the better to diſpoſe Greece to aſſiſt him, he re-eſtabliſhed the ſtates in their ancient independency, and recalled ſuch citizens as were in baniſhment. But Nicanor arriving in the mean time at Athens on the part of Caſſander, took poſſeſſion of Pyreus. Soon after, Alexander, the ſon of Poliſperchon, having come thither likewiſe, under pretence of aſſiſting the inhabitants, but really to make himſelf maſter of the place, found the inclinations of the citizens much divided.

The moderation of Phocion proved his ruin. Chuſing always to act as a mediator, he made it a rule to behave with candor and with mildneſs to the enemies of his country. This was at laſt imputed to him as a crime.

He

He was moſt unjuſtly accuſed of keeping up a treaſonable correſpondence with Nicanor; and was, on that account, degraded from his office of general. Phocion having preſented himſelf before the people, with an intention to convince them of his innocence; they refuſed to hear him, and condemned him to die. Every perſon of ſenſe and virtue was ſhocked at ſeeing the man, who, by way of diſtinction, uſed to be called *the honeſt man*, treated in ſo cruel and unworthy a manner; and took their laſt farewell of him in tears. Phocion himſelf behaved on the occaſion with the ſame tranquillity that had diſtinguiſhed his moſt glorious days, and with that confidence which innocence alone inſpires. After begging of one of his friends to intreat his ſon, in his name, to pardon this piece of injuſtice in the Athenians, he ſwallowed the hemlock juice. 319.

We ſhall be the leſs ſurpriſed at ſo glaring an inſtance of injuſtice in a whole people, when we conſider, that, at this time, all power was in the hands of the moſt baſe and unworthy members of the ſtate, who being without any perſon of ſenſe and ſpirit to direct them, gave themſelves up, without controul, to the dictates of caprice and paſſion.—To the injuſtice and folly of ſuch tumultuous aſſemblies, as that by which Phocion was condemned, did the moſt virtuous men of this republic in former times owe their ruin.

Phocion was educated in the ſchool of Plato; and was, perhaps, one of the moſt virtuous men that ever lived. —Though almoſt all his life at the head of armies, his love of mediocrity ſtill remained with him, and no man ever carried diſintereſtedneſs to a higher pitch. Inflexible in every point that regarded the intereſts of the commonwealth, as well as his own conduct in life, he conſtantly preferred the good of the ſtate to all private concerns of his own; and never, in any particular, departed from the ſingularity of his character, to conform himſelf to the manners of the age; although, at the ſame time, in private life, he was of the mildeſt and moſt

moſt benevolent temper. His exemplary ſobriety preſerved him vigorous and healthful to a very advanced age; and when eighty years old, he commanded armies. The temper of his wife, too, was perfectly correſpondent to his own. When an Ionian lady made a vain diſplay of her fine cloaths and jewels before her, "As "for me, ſaid ſhe, I eſteem my huſband, who has com-"manded the Athenian armies theſe twenty years, as "my fineſt ornament." Phocion was choſen general no fewer than four and forty times, but it was a fixed maxim of his, that the juſteſt wars weaken a ſtate, and that peace ought to be the object of every wiſe government. It was not till ſome time after his death, that his ungrateful country, aſhamed of her treatment of him, as much as poſſible to wipe away the ignominy of a tranſaction ſo unjuſt, ſo cruel, and in every circumſtance ſo diſgraceful, erected a ſtatue of braſs to his memory.

With every virtue that could dignify a private character, Phocion poſſeſſed in an eminent degree the moſt important qualifications of a complete ſtateſman, and of a ſkilful general, uniting in his perſon, the political abilities of Themiſtocles, and the military talents of Miltiades; and he might have been as ſerviceable to his country as thoſe great men, had not faction excluded him from the command in the moſt critical times, and preferred to him perſons who were hardly worthy of being his ſcholars, either in the ſcience of government, or of war.

The Athenians, finding themſelves now in a defenceleſs ſituation, were obliged to ſubmit to Caſſander, to put him in poſſeſſion of the citadel, and to receive from him a governor, on whom, according to the language of the age, they beſtowed the appellation of *tyrant*. The man advanced by Caſſander to this
319. dignity, was Demetrius Phalerius, a perſon much eſteemed at Athens for his eloquence, and who firſt interfered in the affairs of government, about the time that Harpalus had deſerted from Alexander.

During their ſubjection to Caſſander, the Athenians enjoyed a ſtate of much tranquillity under the adminiſtration of Demetrius, who, ſo far from abuſing his power, behaved with ſo much moderation that they hardly perceived him to be their maſter. He not only augmented the revenues of the republic, but retrenched in every department, except that of religion, all expences which ſeemed calculated ſolely for luxury and oſtentation. He remedied the abuſes that prevailed in the matter of raiſing ſepulchral monuments, and reſtrained, as much as poſſible, extravagance in furniture and in dreſs; and the poor citizens profited greatly by his prudence and attention. Demetrius diſtinguiſhed himſelf as highly in his philoſophical as in his political capacity. All the ancient authors are unanimous in praiſing his virtue, and the wiſdom of his adminiſtration, and rank him among the greateſt men that Athens ever produced.

Poliſperchon, hearing that Caſſander had gotten poſſeſſion of Athens, marched and laid ſiege to that city; but the beſieged made ſo brave a reſiſtance, that he was forced to relinquiſh the enterpriſe.

Eumenes having been about this time defeated in an engagement by Antigonus, was taken priſoner, and ſoon after put to death. Of all the officers of Alexander, this was the wiſeſt and the moſt virtuous; the beſt commander, the moſt artful politician, in a word, the moſt accompliſhed man of his time, and the worthieſt of becoming Alexander's ſucceſſor. But he had the misfortune to lead an army compoſed of different nations, furniſhed him by the governors of provinces, each of whom aſpired to be commander in chief. He remained to the laſt inviolably attached to the royal family. No conſideration whatever could ſhake his integrity; and he appeared, upon all occaſions, to be actuated by the juſteſt ſentiments of honour. But theſe extraordinary qualities rendered him the more obnoxious to the envy of the ſatraps, who could not endure to ſee a

more ſkilful officer than themſelves, and one who owed his advancement to his ſingular merit alone.

Olympias having been, by Poliſperchon, recalled into Macedonia, made herſelf miſtreſs of that kingdom, and put to death Arideus, who had borne the empty title of king for the ſpace of ſix years. Euridice the wife of Arideus, Nicanor the brother of Caſſander, together with a great number of Caſſander's other friends, were likewiſe the victims of the cruelty of that princeſs. But thoſe cruelties did not long remain unpuniſhed. Caſſander having beſieged her in Pidna, and obliged her to ſurrender at diſcretion, the relations of the perſons ſhe had cauſed to be murdered, demanded vengeance for thoſe murders in the aſſembly of the Macedonians. She was accordingly condemned, and put to death
317. by the hands of her accuſers themſelves; the ſoldiers ſent for that purpoſe not daring to lay hands upon her.

Caſſander having led his army into Bæotia, was moved with compaſſion for the Thebans, who, ſince the deſtruction of their city by Alexander, wandered about from place to place, without any fixed habitation. Caſſander reſolved to rebuild their city. Several ſtates of Greece contributed to forward this generous and humane undertaking. The Athenians, in particular, rebuilt a part of the walls; and Thebes ſoon recovered its former ſplendor. After this, Caſſander having marched againſt Argos, that city ſurrendered to him without making any reſiſtance; and thoſe in the territory of Meſſené followed its example.

About this time Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus, began to make a figure. Plutarch draws an excellent character of this prince, diſtinguiſhing him by the title of Poliorcetes, which ſignifies, *the taker of cities.* He was the handſomeſt man of his time; poſſeſſing a majeſtic air, tempered by a pleaſant affable look, ſo that he ſtruck the ſpectators with awe and pleaſure at the ſame time. He employed his leiſure in giving moſt magnificent feaſts and entertaiments; but as ſoon as buſineſs

buſineſs called him to the cabinet or to the camp, none exceeded him in diligence and activity, nor better ſupported fatigue and pain. He behaved with the higheſt reſpect to his father and mother, by whom he was moſt tenderly beloved.

Seleucus having conquered Nicanor, and reduced under his power Media and Suſiana, made his public entry into Babylon. From this period is dated the æra of the Seleucidæ, by which the orientals reckoned in their chronology, as the Chriſtians do by that of Chriſt. Seleucus rendered himſelf beloved by his ſubjects, by the mildneſs of his government, by his juſtice, and by his humanity. Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus, attempted in vain to expel him from the province of Babylon. Seleucus, indeed, happening to be at the time in Media, Demetrius attacked and reduced the caſtles of Babylon, but was ſoon after obliged to retreat to his father in Aſia Minor.

The Macedonians, in the mean time, growing weary of the diviſions that prevailed among the generals of Alexander, required, that the young king, now about fourteen years old, who was the ſon of Roxana, and bore the ſame name with his father, ſhould be ſet at their head. Caſſander, dreading leſt that might interfere with his ambitious deſigns, put to death privately both the young prince and his mother; and next year, in concert with Poliſperchon, he diſpatched, in like manner, another ſon of Alexander, called *Hercules*, then a boy about ſeventeen years of age, who had been born to that prince by Barſine, the widow of Memnon the Rhodian. Antigonus, on the other hand, ſecretly put to death Cleopatra, the ſiſter of Alexander the Great, and widow of Alexander King of Epire. Thus the generals of Alexander had the cruelty to extirpate the family of their ſovereign, that they might have no maſter, and might hold their governments in perfect independence. Ambition never ſtops at the moſt deteſtable crimes. But the proſperity of thoſe monſters was of ſhort duration; while, on the contrary,

Seleucus and Ptolemy, who acted on principles of juſtice and clemency, became the founders of laſting empires.

306. While Athens enjoyed a ſtate of perfect tranquillity under the adminiſtration of Demetrius Phalerius, the deputy of Caſſander, Demetrius Poliorcetes appeared off Pyreus, and blocked it up with a fleet of 250 ſhips. The Athenians being taken unawares, with their harbour unguarded, Demetrius entered the harbour without oppoſition, and intimated to the Athenians, by a herald, that he was come to ſet them at liberty, and to re-eſtabliſh their ancient form of government. The Athenians thinking it beſt to ſubmit, ſent ambaſſadors to treat with him, whom he received in the moſt polite and obliging manner. Then Demetrius proceeded to lay ſiege to the fortreſs of Munichia, took it, diſmiſſed the Macedonian garriſon, and raſed it to the ground; after which, he made his entry into Athens, and re-eſtabliſhed the democratical form of government, which had been interrupted for the ſpace of thirteen or fourteen years.

As Demetrius Poliorcetes entertained a very high eſteem for Demetrius Phalerius, he ſent him, at his own requeſt, to Thebes. For though the Athenians had erected 300 ſtatues to his memory, that philoſopher was very juſtly apprehenſive of the change which this revolution might produce in the diſpoſition of that fickle people. Accordingly, he very ſoon ſaw his ſuſpicions verified. The Athenians, with a view of making their court to the conqueror, condemned their late virtuous governor to death, uſed every means to render his memory odious, and overturned all the ſtatues they had a little while before erected to his honour. On the other hand, they heaped the moſt extravagant honours on Demetrius Poliorcetes, and his father Antigonus, calling them their kings and tutelary gods; and carrying their pictures in the proceſſion at the feaſt of Minerva. What a worthleſs unaccountable people! and how much degenerated from their anceſtors! Demetrius Phalerius took

took refuge with Caſſander, and, after his death, put himſelf under the protection of Ptolemy Soter in Egypt, who was the protector of all men of genius and learning. Demetrius ſoon gained the friendſhip of that prince, and employed himſelf, during his retreat, in the compoſition of ſeveral works on the ſubject of government.

Demetrius Poliorcetes departed, in the mean time, from Athens with a numerous fleet, to make the conqueſt of Cyprus. Having made good his landing in the iſland, he immediately advanced againſt Salamina, defeated Menelaus, who defended that city, and battered its walls with extraordinary warlike engines, and, particularly, the Helepolis, to which, however, the beſieged found means to ſet fire in the night. Ptolemy being informed by Menelaus of the danger he ran of loſing the iſland, haſtened to its relief with a powerful fleet; but was totally defeated by Demetrius in a ſea-fight. The conſequence of this victory was the reduction of Salamina, of which, when Antigonus received intelligence, he was ſeized with ſuch a tranſport of joy, that he ſent his crown to Demetrius, and gave him in the letter the title of *King*. The Egyptians, on the other hand, beſtowed the ſame title on Ptolemy.

No man was more active or laborious in war than Demetrius; who being uncommonly ſkilful in the mechanic powers, had an extraordinary turn for ſieges, and for the conſtruction of engines. His gallies of fifteen benches of oars, and the engine called *helepolis*, were ſtriking proofs of his mechanical genius.

After gaining the victory juſt mentioned, Demetrius reſolved to beſiege Rhodes, a very rich 304.
trading city, forming, by itſelf, a powerful ſtate, firmly attached to Ptolemy. Demetrius accordingly ſailed againſt it with a numerous fleet, and an army of 40,000 men. The engines uſed by him in this ſiege are much celebrated. The Rhodians took the wiſeſt precautions for making a vigorous reſiſtance. Nothing could exceed the violence of the aſſaults made on the city

city by Demetrius; nor the efforts of the beſieged to ſuſtain thoſe aſſaults, and to repulſe the enemy. The beſieged made much uſe of engines, by which they threw firebrands and darts. Demetrius, finding his attacks on the ſide of the harbour ineffectual, attempted it next on the land ſide, where he made uſe of an helepolis, which exceeded in ſize any that had hitherto appeared. It conſiſted of nine ſtories, each furniſhed with catapultæ and baliſtæ; it bore likewiſe two battering rams of a monſtrous ſize, fortified with iron; which, when moved by the united ſtrength of 1000 men, had a prodigious force. But while he was aſſaulting the city with this dreadful engine, ſeveral tranſports, loaded with proviſions, arrived to the relief of the Rhodians. Demetrius, after carrying on the ſiege for the ſpace of a whole year, and performing incredible actions of perſonal valour, was, however, at laſt obliged to raiſe it, and to agree to a treaty with the Rhodians, extremely honourable for the latter. For it was thereby declared, that the republic of Rhodes ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of all its rights, privileges, and liberties, without being ſubject to any power whatever.

The celebrated painter Protogenes happening to be at Rhodes, during the whole courſe of this famous ſiege, quietly proſecuted his buſineſs, without being in the leaſt diſturbed by the noiſe of arms, or the alarms of the ſiege. Upon Demetrius aſking him, how he came to enjoy ſuch tranquillity, "Becauſe," anſwered Protogenes, "I knew well that you had declared war a-"gainſt the Rhodians, not againſt the arts." Demetrius went often to ſee him when at work. The maſterpiece of this painter was, as we have mentioned above, the picture of Jaliſus, which even Appelles himſelf admired; and in which a dog was repreſented panting and foaming at the mouth, as if after a hard chace. It is reported of Protogenes, that after having long endeavoured to paint the foam iſſuing from the mouth of the dog, without being able to execute it as he deſired; loſing patience at laſt, he ſuddenly threw the ſponge that he

he made uſe of for rubbing away what ſeemed amiſs, on the canvas, which exactly produced the effect that the painter deſired.

Caſſander having about this time laid ſiege to Athens, Demetrius haſtened to the relief of that city with a numerous fleet, and drove Caſſander from At- 303.
tica. On this occaſion the Athenians laviſhed upon him the higheſt honours, and the moſt extravagant flattery, aſſigning him for an apartment a quarter of the temple of Minerva; which Demetrius, whoſe debauches diſhonoured his warlike exploits, polluted with every ſort of profanation, even erecting in it altars to his courtezans. But not ſatisfied even with that, he obliged the Athenians to furniſh him without delay with the ſum of 150 talents; which was no ſooner delivered to him, than he beſtowed it in a preſent on Lamia his courtezan. At this time Demetrius procured himſelf to be declared commander in chief of the Greeks, by an aſſembly of their ſtates holden at the Iſthmus of Corinth.

In the mean time, his father Antigonus aimed at nothing leſs than to diſpoſſeſs the other ſucceſſors of Alexander, namely, Caſſander, Lyſimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy, of their reſpective governments. But thoſe other governors perceiving his intentions, formed a confederacy againſt him and his ſon Demetrius; in conſequence of which a great battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Ipſus in Phrygia, where Antigonus was ſlain, and the confederates obtained a ſignal 302.
victory.

In conſequence of this victory, the confederated princes added the dominions of Antigonus to their former poſſeſſions; and, after a good deal of controverſy, reſolved to divide the whole empire of Alexander in the following manner: Egypt, Libya, Arabia, and Paleſtine, were aſſigned to Ptolemy; — Macedonia and Greece to Caſſander; — Bithynia and Thrace to Lyſimachus; — and the remaining part of Aſia, as far as the river Indus, to Seleucus. This laſt territory, which comprehended

comprehended all the provinces of the ancient Perſian empire, was called *the kingdom of Syria*, becauſe the Seleucidæ, its kings of the race of Seleucus, reſided at Antioch, a city of Syria.

In the mean time Demetrius appeared before Athens, and demanded admittance into that city. But the unfortunate ſituation of his affairs encouraged the Athenians to refuſe to comply with his requeſt; and they returned him for anſwer, that they would receive within their gates no king whatever.

About the ſame time Caſſander died, leaving two ſons, who quarrelled about the ſucceſſion to his kingdom. Demetrius having effected a reconciliation with Seleucus, applied himſelf to the re-eſtabliſhment of his affairs; which as ſoon as he had ſomewhat reſtored, he marched againſt Athens, full of reſentment for the ungrateful treatment he had met with from its inhabitants, and blockaded the city ſo cloſely, that he ſoon reduced them to the laſt extremity, and obliged them to open their gates, and to receive him as their conqueror. Having aſſembled all the inhabitants in the theatre, he ſurrounded it with armed men. But after throwing the Athenians into the moſt violent terror imaginable, he all of a ſudden aſſumed an air of affability, and declared, that he freely forgave them. From Athens he marched againſt the Lacedemonians, with an intention to ſubdue that warlike people; and coming to an engagement with their king Archidamus, who had marched out to oppoſe him, in the neighbourhood of Mantinea, he gained a great victory: and in a ſecond engagement near Sparta, he cut in pieces 200 Spartans. After this, it was not doubted, that Sparta, which had never hitherto been in poſſeſſion of any enemy, ſhould be taken by Demetrius. But ſome other affairs ſuddenly requiring his appearance in another quarter, Sparta eſcaped once more.

It was about this time that Seleucus built on the banks of the Tigris the city of Seleucia, which afterwards became ſo famous.

Pyrrhus the renowned king of Epire, who in the ſequel diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the beſt general of his time, began already to appear. He was the ſon of Eacides, king of the Moloſſi; and having while a child at the breaſt narrowly eſcaped from the hands of the rebels who had dethroned his father, he was carried into Illyrium, and there educated. After being reſtored to his kingdom, he was again driven out of it by the Moloſſi, who had taken advantage of his abſence to riſe in rebellion, and was obliged to take refuge with Demetrius his brother-in-law, with whom he was preſent at the battle of Ipſus, where he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

Having afterwards gone to the court of Ptolemy, he diſplayed extraordinary ſkill in every kind of manly exerciſes, became a favourite of the whole court by his generous and obliging behaviour, and ſhowed himſelf poſſeſſed of remarkable talents, and of an extraordinary fund of prudence and diſcernment. He had great command of temper, was mild and acceſſible, delighted every body by his affability, and in point of military ſkill, was generally preferred even to Demetrius. But he was of a lively impetuous diſpoſition; and his reſtleſs temper, and unbounded ambition, never would permit him to remain in quiet. Here he took to wife Antigona, the daughter of Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy; and having by the interceſſion of that princeſs obtained a fleet and ſome money from Ptolemy, he with that aſſiſtance regained poſſeſſion of his kingdom. After this he made an alliance with Lyſimachus, and attacked Macedonia, then in poſſeſſion of Demetrius, on one ſide, while Lyſimachus attacked it on the other. The army of the latter, diſguſted by the haughtineſs of his deportment, deſerted from him, joined Pyrrhus, and proclaimed him king of Macedonia. But he ſoon loſt that kingdom, and was obliged to return into Epire.

Cineas, a native of Theſſaly, who had been a ſcholar of Demoſthenes, and was a man of an excellent underſtanding, often took occaſion to repreſent to Pyrrhus, of whom he was the principal confident, the inutility of

his ambitious projects, telling him, that it was as much in his power at preſent to enjoy the leiſure and quiet which Pyrrhus himſelf profeſſed to be the end of all his undertakings, as it would be after expoſing himſelf to the numberleſs toils and dangers that he was continually meditating. But though Pyrrhus was obliged to aſſent to his opinion, yet he found it impoſſible to reſtrain his turbulent ambition, which, after a variety of other exploits, prompted him to undertake an expedition even into Italy againſt the Romans, with whom he fought three battles.

280.

After gaining, by the means of his elephants, the firſt battle, Pyrrhus ſent Cineas to Rome, with offers of peace, which however, by the advice of Appius Claudius, were rejected by the ſenate. Cineas, on his return, gave his maſter the moſt lofty idea of the Roman people, deſcribing the ſenate as an aſſembly of ſo many kings. The Romans, in their turn, ſent ambaſſadors to Pyrrhus, to convince him of his folly in making war upon them, and of the danger in which it might eventually involve him. Pyrrhus made the moſt tempting offers to Fabricius, who happened to be one of the ambaſſadors, to engage him to enter into his views; but Fabricius diſcovered by his anſwer a greatneſs of ſoul infinitely ſuperior to all corruption. "Do you retain "your wealth," ſaid he, "and I will preſerve my po-"verty and integrity." Pyrrhus, however, perſiſted in his practices on Fabricius, and made him more tempting offers ſtill to bring him over to his ſide. But that generous Roman rejected them all with the ſame firmneſs and magnanimity. Next year Fabricius tranſmitted to Pyrrhus a letter, written by the phyſician of that prince, wherein he offered to poiſon the king his maſter, provided the Romans would reward him ſuitably for his pains. Pyrrhus, ſtruck with ſo high an inſtance of Roman generoſity, ſet all his priſoners at liberty, without a ranſom, and offered more advantageous terms of peace than before; to which, however, the Romans would by no means hearken.

A ſecond battle was then fought between Pyrrhus and the Romans, near the city of Aſculum, where both parties exerted extraordinary efforts of bravery; and the night alone put an end to the engagement. The loſs was nearly equal on both ſides, but the beſt troops of Pyrrhus were cut off.

About this time happened a famous irruption of the Gauls into the more poliſhed and fruitful countries of the ſouthern parts of Europe. A vaſt ſwarm of theſe barbarians, leaving their native regions of the north, proceeded ſouthwards, and appeared very unexpectedly on the frontiers of Macedonia, where Ptolemy Ceraunus, who then poſſeſſed that kingdom, having ventured to give them battle, was totally defeated and ſlain. The victorious Gauls, after this ſucceſs divided their forces into two parties; one of which took the rout towards Thrace, while the other, under Brennus, directed their courſe to Greece. Brennus having made himſelf maſter of the paſs of Thermopylæ, after ſome oppoſition, advanced to Delphos, with an intention to plunder the rich temple of Apollo. But the Greeks, anxious for the preſervation of ſo ſacred a place, quickly aſſembled a powerful army, charged the Gauls with their uſual bravery, further heightened on this occaſion by all the fury of religious zeal, and obtained a complete victory. Brennus, out of deſpair for the loſs of the battle, killed himſelf. Thoſe of the Gauls who remained, endeavoured to retreat by the ſame road that had conducted them into Greece, but were moſtly deſtroyed, either by famine, or by the ſword. 278.

The Syracuſans having applied to Pyrrhus for aſſiſtance againſt the Carthaginians, that prince left Italy, paſſed over to Sicily, and took poſſeſſion of Syracuſe; where, having received money and a fleet from the Syracuſans, he fell upon the Carthaginians, and ruined their power in that iſland. Encouraged, in the mean time, by an uninterrupted courſe of proſperity, Pyrrhus began to meditate the conqueſt of Africa, intending to

make his ſon Helenus ſovereign of Sicily. But his good fortune had greatly altered his temper. He was now grown overbearing and tyrannical: And his ſole aim being to procure money to ſupport the expence of his luxury and extravagance, he employed the moſt oppreſſive meaſures for that purpoſe, beſtowed all offices on creatures of his own, and, inſtead of judging according to the laws, was guided by intereſt and caprice alone. This conduct ſoon alienated from him the public affection; and Pyrrhus perceiving himſelf to be the object of public hatred, became a downright tyrant, put to death, under various pretences, the moſt illuſtrious citizens, and rendered himſelf abſolutely deteſted by all the Sicilians. Having undertaken another expedition into Italy, at the inſtigation of the Samnites and Tarentines, he plundered on his way the temple of Proſerpine at Locri. But being overtaken by a violent tempeſt, he ſent back the riches he had thence abſtracted.

Pyrrhus having given battle to the Romans a third time, near Beneventum, was totally defeated. But this diſaſter by no means diſcouraged him; for it was a diſtinguiſhing circumſtance in the character of Pyrrhus, that he remained firm and undiſmayed in the midſt of the greateſt misfortunes. Though he had now but a ſmall army remaining, and no money at all to ſupport even it, he nevertheleſs paſſed over into Macedonia, where Antigonus, the ſon of Demetrius, was then reigning, attacked that prince, defeated him, and in a ſhort time reduced all the cities of Macedonia.

While the other ſtates of Greece ignominiouſly bowed the neck beneath the yoke of Alexander's ſucceſſors, Sparta alone appeared animated a-new by the ancient ſpirit of the country, and by that noble intrepidity which had formerly procured her the pre-eminence over all her neighbours. Cleonymus, the ſon of Cleomenes king of Sparta, provoked at ſome part of the behaviour of his fellow-citizens, ſolicited Pyrrhus to march with an army againſt Sparta. That prince complied with the invitation, and entering Laconia with an army

of

of 25,000 men, ravaged and plundered the country around. The Lacedemonians ſent ambaſſadors to treat with him. But Pyrrhus, without coming to the point, amuſed the ambaſſadors with flattering ſpeeches and compliments, and advanced that ſame night to the very gates of Sparta.

Though the Spartans, who expected nothing leſs, were much ſurpriſed at this ſtep, yet they were by no means diſcouraged, but laboured for the remaining part of that night with the utmoſt expedition to throw up entrenchments; their wives and young women aſſiſting them, who, after completing a third part of the entrenchment by themſelves, preſented arms to all the young men, and exhorted them to acquit themſelves as they ought. Next day Pyrrhus made diſpoſitions for attacking the city, but met with a far more vigorous reſiſtance than he had expected. A young Spartan, of a very handſome perſon, named *Acroates*, and the ſon of King Areus, diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly on this occaſion. All the Spartans indeed fought with the moſt remarkable bravery; and after a long conteſt, repulſed the troops of Pyrrhus. Next day the attack was renewed; and the Spartans inſtead of failing or being diſcouraged, ſeemed rather to be inſpired with additional valour; their women attending them during the whole engagement, ſupplying them with arms and drink, and carrying off the wounded. But this deſperate reſiſtance only made Pyrrhus redouble his efforts. At length, however, he was ſhocked at the dreadful carnage occaſioned by his obſtinacy, and reſolved to retire.

Pyrrhus, in the mean time, ſolely intent on war, marched, upon the invitation of Ariſteas, the head of a faction in Argos, againſt that city, which was diſtracted by inteſtine diſſenſions. Areus king of Sparta laid an ambuſcade for him on his way thither, and cut in pieces his rear guard, together with Ptolemy his ſon. Pyrrhus, exaſperated by the loſs of his child to a degree of deſpair, throws himſelf into the midſt of his enemies, drives his horſe againſt Evalcus, the commander of the Lacedemonian

monian cavalry, transfixes him with a javelin, and commits a frightful ſlaughter among the beſt troops of the enemy, around the body of Evalcus. Pyrrhus on all occaſions was terrible in battle, but that day he ſurpaſſed himſelf. In this engagement the Spartans loſt the flower of their ſoldiers.

As ſoon as Pyrrhus arrived before Argos, he was admitted into the city by Ariſteas and his faction. The Argives thereupon fly to the citadel, and beg aſſiſtance of Antigonus, who lay encamped hard by the city; and King Areus having come likewiſe to the relief of the Argives, with a choice body of Spartan ſoldiers, Pyrrhus reſolved to march out and give them battle. But happening to embarraſs himſelf in a narrow lane, where he could neither advance nor retreat; and being at the ſame time attacked by the enemy, he throws himſelf into the midſt of them, and is wounded by a javelin thrown from the hand of a common ſoldier. Pyrrhus turned about to ſtrike the ſoldier; but a poor woman, who was looking at the engagement from the top of a houſe, perceiving that it was her own ſon whom Pyrrhus was going to ſtrike, diſcharges a large tile on the head of Pyrrhus, who falls mortally wounded from his horſe, and a ſoldier cuts off his head. Antigonus ſoon got poſſeſſion both of the camp and army of Pyrrhus, but behaved with great generoſity to his ſon Helenus.

Thus fell Pyrrhus, one of the moſt ſkilful commanders of his time. Of this we cannot doubt, ſince Livy informs us, that Hannibal, on being aſked by Scipio, Whom he eſteemed the beſt general that had ever lived? made anſwer, hat he accounted Alexander the beſt, Pyrrhus the ſecond, and himſelf the third; adding, at the ſame time, that no general excelled Pyrrhus in the art of drawing up an army; of chuſing the moſt advantageous ground; and of gaining the eſteem and confidence of his ſoldiers. It is certain, however, that Pyrrhus was not poſſeſſed of all the qualifications requiſite in a great commander. He committed innumerable blunders, continually expoſed his perſon like a ſimple volunteer,

volunteer, blindly undertook expeditions, without proper examination or reflection, and acted upon no fixed plan. Hence we ſee him perpetually fluctuating and changing from one project to another, juſt as his reſtleſs ambition inclined him *.

Antigonus, to diſſolve an alliance concluded between the Spartans and Athenians, laid ſiege to Athens, and took it. 268.

The Achean republic compoſed of twelve inconſiderable towns in the Peloponneſe, had been ſubdued like the other ſtates of Greece in the time of Alexander. It had remained ſubject to the Macedonian power ever ſince, but had often changed its maſter of late, having been ſometimes under the power of Demetrius, ſometimes under that of Caſſander, and ſometimes under that of Antigonus. At laſt, however, they found means, in the time of Pyrrhus, to expel the tyrants impoſed upon them by Antigonus, and formed a ſtrict union under the form of a ſingle republic governed by a general council.

About the ſame time Sicyon groaned under the tyranny of Nicocles. But Aratus, the ſon of Nicias, one of the principal citizens, though then only twenty years of age, conceived the deſign of ſetting his country at liberty. Having concerted the neceſſary meaſures with the utmoſt prudence, he ſcaled the walls of the city; and after effecting, by that means, his entry, he called aloud on the inhabitants to aſſert their liberty. They immediately obeyed the welcome ſummons, ſet fire to the tyrant's palace, and recalled ſuch of their number as were baniſhed. Aratus, to render the liberty he had thus procured to his country more durable, perſuaded the Sicyonians to accede to the Achean league; for though the ſmall republics, united in that league, were but weak; yet, by the wiſdom of their general council, and by their perfect union, they were enabled to maintain their independency.

* In the year before Chriſt 264, the firſt Punic war began, and continued twenty two years.

Aratus,

Aratus, by his virtuous and prudent conduct, acquired ſtill more and more the eſteem of his fellow-citizens. He was not, however, a man of a perfect or of an equal character. He was in particular very deficient in military merit; for though at ſome times he acted with great vigour and reſolution, yet the view of danger often rendered him timorous and irreſolute. Being choſen a ſecond time general of the Acheans, he recovered from Antigonus the citadel of Corinth, whereof that prince had gotten poſſeſſion. This was a place of great importance. Being ſituated on a high mountain, in the middle of the iſthmus, which ſeparated the Peloponneſe from the continent, it commanded the ſea and land on both ſides, and in a great meaſure prevented all communication with the Peloponneſe. By theſe means it gave its poſſeſſor the higheſt influence in the affairs of Greece, and was therefore an object of jealouſy among all the neighbouring powers.

Aratus had promiſed ſixty talents to an inhabitant of Corinth, who undertook to conduct him to the citadel, by a ſmall path cut out of the rock on which the fortreſs was built. But being unable to advance the whole ſum immediately, he was obliged to pawn the greateſt part of his plate, together with his wife's jewels, for the balance. This was an inſtance of magnanimity, comparable, in the opinion of Plutarch, to any of the moſt ſhining actions of Grecian heroiſm. For here Aratus not only ſacrificed his whole eſtate to the welfare of his country, but likewiſe expoſed his life to the moſt imminent danger. Aratus reſolved to make the attempt in the night, taking along with him 400 ſoldiers.

243. He ſucceeded in the enterpriſe, drove out the enemy, and took poſſeſſion of the citadel. The Corinthians thereupon joyfully opened their gates to him, acceded likewiſe, by his perſuaſion, to the Achean league, and put a garriſon into the citadel. This daring and ſucceſsful attempt procured Aratus a very great reputation, and induced the Megareans, together with ſeveral other ſtates, and even King Ptolemy himſelf, to

join the Achean league. The Acheans, ſenſible that the ſole aim of Aratus was their advantage; that he was a profeſſed enemy of every ſpecies of tyranny, and highly deſirous of reſtoring their cities to their ancient liberty; continued him without interruption in the chief military command.

About this time the Romans began to make their power reſpectable even among the Greeks. They ſent an embaſſy to the Acheans and Etolians, to perſuade them to guaranty a treaty of peace that they had concluded with Teuta, the widow of one of the kings of Illyrium. This country was then governed by a parcel of petty princes, who peſtered all their neighbours with their piracies; and having lately ventured to meddle with the effects of ſome of the Roman citizens, they had provoked that republic to attack Queen Teuta, whom they obliged to abandon Illyrium intirely. On account of this important ſervice, the Corinthians paſſed a public decree, admitting the Romans to the Iſthmick games; and the Athenians preſented them with the freedom of their city.

A ſet of tyrants having been planted in many of the cities of Greece by the power of the Macedonian princes, Aratus directed his principal attention to the extirpation of that vermin, who oppreſſed and ruined the reſpective ſtates in which they had been placed. On this account, one of thoſe tyrants, and the moſt wicked of them all, called *Ariſtippus*, who domineered at Argos, employed many ſchemes to accompliſh the deſtruction of Aratus. This Ariſtippus lived in continual apprehenſion, and was conſtantly buſied in contriving precautions for ſecuring his life. For that purpoſe he retained a body of armed men to guard his houſe night and day. He ſlept in an upper chamber, to which he mounted by a ladder; the only entry being by a trap-door, which was ſhut when the tyrant entered, and his bed placed above it. It is probable, however, that he ſlept never the ſounder for all theſe precautions;

while Aratus, on the contrary, appeared always in public, without arms, and without fear, attended by no other guard than the affection of his fellow-citizens. That virtuous republican having at laſt come to an engagement with Ariſtippus, gained a complete victory over the tyrant, who was killed in the battle. Aratus next perſuaded Lyſiades, tyrant of Megalopolis, voluntarily to reſign his ſovereignty, and to reſtore that city to its former liberty.

Agis King of Sparta, though no more than twenty years of age, laboured to bring about a reformation in that city, where luxury and avarice had of a long while acquired a footing, and to inforce the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus. Such an undertaking required a man of a very different character from Agis, who, beſides his want of years and experience, was of too mild and irreſolute a diſpoſition. The youth, however, and the people in general, highly applauded the deſign. But it was oppoſed by the rich, who were headed by his colleague Leonidas. The reformation therefore took place only in part, Agis himſelf ſetting the example, by ſharing all his wealth with his fellow citizens.

While things were in this ſituation at Sparta, the Acheans being at war with the Etolians, begged aſſiſtance from the Lacedemonians, who ſent them an army under the command of Agis. The Lacedemonian auxiliaries joined Aratus at Corinth; but upon the Acheans declining to come to an engagement with the enemy, Agis returned to Sparta. On arriving at that city, he found the people exaſperated and ſpirited up againſt him by the machinations of Ageſilaus, one of the principal citizens, who accuſed him of having impoſed on the people, by perſuading them that an equal diviſion of effects ſhould be brought about.

Leonidas, who had been depoſed, and in whoſe place Cleombrotus his ſon-in-law had been made king, is recalled and replaced on the throne. Leonidas highly enraged againſt Cleombrotus for having uſurped his dignity,

nity, vents againſt him the bittereſt reproaches, and expells him the city. Then he applied himſelf to accompliſh the ruin of Agis, who being decoyed from his aſylum, is thrown into priſon. Leonidas having gained over the Ephori to his ſide, brings Agis to trial for attempting to introduce innovations in the government. Agis is condemned to death, without ſo much as being allowed the privilege of defending himſelf, and without being tried by his fellow-citizens; and is afterwards ſtrangled in priſon. The people hearing what was paſſing, are provoked at the injuſtice of the proceedings againſt their king, and make an inſurrection to ſave his life. But their zeal ſerves only to haſten the fate of that unfortunate prince, whoſe mother and grandmother having gone to the priſon and demanded 244.
acceſs to him, are laid hold of and put to death likewiſe.—What accumulated horror! And what a change in Sparta!

Leonidas having died ſoon after, his ſon Cleomenes mounted the throne. This prince being of an active enterpriſing diſpoſition, and extremely deſirous of glory, beheld with pity the citizens of Sparta abandoned to luxury and indolence, and very careleſs about the public welfare. Perceiving the whole power of the ſtate to be in the hands of the Ephori, he reſolved to attempt to change the form of government; and hoping that war ſhould enable him to accompliſh his deſigns, he took occaſion, from ſome acts of hoſtility committed by Aratus on the territory of the Arcadians, to declare war againſt the Acheans; and immediately taking the field with an army, offered the enemy battle. Aratus diſmayed at the boldneſs of Cleomenes, whom he had hitherto conſidered as an inexperienced young man, retreated; and thereby incurred ſevere reproaches from his own ſoldiers. Cleomenes, emboldened by his ſucceſs againſt Aratus, puſhed his advantage, and beat the Acheans in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes.

Having by theſe means greatly advanced his authority at Sparta, he no longer heſitated to put his deſign in

execution. But before entering that city, he ſent forward privately a body of armed men, who ſurpriſing the Ephori while at table, killed four of them. Then Cleomenes aſſembling the people, repreſented to them how enormouſly the Ephori had abuſed their power, acquainted them with his deſign of reviving the laws of Lycurgus; and to convince them of the ſincerity and uprightneſs of his intentions, immediately made an equal diviſion of his own wealth, and prevailed on his friends and relations to follow his example. Then he applied himſelf to reſtore the laws of Lycurgus, touching the education of the youth, the exerciſes, and the public tables; and the citizens chearfully conformed themſelves to this change of life.

At the ſame time, to ſhow his enemies that theſe innovations had not diminiſhed the affection entertained for him by his countrymen, he attacked and laid waſte the territory of Megalopolis, and carried off a conſiderable booty.

Beſides all this, the plainneſs and ſimplicity of his dreſs, the frugality and ſobriety of his table, and the affability of his deportment, ſhewed that he meant to form the citizens by his own example. But he ſtudied, above all, to gain the confidence and affection of his troops; and with ſucceſs, for they teſtified great willingneſs and ardour to fight under his command. Availing himſelf of this favourable diſpoſition in the ſoldiers, he took the field againſt the Acheans, gained a great victory over them, and forced them to ſue for peace; which Cleomenes conſented to grant, on condition of their chuſing him commander in chief of the forces of the league.

The Acheans ſeemed diſpoſed to comply with this condition. But Aratus, who had now enjoyed the command three and thirty years, regarding it as an affront, reſolved to engage Antigonus in the affair. For this purpoſe he made application to that prince in an indirect manner, by two citizens of Megalapolis; which city being in the neighbourhood of Sparta, was much expoſed

to

to the incurſions of the enemy. Thoſe two Megalapolitans therefore repreſented to Antigonus, that Cleomenes aſpired at the conqueſt, not only of the Peloponneſe, but of all Greece; that it was the intereſt of Antigonus, to prevent the execution of theſe ambitious deſigns; that they had good reaſon to believe that Aratus would be inclined to co-operate with him in proper meaſures for that end; and that as a ſecurity for the ſincerity and attachment of the Acheans, they would put him in poſſeſſion of the citadel of Corinth. Antigonus, to whom this afforded a fair opportunity of intermeddling in the affairs of Greece, liſtened with pleaſure to the propoſals of the Megalapolitans, and promiſed to aſſiſt them, provided the agreement were approved of by the Acheans; who being accordingly informed of the diſpoſitions of Antigonus, reſolved, by the perſuaſion of Aratus, to continue the war. Cleomenes having thereupon ſeized on ſeveral cities in the Peloponneſe, the Acheans immediately begged of Antigonus to come with all diligence to their aſſiſtance.

That prince obeyed the invitation, advanced to ſupport them with an army of 20,000 foot and 1400 horſe, and after ſeveral events, of which it would be too tedious to enter into a minute detail, made himſelf maſter of Mantinea and Orchomene, and reduced Cleomenes to the neceſſity of defending Laconia. This did not, however, diſcourage Cleomenes; who ſetting at liberty a great number of the Helots, on their paying him a certain ſum of money, armed 2000 of them after the Macedonian faſhion, and carried by aſſault the city of Megalopolis after a faint reſiſtance.—Then he offered to the Megalopolitans, who had taken refuge with the Meſſenians, to reſtore to them their city on condition of their renouncing the Achean league. But the Megalopolitans rejected the propoſal, being reſolved to adhere to their engagements, though at the expence of their city and territory. Cleomenes provoked at their refuſal, gave the city up to be plundered, and demoliſhed its walls.

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The Acheans at length perceiving, that, inſtead of an ally in Antigonus, they had given themſelves a maſter, repented when too late of their conduct. Perceiving, however, that ſubmiſſion was now their ſafeſt courſe, they behaved to Antigonus with the groſſeſt and baſeſt flattery, ſo far as even to offer up ſacrifices to him. Aratus no longer poſſeſſed any power; nor could he ſo much as prevent Antigonus from replacing the ſtatues of the tyrants, which he himſelf had overturned. Thus was Aratus juſtly puniſhed for his jealouſy of Cleomenes. That gallant Spartan, early in the ſpring, before the Macedonians had left their winter-quarters, made an incurſion into the territory of Argos, and laid waſte the country. Hitherto he had had the glory of holding at bay the whole Macedonian power, and of preſerving Laconia from invaſion. But in the enſuing ſummer, Antigonus advanced againſt that country at the head of 28,000 men.

The two armies having met in the neighbour-
223. hood of Selaſia, Antigonus immediately attacked Cleomenes, who had only 20,000 men. The battle began near Olympus, and both parties fought with the greateſt obſtinacy. But at laſt the Macedonian phalanx ruſhing forwards on the Lacedemonians with their ſpears couched, drove them from their entrenchments. Moſt of the auxiliary troops fell in this battle, and Plutarch ſays, that of 6000 Spartans, only 200 remained alive. Antigonus owed his victory in a great meaſure to the courage of Philopœmen, yet a very young man, who fought at the head of the Achean cavalry.

Though the loſs of this battle threatened Sparta with utter ruin, yet that people ſupported their defeat with the ſame conſtancy and magnanimity that they had diſplayed in the moſt flouriſhing times of their republic; every individual there appearing to be more affected by the public misfortune, than by his own private loſs. Wives did not mourn the death of their huſbands, nor fathers that of their ſons; but, on the contrary, eſteem-

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ed them happy in having died in the cauſe of their country.

Cleomenes, unable to bear the ſight of Sparta after this dreadful misfortune, only touched at that city, and immediately afterwards ſet ſail for Egypt. Antigonus arriving ſoon after at Sparta, took poſſeſſion of it as conqueror. But his reſentment being ſatisfied with his victory, and with the flight of Cleomenes, he treated the inhabitants with great kindneſs; overturning, however, every thing done by Cleomenes for reviving the inſtitutions of Lycurgus.

This fatal defeat at Selaſia utterly ruined the Spartan power, and deprived that people of all poſſibility of ever arriving again at their original ſplendor. — Antigonus, after remaining a few days in Sparta, ſet out for Macedonia, where the Barbarians were committing great devaſtations. But falling into a languiſhing diſorder, he died about two or three years after.

Cleomenes in the mean time arriving at Alexandria, very ſoon procured by his ſingular merit the eſteem of King Ptolemy, who loaded him with preſents, and, by way of conſolation, promiſed to aſſiſt him with money and a fleet to regain his throne, and to aſſert the liberty of his country. Death, however, which ſoon after carried off that prince, prevented his good intentions to Cleomenes from taking effect.

About this time there happened at Rhodes a dreadful earthquake, which did immenſe damage, and threw down the famous Coloſſus, a braſs ſtatue of a prodigious ſize. The Rhodians finding themſelves ruined by this diſaſter, implored the clemency of the neighbouring princes. Accordingly Hiero and Gelo, kings of Sicily, and Ptolemy king of Egypt, ſent them very large ſums of money, and behaved to them with the nobleſt humanity. Antigonus, Seleucus, and Mithridates, followed their example; and Rhodes, by the bounty of theſe princes, was ſoon reſtored to a more opulent and flouriſhing condition than it had ever enjoyed before. 222.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Affairs of Greece, from the capture of Sparta by Antigonus, till the whole country became a Roman province.

THE Etolians, the moſt unpoliſhed people of Greece, who were inured to all the hardſhips of war, and lived by robbery and plunder, had lately begun to make a diſtinguiſhed figure in that country. Taking advantage of the exhauſted ſituation of the Peloponneſians, who were greatly reduced by the late war, and ſince the battle of Selaſia were deſirous of peace and quiet, they made an irruption into the territory of Meſſene, and committed great ravage and devaſtation. Upon this, Aratus marched againſt them with the Acheans. But having been defeated near Caphia, that general became more timorous and irreſolute than ever, and the Acheans were obliged to apply for aſſiſtance to Philip the young king of Macedon, who had ſucceeded to that kingdom on the death of his father Antigonus.

About this time too, diſcord prevailed at Sparta, where one of the Ephori was killed in an inſurrection of the inhabitants, becauſe he and his colleagues favoured the cauſe of Philip.—That prince, upon the ſolicitation of ſeveral cities who complained to him of being haraſſed by the Etolians, having come to Corinth, where a general aſſembly of the Acheans was then holden, procured war to be declared againſt the Etolians. This happened during the ſiege of Saguntum by the famous Hannibal, who paſſed from thence into Italy.

Cleomenes in the mean time ended his days miſerably in Egypt. Having been rendered ſuſpected to the new king, who minded nothing but his pleaſures, he was thrown into priſon. Whence, however, his friends having found means to deliver him, ſet him at their head, and attempted to excite a rebellion in the city, by invi-

ting the people to aſſert their liberty. But no body daring to join them, they were ſeized with deſpair, and to avoid the ſhame of a diſgraceful public puniſhment, agreed to kill one another. When the king was informed of what had paſſed, he ordered the mother and children of Cleomenes to be put to death; and the body of that brave but unfortunate prince to be affixed to a croſs.

Philip having made preparations for attacking the Etolians, engaged ſeveral of the princes of Illyrium to aſſiſt him, and, among the reſt, Demetrius of Pharus, a very bold and enterpriſing, but a raſh man, who on being baniſhed from his own territories by the Romans, had choſen the court of Ptolemy for an aſylum. The Acheans likewiſe applied for aſſiſtance to their allies, but the people of Acarnania and Epirus alone, granted them the ſuccours demanded. Philip ſetting out from Macedonia with an army of 15,000 men, entered Etolia, and reduced a great number of towns. On the other hand, Dorimachus the Etolian general ravaged the country of Epirus.—Philip being joined at Caphia by a body of troops under Aratus the younger, formed in conjunction with him the ſiege of Pſophis, a city of Arcadia; and having in the height of winter made himſelf maſter of the fort, which by its ſituation was accounted impregnable, he delivered it to the Acheans, to whom it was a place of very great importance. After this, Philip proceeded to lay waſte the country of Elis.

The Acheans in the mean time were very harſhly uſed by Apelles, who having been formerly Philip's tutor, was in great favour with that prince. This man intended to make the Acheans altogether dependent on the pleaſure of Philip's miniſters. But on the repreſentations of Aratus, Philip commanded him to do no buſineſs that regarded that people, except in concert with their general. Hitherto Philip had diſcovered none but the moſt excellent qualities, mildneſs, affability, a very obliging behaviour, and a ſkill in the art of war much

above his years. But we ſhall ſoon ſee a very different picture of him.

Sparta was at this time diſtracted by inteſtine commotions, and a prey to a ſet of petty tyrants, who contended with one another for the throne. One of thoſe tyrants, named *Chilo*, having entered the city at the head of a body of armed men, under pretence of his title to the throne being preferable to that of Lycurgus, put to death all the Ephori.

Apelles intent on proſecuting his deſigns againſt the Acheans, and finding continual oppoſition from Aratus, reſolved to rid himſelf of that patriot, and for that purpoſe practiſed ſo many arts on Philip, that at laſt he made him ſuſpicious of Aratus. Philip, however, was ſoon ſenſible of the want of the prudent counſel of that great man; and therefore having given him an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf, he reſtored him to his confidence and friendſhip. Thereupon Apelles reſumed his practices; racked his brain to invent calumnies againſt Aratus; and even took ſecret meaſures to diſappoint the enterpriſes of Philip, in order to bring his enemy into diſgrace. That prince having at preſent the Etolians, Lacedemonians, and Eleans, on his hands all at once, reſolved to attack them by ſea, to oblige them to divide their forces; and having made a deſcent on Cephalonia, an iſland in the Ionian ſea, he laid ſiege to the city Palea, but by the fault of Leontius, a man devoted to Apelles, was obliged to raiſe it. Apelles and Leontius who acted in concert, were continually ſuggeſting ſchemes to Philip, which, but for the prudent counſels of Aratus, muſt have infallibly ruined his affairs.

Philip, in the mean time, having returned to the continent, ſecretly marched by an unfrequented way through rocks, towards Thermæ, a conſiderable city, where moſt of the riches of the Ætolians were depoſited, and where they kept their fairs. Arriving before the city, he immediately attacked it, and entering it with his army, found an immenſe booty. The Macedonians, calling

calling to mind the outrageous behaviour of the Ætolians at Dodona, reſolved to take their revenge here; and therefore ſet fire to their temple, and deſtroyed a great number of their ſtatues. Philip concluded this expedition by a very ſkilful retreat, in which he took the moſt prudent precautions to prevent his rear from being attacked, and effected it accordingly without any diſorder, and with very little loſs. Polybius informs us, that Aratus was the contriver and the conductor of this enterprize. That great man was ſingular in this reſpect, that he could form an extraordinary plan of this kind, and execute it more ſkilfully in concert with another general, than by himſelf alone. The whole army beſtowed the higheſt applauſe on the conduct of this expedition, except Leontius alone, the confident of Apelles, and one of Philip's principal officers, who was ſo heartily vexed at it, that he could not reſtrain himſelf from breaking out into the moſt inſolent reproaches againſt Aratus.

Philip departing from Leucades, arrived at Corinth, diſembarked his troops, and proceeded by the way of Argos to Tegeum in Laconia. The Lacedemonians were very much ſurpriſed on hearing that this young prince, whom they imagined to be at a great diſtance, was in the heart of their country; for Philip uſually accompliſhed his marches with ſuch diligence, that the Greeks were amazed at it. After ravaging Laconia, Philip returned to Corinth. In the mean time, Apelles and his ſon, having, by their inſolent conduct, quite exhauſted the patience of that prince, were, by his orders, apprehended and put to death *.

The Ætolians, greatly exhauſted by the war, grew at laſt very deſirous of peace. On the other hand, Philip not only prevailed on the allies to continue it, but after making a journey into Macedonia, returned himſelf into Greece, and laid ſiege to Thebes in Phthiotis, which he took after a vigorous reſiſtance. At laſt,

* In the year 218 before Chriſt the ſecond punic war began, and continued ſeventeen years.

however, upon the earneſt ſolicitations of the people of Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium, to grant peace to the Ætolians, he marched with his army to Naupactus, where he entered into conference with the Ætolian deputies, and at laſt concluded a peace with them, on condition that each party ſhould retain poſſeſſion of the places then in their hands. —— In this ſame year happened the famous battle between Hannibal and
217. the Romans, near the lake Thraſimene, where the latter were totally routed with great ſlaughter.

The temper of Philip, in the mean time, appeared to be greatly altered. He gave himſelf entirely up to every ſort of debauchery, treated the cities and ſtates in alliance with him, with unſupportable haughtineſs; and after receiving a check at Apollonia from the Romans, ſeemed determined to vent his reſentment for that defeat on his confederates, by ravaging the country of Meſſene. Aratus having remonſtrated pretty ſmartly againſt this extraordinary conduct, was, from that moment, regarded by Philip as an impertinent cenſurer; and was baſely poiſoned by the procurement of that prince, who, by this time, was hardened in cruelty, and heſitated at no crime, however baſe or deteſtable. Such was the end of this illuſtrious patriot, and ſuch the reward received by him from Philip, for the many important ſervices he had rendered him. The Acheans and Sicyonians contended for the honour of raiſing a tomb to his memory; but the latter prevailed, on account of his being
211. a native of their city. His funeral was celebrated with the higheſt magnificence, and the Sicyonians even offered ſacrifices at his tomb, as the ſaviour of their city, and the reſtorer of the Achean republic.

Philip next ſeized on the city of Iſſus belonging to the Illyrians, and took by ſtratagem its citadel, which was thought impregnable. The Romans, whoſe affairs began now to wear a better aſpect, by the reduction of Syracuſe and Capua, taking umbrage at the growing power of Philip, formed the ſcheme of ſtirring up againſt

gainſt him of new the Ætolians, then accounted the moſt powerful people of Greece. For this purpoſe, Valerius Levinus having been diſpatched in the quality of ambaſſador to the Ætolians, exhorted them by a long oration to enter into alliance with the Romans, whoſe power he highly extolled. His advice being ſeconded, and his arguments enforced by Scopas, one of their chiefs, the treaty was agreed to. Then the Ætolians invited ſeveral other ſtates, and particularly, the Spartans, to accede to this alliance; but they were zealouſly oppoſed by the Acarnanians, who having declared for Philip, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the Spartans from embracing the confederacy. — Their repreſentations, however, were ineffectual.

Sparta was at this time diſtracted by two factions. That of Machanidas having prevailed, and made him maſter of the city, he declared againſt Philip, and attacked the Acheans, who thereupon implored the protection of that prince. Philip came to their aſſiſtance, and defeated in two engagements the Ætolians, who were ſupported by king Attalus. But Ptolemy king of Egypt, the Rhodians, and Athenians, apprehenſive leſt Philip ſhould make a conqueſt of all Greece, ſent ambaſſadors, earneſtly deſiring him to make peace with the Ætolians. This produced a conference to deliberate on the terms of peace. But the Ætolians, inſiſting on conditions more agreeable to the ſituation of conquerors, than of the conquered, Philip called on the ambaſſadors preſent to bear witneſs, that the Ætolians themſelves had fruſtrated their good intentions; and thereupon the conference was broken off.

A few days after, Philip, being joined by the Acheans, advanced towards the city of Elis, where the Ætolians had a garriſon, and laid waſte the neighbouring country to provoke the enemy to come to an engagement. His operations had the deſired effect. The enemy, among whom were 4000 Romans commanded by the proconſul Sulpitius, attacked him; and the battle was very bravely and obſtinately fought. Here Philo-

pœmen

pœmen, who led the Achean cavalry, ſtruck dead with his lance the commander of the Ætolian cavalry, by whom he had been attacked. Philip, ſeeing his army giving ground, threw himſelf into the midſt of the Roman infantry. By this raſh action, he occaſioned a dreadful carnage; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that the Macedonians diſengaged and ſaved their king. Philip, after laying waſte the country, and carrying off a great booty, was obliged to march into Macedonia to protect it againſt the Barbarians, who had lately made a deſperate incurſion into that kingdom.

Next year, Sulpitius and king Attalus joining at Lemnos, advanced with their combined fleet towards Eubœa, laid ſiege to Orea, and took it by the treachery of the commanding officer. Intending next to attack Chalcis, they proceeded to that place; but thinking it too well fortified, deſiſted from the undertaking. Beſides its ſtrong ſituation on the land-ſide, that city derived great ſecurity from its lying on the famous ſtrait of Euripus, where the waves are always violently agitated, ſometimes from one quarter, ſometimes from another, occaſioned by an irregular current, by which the bay is rendered extremely unſafe for ſhipping. Then Attalus laid ſiege to Opuntum, and, in ſpite of the great expedition made by Philip to relieve it, took it before his arrival.

In the mean time, Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedemon, having levied a conſiderable army, formed a ſcheme for making himſelf maſter of all the Peloponneſe; and advanced into the territory of Mantinea. The allies, too, were ready to take the field, and Philopœmen being choſen general of the Acheans, aſſembled their troops, and, after exhorting them to ſecond his zeal by their obedience, ardour, and courage, led them on to action.

As this celebrated hero, commonly called the laſt of the Greeks, becauſe it is obſerved, that after him Greece produced no leading man worthy of her former glory, ſhall make a conſiderable figure in the ſequel, it may not be improper here briefly to lay before the reader

der the moſt diſtinguiſhing particulars of his character. Philopœmen was a native of Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia. He had received an excellent education, having been carefully inſtructed in the philoſophy of Arceſilaus, chiefly calculated to inſpire men with a ſpirit of patriotiſm, and to prepare them for ſtate employments. —Philopœmen had early propoſed Epaminondas for his model; and, from his infancy, ſhewed a ſtrong propenſity for war, diſcovering a peculiar fondneſs for men diſtinguiſhed by their military exploits, and for all warlike exerciſes. As ſoon as he was able to bear arms, he entered himſelf among the troops uſually ſent into Laconia to pillage, and, during the intervals of leiſure, applied himſelf to the exerciſes proper for ſtrengthening the body, ſuch as hunting and agriculture, often holding the plough with his own hands. For, in thoſe times, the moſt polite nations ſet the higheſt value on tillage, and the greateſt men employed themſelves in the manual labour requiſite in huſbandry. Theſe labours, unhappily appear in our eyes baſe and deſpicable; but this is one of the many miſerable corruptions into which we are now fallen, from a miſtaken refinement of manners.

Philopœmen took great delight likewiſe in the ſtudy of philoſophy, and in peruſing the poems of Homer, and the life of Alexander, which furniſhed him with the moſt effectual leſſons of bravery. He applied himſelf particularly to the ſtudy of tacticks, or the art of drawing up an army in battle order; and often amuſed himſelf with putting his precepts in practice on all the varieties of ground through which he happened to paſs with his troops. When Cleomenes king of Sparta attacked Megalopolis, Philopœmen ſignaliſed his courage very highly in the defence of that his native country. He likewiſe diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Selaſia. After that, he went to Crete, an iſland then abounding with men ſkilful in the art of war; and having there completed his education in the military art, he returned

turned into his native country, and was ſoon after choſen general of the Achean cavalry.

As ſoon as he received the command, he applied himſelf to reſtore a ſtrict diſcipline among the ſoldiers, employing for that purpoſe earneſt remonſtrances; and when theſe failed, ſevere chaſtiſement. He accuſtomed the young men to all the exerciſes of war, and rendered them, by that means, expert at the neceſſary military evolutions; and, by diſtributing prizes among thoſe that made the greateſt proficiency, kept up among them a ſpirit of diligence and emulation. At the battle of Elis, mentioned above, he gave a ſignal proof both of his valour and military ſkill. Aratus had raiſed the Achean republic to that pitch of power at which it then ſtood; but Philopœmen was deſtined to make them ſoldiers. He introduced great alterations in the armour uſed by the troops, which he made heavier than it was before. He taught them a new method of fighting; and accuſtomed them to cloſe engagements. In a word, he put them in a proper ſituation for reſiſting their enemies.

He conſiderably reſtrained the luxury and expenſive turn of his fellow-citizens, in point of equipages and dreſs. But finding it impoſſible to reform them altogether, he endeavoured to direct their taſte to the object moſt worthy of men generally expoſed to war, namely, to purchaſe fine horſes, elegant arms, helmets adorned with the moſt beautiful feathers, and embroidered coats of mail, hoping, by theſe means, to heighten their valour and love of arms. In this Cæſar followed his example. As for himſelf, he carried his ſimplicity, in point of dreſs, ſo far, that he appeared to be nothing leſs than the general of an army. Plutarch tells us, that Philopœmen happening one day to arrive alone at the houſe of a friend, by whom he had been invited to dinner, the miſtreſs of the houſe, though ſhe knew of his coming, was ſo far from imagining that a perſon in his dreſs was the general of the Acheans, that ſhe took him for a ſervant, and begged the favour of him

to aſſiſt in doing ſome affairs in the kitchen, becauſe her huſband was from home. Philopœmen very readily granted her requeſt, and laying aſide his cloak, fell to cleaving wood. The huſband arriving, in the mean time, cried out in amazement, "How, my Lord Phi-"lopœmen, what means this?" "I'm only paying "(anſwered he) the penalty of my poor appearance."

Philopœmen, after viſiting the cities, levying troops, and making the neceſſary preparations for war, aſſembled his army at Mantinea, and gave battle to Machanidas. The charge was extremely violent; and the fate of the battle remained long doubtful. Both parties fought hand to hand with great obſtinacy. But the right wing of the Achean army at laſt giving way, Machanidas puſhed his advantage. While he was intent, however, on purſuing thoſe that fled, Philopœmen ſkilfully takes poſſeſſion of the poſt relinquiſhed by Machanidas, gives a different turn to the engagement, charges the enemy on their return from the purſuit, and puts them to flight. Perceiving, at the ſame time, Machanidas jumping a ditch, with an intention to make his eſcape, he aims his javelin at him, and ſtrikes him dead in the ditch. The conquerors, after cutting off his head, purſued the remainder of his army all the way to the city of Tegeum, which they took by aſſault. In this battle the loſs of the Lacedemonians amounted to more than 4000 men, while that of the Acheans was very inconſiderable. The latter, ſenſible that they owed this victory entirely to the ſkill of their general, erected a braſs ſtatue to his honour.

At the Nemean games, which were celebrated ſoon after, Philopœmen happening to enter the theatre, followed by the young men who compoſed his phalanx, juſt as the muſician Pylades was ſinging to his lyre the following lines of an old poet,

"*The palm of liberty for Greece I won,*"

the audience immediately looked at Philopœmen, and gave a great ſhout.

Sparta, in the mean time, groaned beneath the yoke

of a more cruel tyrant ſtill than Machanidas, namely, Nabis, who, beſides the other vices common to all tyrants, was actuated by a violent ſpirit of avarice, which prompted him to torture and to baniſh the richer ſort of citizens, and then to ſeize upon their wealth. To maintain himſelf in his tyranny, he took into his pay a large body of foreign ſoldiers, capable of every ſort of miſchief, by whoſe help he put to death all thoſe whom he ſuſpected to be his enemies.

Nabis having received from Philip king of Macedon the city of Argos, in pledge for the money wherewith he had ſupplied that prince, there practiſed the moſt ſhocking cruelty. Having invented a machine in the form of a ſtatue reſembling his wife, the breaſt, arms, and hands of which were ſtuck full of pegs of iron, and covered with magnificent garments; when any one refuſed him money, he uſed to tell him, that though he himſelf was unable to perſuade him to comply with his requeſt, he hoped his wife Apega might have more influence with him. Being accordingly introduced to the pretended Apega, Nabis took her by the hand, and brought her up to the man, whom ſhe immediately embraced very violently. The man finding himſelf all over pierced with the pegs of iron, uttered the moſt frightful ſhrieks; and to procure deliverance from ſuch exquiſite torture, readily granted whatever Nabis inſiſted upon.

The Etolians finding themſelves neglected by the Romans, who were then totally employed by a much more important war, made their peace with Philip; and the people of Epirus having followed their example, tranquillity was for a time reſtored to the allies.

Philip having ſoon after declared war againſt the Rhodians and King Attalus, laid ſiege to Pergamus, the capital city of the dominions of Attalus. But failing in his attempt, he vented his reſentment, by burning all the temples, and breaking to pieces the ſtatues that came in his way. After this he was defeated in a battle by Attalus and the Rhodians, near the iſland of Chios. Growing daily more and more hardened againſt misfortunes,

fortunes, he profecuted the war with more fury and cruelty than before. Having taken Cias, a city of Bithynia, he made ſlaves of moſt of the inhabitants, and put to death the reſt, after torturing them in the moſt dreadful manner. The cities of Thrace, and the Cherſoneſe thereupon ſurrendered without making any reſiſtance.

But Abydos, a city ſituated on the narroweſt part of the Helleſpont, called in modern times the ſtrait of the Dardanelles, reſolved to ſtand a ſiege. Philip accordingly laid ſiege to it in form; but was at firſt vigorouſly repulſed by the inhabitants. Finding his efforts from the ſea ineffectual, he changed his poſition, and attacked it by land. The beſieged, finding that the Macedonians had ſapped the wall, and were puſhing forward their mines very faſt, ſent to treat with Philip about a ſurrender. But as he inſiſted on their ſurrendering at diſcretion, they reſolved rather to die ſword in hand; and, with that view, choſe out fifty of the oldeſt citizens, to whom they gave orders, that as ſoon as the Macedonians entered the town, they ſhould, in the firſt place, murder all their women and children in the temple of Diana, then ſet fire to certain galleries, containing the public effects, and, laſtly, throw all their gold and ſilver into the ſea. The fifty citizens having bound themſelves to the performance of theſe particulars, by the moſt ſolemn oaths, the reſt of the men proceeded to the breach, where they fought with the moſt deſperate bravery, till the night put an end to the ſlaughter. Next day, two of the old citizens, who had ſworn to the performance of the particulars above mentioned, ſhocked at the idea of ſo dreadful a duty, choſe rather to betray the city to Philip; who, ruſhing in, beheld with horror the inhabitants cutting the throats of their wives and children, and endeavoured in vain to prevent the frightful carnage; for the members of each family mutually killed one another.

Philip, whoſe turbulent diſpoſition did not permit him to remain a moment quiet, entering Attica, com-

mitted great devaſtations, and thereby obliged the Athenians to complain at Rome. The Romans had of a long while been diſpleaſed with the behaviour of Philip; and deſired nothing more earneſtly than a plauſible pretence for coming to an open rupture with him. The ſenate therefore diſpatched Valerius Levinus with a fleet to Macedonia, that he might be at hand to ſupport their allies; and ſoon after the departure of Levinus, they made a ſolemn declaration of war againſt Philip. In the mean time, the Macedonians marched towards Athens, with an intention to beſiege that city, but found the Athenians in battle array without the walls. The Macedonians immediately attacked them very vigorouſly, and drove them into the city; but not thinking it adviſeable to enter the city along with them, they wrecked their reſentment on the country around, which they laid waſte with fire and ſword.

About this time the Ætolians heſitated whether they ought to declare for Philip, or for the Romans. But the former having been ſoon after defeated in an engagement by the latter, they immediately took part with the Romans.

In the mean time, a Roman fleet, joined by that of King Attalus, ſailed towards Athens, and entered Pireus. The Athenians were ſo exceedingly elevated at this event, which relieved them from their dread of the Macedonians, that they overturned the ſtatues erected by them to Philip a little while before, and aboliſhed the ſacrifices they had eſtabliſhed in honour of that prince.—So eaſily did this fickle people paſs from one extreme to another.

The Ætolians having declared in favour of the Romans, Philip had an interview with the Roman proconſul Flaminius. But as they could come to no agreement, Philip prepared for war. Nabis ſtill continued his tyranny at Argos, ſtripping the wealthy of their money, and torturing thoſe who were ſuſpected to have concealed any of their effects. Having intimated to Flaminius and Attalus, that he was maſter of Argos, and deſirous

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of entering into an alliance with the Romans, he was accordingly received as an ally. Flaminius and Attalus then proceeding to Thebes, perſuaded the Bœotians to join the confederacy likewiſe. King Attalus died ſhortly after at Pergamus. The vaſt riches of this prince are much celebrated in hiſtory; and great praiſes are beſtowed on him for the excellent purpoſes to which he applied his wealth, as well as for the ſingular juſtice exerciſed by him towards his ſubjects. In a word, this king is repreſented as a perfect model of a good ſovereign.

In the mean time Philip and Quintius, (ſurnamed *Flaminius*), came to an engagement in Theſſaly, near certain mountains called *Cynoce-* 197. *phalæ*, the army of each amounting to near 25,000 men. Here the Romans gained a complete victory over Philip, who loſt 13,000 men in the battle, of whom 8000 were killed, and the reſt made priſoners; while the loſs of the Romans was no more than 700. In this engagement, the unevenneſs of the ground prevented the Macedonian phalanx from acting with its uſual advantage. The Ætolian cavalry contributed greatly to the obtaining of this victory. By ſuſtaining the impetuous charge of the Macedonians, they prevented the Romans from being puſhed into the open valley, where the phalanx could have acted with greater vigour. After this defeat, Philip ſued for peace, referring the terms entirely to the pleaſure of the Roman ſenate. Till that ſhould be known, Quintius granted a truce for four months to Philip, on receiving from him 400 talents of money, and his ſon Demetrius as an hoſtage.

Ten commiſſioners, named by the ſenate for ſettling the terms of peace with Philip, arriving at length in Greece, preſcribed to him the following conditions: That all the Greek cities, both in Europe and in Aſia, ſhould be declared free, and be permitted to govern themſelves by their own laws: That Philip ſhould withdraw all his garriſons from the Greek cities at preſent under his power; ſhould deliver up to the Romans all priſoners and deſerters; ſhould pay them 1000 talents of money

money at certain terms; and that his ſon Demetrius ſhould be ſent an hoſtage to Rome. Thus ended the Macedonian war.

As the Greeks were ignorant of the import of the terms of peace granted to Philip, and talked very differently about them, Quintius reſolved to reſerve the publication of the moſt important article, reſpecting their liberty, till the Iſthmian games, which were on the point of being celebrated, and at which an infinite number of ſpectators, from all the different ſtates, ſhould be aſſembled. In the inſtant, therefore, that the whole ſpectators were drawn up in the ſtadium to ſee the games, a herald appeared, and proclaiming ſilence, read aloud a proclamation to the following purpoſe. "The ſenate and people of Rome, and T. Quin-"tius their general, having conquered Philip and the "Macedonians, deliver from all garriſons and impoſi-"tions, the Corinthians, Locrians, Phoceans, Eubœ-"ans, Acheans, Magneſians, Theſſalians, and Perhæ-"bians; declare theſe ſtates free, and to be ſubject "only to their own laws and uſages."

The ſpectators were ſeized with ſuch an exceſs of joy, on hearing this decree, that, doubting whether their ſenſes had not deceived them, they deſired the herald to read the proclamation again, that they might be certain about its real meaning. The decree being accordingly read a ſecond time, was liſtened to with the moſt profound ſilence; and when the reading was finiſhed, nothing was to be heard but the moſt violent ſhouts of joy and applauſe.

As ſoon as the games were concluded, the whole aſſembly, regarding the Roman general as their deliverer, ran about him to thank him, each endeavouring to kiſs his hand, or to cover him with garlands of flowers. Quintius taſted in that day the pureſt and higheſt pleaſure which the mind of man can enjoy; a pleaſure far ſuperior to any that can be attained by the moſt magnificent warlike triumph, becauſe it proceeded from an action of goodneſs, humanity, juſtice, in one word, from

from the conſciouſneſs of conferring on men the moſt real happineſs whereof they are in this life ſuſceptible. The different ſtates, unable to reſtrain the ſentiments of gratitude that glowed within their breaſts, exclaimed to one another, "What a wonderful nation this! which, "at its own expence and hazard, undertakes wars to "aſſert the liberty of the reſt of mankind; and that not "of neighbouring nations only, or thoſe ſituated on the "ſame continent, but that injuſtice may prevail in no "quarter of the world, and that liberty may be every "where eſtabliſhed, they croſs the ſeas, penetrate into "the remoteſt regions, and, at one word, reſtore li-"berty to all the cities of Greece and Aſia!"

Quintius cauſed the ſame decree to be again proclaimed at the Nemean games; and afterwards made a tour through the principal cities, every where reforming, by the wiſeſt regulations, abuſes in the government and courts of juſtice; recalling ſuch citizens as lived in baniſhment, and putting an end to all inteſtine factions and diviſions. This conduct ſerved not only to raiſe very high the glory of the Romans, but contributed greatly to the increaſe of their power. The nations around, ſeeing the excellent purpoſes to which they applied their power, vied with one another in teſtifying their confidence in the equity and good faith of that people, and even deſired to receive magiſtrates from them, under the name of prætors. It is proper here to remark, that the Etolians, naturally a reſtleſs nation, were now, while all their neighbours gratefully enjoyed the fruits of peace, the only people who ſhewed any diſcontent againſt the Romans, boaſting, that they could have ſubdued Philip without the aſſiſtance of the Romans.

The Romans, unwilling that Argos alone ſhould groan under the oppreſſion of Nabis tyrant of Sparta, while the other ſtates lived in perfect liberty, gave orders to Quintius to declare war on Nabis. That general accordingly, after declaring war, marched directly to Sparta, which Nabis had ſtrongly fortified, and where he had ſhut himſelf up with 16,000 men, after putting

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to death all the principal citizens, whom he suf-
195. pected of diſaffection. Nabis making a ſally with his foreign troops upon the camp of Quintius, which was pitched on the banks of the Eurotas, at firſt created ſome diſorder among the Romans; but theſe quickly rallying, beat the enemy back into the town. Next day Nabis attacked the Romans again; but after a very obſtinate engagement, his men were put to flight with great ſlaughter. The brother of the Roman general having in the mean time taken poſſeſſion of Gythium, Nabis, very uneaſy at the loſs of that place, which was of great importance to him, demanded a conference with Quintius; but they could come to no agreement. In a ſecond conference, Nabis conſented to relinquiſh Argos, and to deliver up ſuch of the Romans as he had made priſoners. But Quintius inſiſting, that he ſhould likewiſe deliver up all priſoners and deſerters from the maritime cities under the Roman power; that he ſhould pay 100 talents of ſilver, and give his ſon as hoſtage for his future good behaviour, Nabis refuſed to agree to peace on theſe terms. Quintius thereupon calling in all his detachments, proſecuted the ſiege moſt vigorouſly, inveſting it on all ſides with an army of 50,000 men. As Sparta was fortified with a wall on the moſt acceſſible places only, Nabis found himſelf under very great embarraſſment; for, being puſhed on all ſides, he knew not to what quarter he ought to ſend aſſiſtance. The Lacedemonians for ſome time ſuſtained the efforts of the Romans; but when the foremoſt ranks had penetrated into the large ſtreets, they could ſtand no longer, and were obliged to give way. Nabis, to avoid ſuch imminent danger, ordered the houſes next the wall to be ſet on fire; at which the Roman ſoldiers, who had got into the middle of the city, being terrified, hattened to join the main body of their army, by which means Quintius, after being in a manner maſter of the city, was obliged to ſound the retreat. But the attack being renewed next day, Nabis applied once more for peace;

and was obliged to accept of the conditions which he had formerly refuſed. After concluding this peace, Quintius diſmiſſed Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had aſſiſted him at the ſiege, and then ſet out for Argos, where he was preſent at the Nemean games, and diſtributed the prizes to the victors. His preſence in their city gave the higheſt joy to the Argives.

The Acheans, in the mean time, and the Etolians, grumbled much at the peace concluded with Nabis; being diſſatisfied, that ſuch a tyrant ſhould be permitted to remain in Greece. Quintius, after ſpending the winter in viſiting the chief towns of Greece, and every where re-eſtabliſhing juſtice and good order, the real bleſſings of peace, went to Corinth, where, calling together deputies from all the ſtates, he explained to them what the Roman people had done for the liberty of Greece; and told them, that peace had been granted to Nabis ſolely from their earneſt deſire to preſerve Sparta from utter ruin, which muſt have been the inevitable conſequence of driving him to extremity. Then having exhorted them to live in union with one another, he embarked for Italy, and entered Rome in triumph.

In the mean time the Ætolians, the only people of Greece who harboured ſecret malice againſt the Romans, were very induſtrious in ſtirring up enemies againſt them. For this purpoſe they applied themſelves to Nabis, who being but too well diſpoſed to follow their ſeditious counſel, found means to bring over to his ſide the principal inhabitants in the maritime towns, of which the Romans had obliged him to relinquiſh the poſſeſſion, prevailed on ſeveral of them to revolt, and laid ſiege to Gitium. The Romans, hearing that Nabis had broken the peace, immediately diſpatched the prætor Acilius, with a fleet, into Greece.

The Acheans hating Nabis, reſolved to attack him, and made Philopœmen their general, who, at firſt, was defeated in a battle at ſea; but quickly repaired his loſs. Attacking the tyrant near Sparta, he cut in pieces the greateſt part of his army, gained a complete victory,

and beſieged him in that city. The Ætolians had, about this time, ſent an embaſſy to Antiochus king of Syria, to perſuade him to undertake an expedition into Greece. The Romans, getting notice of theſe practices of the Ætolians, deſired the Athenians to put them in mind of the alliance which they had lately entered into. But the Ætolians, liſtening to their reſentment alone, formed a plan for getting poſſeſſion by ſtratagem of Demetriades, Chalcis, and Sparta, and committed the execution of this plan to three of their principal citizens. Diocles ſucceeded in the deſign upon Demetriades; Thos failed in that againſt Chalcis; but Alexamenes was ſomewhat more ſucceſsful at Sparta. Having entered that city with 1000 men, under pretence of aſſiſting Nabis, he was joyfully received by the tyrant; but drawing him aſide, as if to communicate ſomething to him in private, he ſuddenly pulled him from his horſe, and then gave the ſignal agreed on to his attendants, who, ruſhing forward, killed Nabis on
192. the ſpot. Then they fell to pillaging his treaſures.

But the Spartans riſing in the mean time, attacked the Ætolians, and cut moſt of them off, together with their leader Alexamenes. Philopœmen, hearing of this confuſion at Sparta, quickly entered that city with a body of troops; and calling an aſſembly, perſuaded the Spartans to join the Achean league. This action did very great honour to Philopœmen, and his diſintereſtedneſs and generoſity did him no leſs; for he refuſed a preſent ſent him by the Spartans of 120 talents, ariſing from the ſale of the effects of Nabis.

Antiochus having, by the perſuaſion of the Ætolians, entered Greece, was defeated near the paſs of Thermopylæ, by the Roman conſul Manius Acilius. After this victory, the conſul intimated to the Ætolians, that it was not yet too late for them to have recourſe to the Roman clemency, and to avoid the chaſtiſement due to their repeated offences; for that they might purchaſe their pardon, by putting their capital Heraclea into the hands of the Romans. But theſe remonſtrances proving ineffectual,

ineffectual, the conſul proceeded to lay ſiege to that city in form. As it was large and well fortified, the beſieged made an obſtinate defence, and fought with the moſt deſperate bravery. But Manius having given a general aſſault about three o'clock in the morning, while the Ætolians, wearied with fatigue, lay buried in ſleep, carried the city, and gave it up to be pillaged. Many of the inhabitants thereupon fled to the citadel, but were at laſt obliged, by famine, to ſurrender. The reſt of the nation having ſhut themſelves up in Naupactus, were purſued thither by the conſul, who laid cloſe ſiege to that city, and, in two months, reduced the enemy to the laſt extremity. The Ætolians, now on the point of periſhing under the Roman power, made the humbleſt ſupplications to the conſul Quintius to pity their miſery, and to interpoſe in their behalf. Quintius compaſſionating their diſtreſs, prevailed with Manius to grant them a truce, during which they might have an opportunity to make their ſubmiſſions to the ſenate at Rome.

The Ætolians, hearing ſoon after, that Antiochus was totally defeated by the Romans in the battle of Magneſia; and finding themſelves unable to reſiſt any longer, implicitly ſubmitted to the conditions preſcribed them by the ſenate; of which the principal article was, that they ſhould deliver up their arms and horſes to the Romans, and pay them 1000 talents of ſilver.

Thoſe Spartans who had been baniſhed from their country by Nabis, having taken poſſeſſion of ſome places on the coaſt, thence made incurſions into the Lacedemonian territories. By way of repriſals, the latter having attacked and taken poſſeſſion of Las, one of the places occupied by theſe refugees, theſe applied to the Acheans for relief, and prevailed with them to interpoſe in the affair. The Acheans accordingly, under pretence of the Romans having put under their protection all the towns on that coaſt, required the Spartans to deliver up the authors of the enterpriſe againſt Las. This demand threw the Spartans into ſuch a fury, that they killed

thirty of thoſe who were moſt intimately connected with Philopœmen, renounced their alliance with the Acheans, and ſent ambaſſadors to the conſul Fulvius, to beg of the Romans to take Sparta under their protection. The Acheans being informed of this, were, in their turn, highly offended, and declared war againſt the Spartans. The diſpute was referred to the deciſion of the Roman ſenate, both parties were heard, and a deciſion was pronounced in very ambiguous terms, which, however, the Acheans pretended to interpret in their own favour.

Philopœmen, therefore, putting himſelf at the head of an army, advanced to Sparta, and ſummoned the inhabitants to deliver up to him the authors of the enterpriſe againſt Las. The principal inhabitants having gone out to make an anſwer to this demand, were furiouſly ſet upon by the refugees, who happened to be in Philopœmen's army, and ſeventeen of them were ſlain; and next day, ſixty-three more of them were condemned to death by this exaſperated multitude. Then the Acheans proceeded to treat Sparta like a city taken by force, commanding the walls to be pulled down, the foreign ſoldiers to be ſent out of Laconia, and the laws of Lycurgus to be totally aboliſhed. Every particular was executed accordingly, to the inexpreſſible grief of the Spartans, who ſent complaints to Rome againſt Philopœmen, in conſequence whereof, Lepidus wrote a letter to the Acheans, ſeverely reprimanding them for their unlawful proceedings. The ſenate diſapproved, in the ſtrongeſt terms, of the rigorous conduct of the Acheans, and cited them to make their defence at Rome. They accordingly endeavoured to juſtify themſelves; but the ſenate pronounced ſentence in favour of the Lacedemonians, ordaining, that thoſe who had been baniſhed by the Acheans, ſhould be recalled and reſtored to their eſtates; that all the proceedings relating to that affair ſhould be annulled; that the walls of Sparta ſhould be rebuilt by the Acheans; and that it ſhould remain united with the Achean confederacy.

About

About this time, the Meſſenians having, by the perſuaſion of Dinocrates, renounced the Achean league, reſolved to take poſſeſſion of Corona, an important poſt. Of this reſolution Philopœmen getting notice, took the field, though then ſeventy years of age, and advanced towards Meſſené. An engagement enſuing, Philopœmen, in the beginning of it, repulſed the enemy; but a ſtrong reinforcement arriving to their aid, the Achean troops were defeated, and Philopœmen 183. after performing extraordinary feats of valour, was grievouſly wounded, thrown from his horſe, taken priſoner, conducted to Meſſené in chains, impriſoned, and, by the advice of Dinocrates, cruelly put to death by poiſon. Philopœmen received the cup without making the leaſt complaint, drank off the poiſon, and expired a few moments after. The Acheans, penetrated with grief on receiving this news, immediately took arms, with a reſolution to revenge his death; and, marching into the territory of Meſſené, made a dreadful ravage. The Meſſenians, unable to reſiſt the torrent, begged for peace in the humbleſt manner. The Acheans inſiſted on their delivering up the authors of Philopœmen's death; and the Meſſenians agreed to the condition. But Dinocrates prevented his puniſhment by killing himſelf. The other perſons concerned in that cruel affair were ſtoned to death around the tomb of Philopœmen. The Acheans performed the moſt magnificent funeral obſequies to the memory of their brave general, and carried his aſhes to Megalopolis. The proceſſion reſembled that of a triumph; the horſe and foot marched under arms, and the inhabitants of the towns through which they paſſed, came all out to meet the proceſſion.

This year was remarkable for the deaths of three of the moſt famous commanders in antiquity, Hannibal, Scipio Africanus, and Philopœmen.

The Roman ſenate began now to take umbrage at the credit and power of the Achean league; and to behold, with a jealous eye, the ſkilfulneſs of their generals, the valour of their troops, the perfect union

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that ſubſiſted among their cities, and the entire liberty in which they lived. In this diſpoſition, the Romans, with a view of humbling them, never failed to give a favourable hearing to the enemies of the league; and ſome of its unworthy members, ſuch as Callicrates, who hurt them conſiderably in the affair of the Spartan refugees, were conſtantly furniſhing pretences to the Romans for curbing the republic. But it was not till after the defeat of Perſeus, the laſt formidable enemy to the Roman power, that the ſenate reſolved to diſſolve the league, and to reduce the Acheans intirely under their power.

With this view, the Romans induſtriouſly applied themſelves to weaken them, by fomenting diviſions among them, and by committing all the important offices of the republic to men totally devoted to their pleaſure, who, by that means, poſſeſſed the balance of power in their aſſemblies. Public officers having been by the Romans diſpatched into Aſia, to take information againſt all thoſe who had ſupported Perſeus, received from Callicrates, a man wholly in the intereſt of Rome, a liſt of ſuch of the Acheans as he ſuſpected to have favoured the cauſe of that king. Upon this information, no fewer than 1000 of the moſt conſiderable citizens in the Achean republic were ſeized, and the Acheans were ordered to conduct them to Rome.—What a deteſtable inſtance of tyranny!—The celebrated hiſtorian Polybius, was one of this number. On arriving at Rome, they were diſtributed through the different countries of Italy, without ſo much as being heard in their own defence. The Acheans, compaſſionating the fate of their fellow-citizens, ſent ſeveral different embaſſies to Rome, intreating the ſenate to take cognizance of the accuſation againſt thoſe citizens who had never been brought to trial at home. But all their remonſtrances were ineffectual, though ſucceſſively renewed from time to time, for the ſpace of ſeventeen years. At laſt, however, the ſenate conſented to the reſtoration of thoſe

exiles

exiles to their native country. But during ſo long an interval, the greateſt part of them had died, ſo that of the 1000 who had come into Italy, only 300 returned to Greece.

Some years after, great diſturbances broke out in Achaia, by the indiſcretion of their principal magiſtrates; one of whom, named *Democritus*, declared war againſt Sparta, and entering Laconia with an army, laid waſte the country. The Romans ſent commiſſioners to terminate this diſpute, who proceeding to Corinth, conducted matters at firſt with great moderation; for Carthage not being yet taken, the Romans choſe to manage tenderly ſuch powerful allies as the Acheans. This behaviour, however, ſerved only to make the factious Acheans more unruly; and their chief Critolaus ran from city to city, exaſperating his countrymen againſt the Romans, and endeavouring to prevent any agreement from being concluded with the Lacedemonians. 147.

It muſt be acknowledged, that at this time the Acheans were far from behaving to the Romans with that caution and prudence that they ought. On the contrary, they ſeemed to be doing every thing to excite their reſentment. Metellus, who was then in Macedonia, hearing of theſe diſturbances, ſent four Romans of conſideration to Corinth, to exhort the Acheans not to draw on themſelves the vengeance of his countrymen. But their remonſtrances were derided, and themſelves driven out of the city. The Corinthians, on this occaſion, particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their animoſity againſt the Romans. Critolaus, in the mean time, laboured to perſuade his countrymen to make war on the Lacedemonians, publicly boaſting, that he would make head againſt the whole Roman power; and that he had engaged kings on his ſide. His endeavours were ſucceſsful; and he even found means to prevail on the Bœotians and the people of Chalcis to join the confederacy. Theſe ſtates ſeemed at preſent to be actuated

by

by a ſpirit of folly, which was hurrying them on to their ruin.

The Romans, informed of all theſe tranſactions in Greece, ordered Mummius to make war on the Acheans. Metellus, who was on the ſpot, once more ſent them an embaſſy, acquainting them, that the Roman people might yet be prevailed upon to forget their paſt behaviour, provided they would return to their duty, and conſent to certain cities being diſunited from the confederacy. Theſe propoſals were rejected in ſo diſdainful a manner, that Metellus was provoked at it, and immediately marching againſt them with his army, obtained a complete victory, and took more than 1000 priſoners. In this engagement Critolaus diſappeared; and it was commonly believed, that he was drowned in a marſh, as he was endeavouring to make his eſcape. Diæus therefore, another man of a factious turbulent ſpirit, aſſumed the command, levied forces from all quarters, and muſtered up an army of about 14,000 men. Metellus, in the mean time, purſued the rebels, and having fallen in with 1000 Arcadians, put them all to the ſword. He then marched againſt Thebes; but the inhabitants, terrified at the fame of the Roman victories, abandoned the city. Then advancing towards Corinth, where Diæus had ſhut himſelf up, he diſpatched three of the moſt conſiderable perſons of the Achean republic, to perſuade their countrymen to avoid, ere it was too late, their impending ruin. But the multitude favouring the faction of Diæus, threw thoſe citizens into priſon.

Things were in this ſituation when Mummius arrived, whereupon Metellus returned into Macedonia. Mummius immediately aſſembled his troops, and formed his camp. The beſieged made a ſally, attacked the Romans, and killed many of them. This inconſiderable advantage proved their ruin. Diæus, elevated by his ſucceſs, was mad enough to offer battle to the conſul; who, to increaſe his preſumption, declined the engagement, as if through fear. The Acheans ſeeing this,

advanced with the moſt fooliſh confidence againſt the Romans, who at laſt marched out to meet them, and gave them battle nearly about the narroweſt place of the iſthmus. The Acheans, at the ſame time that they were engaging the Roman legions, finding themſelves charged from an ambuſcade by all the conſul's cavalry, were in a moment overpowered and put to flight. Diæus, in deſpair, hurrying to Megalopolis, his native city, killed his wife, ſet fire to his houſe, and drank poiſon. The Acheans, now without a leader, had not the courage to rally, but fled on all ſides. Moſt of the inhabitants retired from Corinth in the night. Mummius entering the city, gave it up to be pillaged; put to the ſword all the men that remained in it; ſold the women and children for ſlaves; and after taking away the fineſt ſtatues and pictures, ſet fire to the houſes, reduced the whole city to aſhes, and razed the walls to the foundations. Thus periſhed Corinth, the ſame year that Carthage was taken and deſtroyed. 146.
The Romans demoliſhed the walls of all the cities that had taken part in the revolt.

The ruin of Corinth made ſo terrible an impreſſion on the Acheans, that their courage entirely deſerted them. The ſenate pretended, that they had treated the Corinthians thus ſeverely, on account of their having violated the law of nations, by abuſing the ambaſſadors ſent them from Rome. But the truth is, that the Romans, not chuſing that any ſtate ſhould be able to reſiſt their power, reſolved to deſtroy Corinth, whoſe very ſtrong and advantageous ſituation rendered it a moſt convenient hold for any of their enemies, who, with proper ſkill and reſolution, might there baffle for a long while the whole Roman power. The Romans drew immenſe riches from the ſpoils of this city. Among the pictures found in it, there was one repreſenting Bacchus, executed by the celebrated Ariſtides. This piece was reckoned infinitely ſuperior to all the reſt, and was ordered to be given to Attalus for about 3200l. Sterling. But Mummius thinking it a matter of dangerous example to

ſell a picture at ſuch an extravagant price, refuſed, in ſpite of the complaints of Attalus, to deliver it, and ſent it to Rome, not indeed for his own private uſe, but as a public ornament; and it was accordingly placed in the temple of Ceres. That illuſtrious Roman gave upon this occaſion a ſtriking proof of his diſintereſtedneſs, integrity, and great knowledge in the art of war; but at the ſame time ſhewed himſelf miſerably deficient in point of taſte for the fine arts; for we are told by Velleius Paterculus, that to make thoſe employed to tranſport the Corinthian ſtatues and pictures to Rome more than ordinarily careful about ſo precious a truſt, he threatened, that if any of them were ſpoiled or amiſſing, he would oblige the bearers to furniſh others at their own expence.

After this memorable period, the Romans ſent commiſſioners into Greece, who aboliſhed in all the ſtates the popular form of government, and created magiſtrates dependent on the Roman commonwealth; but at the ſame time left the Greeks in other reſpects in the full enjoyment of their laws and liberty. At laſt, however, Greece was reduced into the form of a Roman province, and governed by a Prætor ſent thither annually. Thenceforth, therefore, it bore the name of the province of Achaia; the Acheans being in thoſe latter times the moſt powerful people in Greece.

As Athens has all along made the moſt conſi-
146. derable figure in the hiſtory of Greece; it is proper, before concluding, briefly to lay before the reader the moſt remarkable viciſſitudes of fortune experienced by that city, for ſome time after the Romans made themſelves maſter of Greece.

Athens was ſtill deſtined to ſuffer great misfortunes in the time of Sylla. Mithridates, king of Pontus, after making a conqueſt of all Aſia Minor, diſpatched into Greece an army of 120,000 men, under Archelaus, who by means of ſo great a force ſoon reduced Athens, and obliged the other ſtates of Greece to ſubmit to Mithridates. Archelaus fixing his reſidence at Athens, poſ-

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ſeſſed himſelf of all authority, and exerciſed a cruel tyranny over the inhabitants. Their miſeries, however, under this new maſter were but ſlight in compariſon of thoſe they were ſoon to undergo.

The celebrated Sylla being charged with the conduct of the war againſt Mithridates, paſſed over into Greece with five legions. All the cities, except Athens, immediately on his arrival opened their gates to him. The Athenians were not at liberty to follow their own inclinations; for the tyrant Ariſtion, under whoſe yoke they then groaned, was daring enough to oppoſe the Roman troops, and to ſuſtain a ſiege againſt Sylla. That general immediately laid ſiege to Pireus where Ariſtion had taken poſt; and though the walls were ſixty feet high, and very ſtrong, Sylla attacked them with the greateſt vigour, employing for that purpoſe all his machines, of which he had a great number, and neither regarding danger nor expence. Being in want of wood, he cut down the trees of the Lyceum which formed moſt beautiful and delicious walks; and to ſupply himſelf with money, he plundered the treaſures of the temples of Delphos and Epidaurum.

If the attack was deſperate, the defence was no leſs ſo. Both parties behaved with the greateſt courage and reſolution. Every day produced new aſſaults, and new ſallies, in which a vaſt deal of blood was ſpilt. The Athenians diſplayed on this occaſion all the admired intrepidity of their anceſtors. They burnt part of the Roman machines, and overturned others by means of mines which they carried under the ſpots whereon they ſtood. The Romans animated by Sylla diſcovered no leſs ardour. On their ſide they employed mines likewiſe, and thereby threw down a conſiderable part of the wall. Having thus made a large breach, they immediately gave an aſſault, but after a long and deſperate diſpute were repulſed. The Athenians during the enſuing night ſhut up the breach by a new wall.

Sylla was now beginning to deſpair of ſucceſs, when an idea ſtruck him of reducing the city by famine.

Converting therefore the ſiege into a blockade, he ſoon brought every horror of famine upon the miſerable Athenians, who, after devouring all the herbage, roots, and the fleſh of their horſes, were even obliged to eat the leather of their ſhoes. — Finding themſelves at laſt under an abſolute neceſſity of capitulating, the people and ſenators, by the moſt earneſt ſolicitations, prevailed on Ariſtion to ſend deputies to obtain the beſt terms they could from Sylla. But theſe deputies, inſtead of ſuing in the humble manner that became people in their ſituation, having entered into a pompous deſcription of the exploits of the ancient Athenians, were interrupted by the haughty Roman, who calling them in deriſion *preachers*, and deſiring them to reſerve their fine rhetorical flouriſhes for themſelves, informed them, that he had not come thither to learn the heroic actions of their anceſtors, but to chaſtiſe them for their rebellion; and diſmiſſed them without further ceremony.

Sylla getting intelligence ſoon after from his ſpies, of a part of the wall low enough to be ſcaled, gave orders to fix ladders there the following night. The Romans having in this manner entered the city, put to death the greateſt part of the inhabitants. Sylla gave up the city to be plundered, ſold all the ſlaves by auction, and then proceeded to inveſt the citadel, which was ſoon forced to ſurrender for want of proviſions, and Ariſtion
87. was put to death. Having next made himſelf maſter of Pireus, he demoliſhed its fortifications; and burnt to the ground the arſenal, a building much admired for its elegant architecture.

Sylla, after beating the generals of Mithridates in two great engagements at Cheronea, and Orchomene, reduced Macedonia and Greece under the Roman power in the ſame manner as they had been formerly; and thence paſſing over into Aſia Minor, conquered Ionia and ſeveral other provinces, whereof Mithridates had taken poſſeſſion in that country.

Greece, by becoming a Roman province, did not loſe that ardent deſire of liberty which was always its principal

principal characteriſtic. In the Roman civil wars between Cæſar and Pompey, the Athenians warmly embraced the ſide of the latter, which appeared to be founded on republican principles; and after the death of Julius Cæſar, they erected ſtatues to the memory of Caſſius, who had been the moſt active of the conſpirators againſt Cæſar.

Greece, though ſtripped of her political power, ſtill preſerved her ſovereignty in the ſciences and fine arts; and, in that reſpect, received homage from her very conquerors; for the moſt illuſtrious men among the Romans repaired thither to be inſtructed in the moſt valuable branches of literature. Athens, therefore, that nurſery of learning and of ſcience, ſtill remained the central point in the republic of letters, and continued to be frequented by all who deſired to acquire that *atticiſm* ſo highly valued by the ancients, and that ſtandard taſte which enabled them to eſtimate, with peculiar accuracy, the real beauties of every work of genius or art. Here too, and here only, were to be learnt the true principles of eloquence; and all who applied themſelves ſucceſsfully to public ſpeaking, and Cicero in particular, repaired to Athens to ſtudy under the great maſters of oratory. Thither did the ſame Cicero ſend his ſon to hear the lectures of Cratippus; every Roman of any rank or conſideration, followed the ſame courſe; and Greek learning, according to the teſtimony of Plutarch, was accounted ſo requiſite a branch of education among that judicious people, that a Roman, who did not underſtand the Greek language, never arrived at any high degree of eſtimation.

Such of the emperors as had a taſte for the ſciences, Titus Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and ſome others, uſed every means to entice to their court the moſt eminent philoſophers of Greece, not only to enjoy their converſation themſelves, but that they might direct the education of their children. Even in the decline of the Roman empire, and during the fourth and fifth ages of Chriſtianity, Greece ſtill continued to be

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the reſort of the philoſophers of all nations. We ſee, from eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that St Baſil, St Gregory, and St Chryſoſtom, thoſe bright luminaries of the church, went to Athens to imbibe, at the ſource, all the moſt important branches of knowledge.

Beſides Athens, ſeveral other cities were famous for being the reſidence of the arts and ſciences, ſuch as Alexandria, Byzantium, Rhodes, and Epheſus.

Eminent Writers, Philoſophers, Artiſts, &c.

Panætius, the Stoic philoſopher, was deſcended of one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rhodes; but his love of knowledge induced him to reſide at Athens, where he attached himſelf to the Stoic ſchool, then very much in faſhion. The fame of his knowledge ſoon reached Rome, where the greateſt men then applied themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy. Panætius was drawn thither by the invitation of ſome of the moſt illuſtrious Romans, and formed a very intimate friendſhip with Lælius and Scipio; of whom the latter honoured him with marks of the greateſt confidence, and prevailed with him to accompany him in his expeditions. Panætius compoſed a treatiſe on the moral duties of mankind, highly valued by Cicero, who made much uſe of it in compoſing his *Offices*.

Epictetus, a native of Hieropolis, a city in Phrygia, was likewiſe a follower of the Stoic ſect. He was equally famous for the ſublimity of his ſentiments, and for the purity of his morals; in which laſt reſpect, the Stoics, notwithſtanding their exterior ſeverity, and their rigid doctrines, were far from being altogether irreproachable. He was, when very young, the ſlave of one of the officers of the Emperor Nero's bed-chamber. But having been driven from Rome, in the reign of Domitian, he retired to Nicopolis, where, in ſpite of his poverty, he lived for ſeveral years in general eſteem; and returned to Rome in the time of Hadrian. The maxims of his philoſophy were comprehended in theſe three words,

words, ἀνεχου και ἀπεχου, ſignifying, "ſuffer patiently, "and be moderate in your pleaſures." The only part of his works now remaining is his *Manuel*. Nothing, except Chriſtianity itſelf, can be more pure and ſublime than the doctrines of his philoſophy. The celebrated Monſieur Paſcal, who had ſtudied it with great accuracy, has compoſed an abſtract of it with a diſtinctneſs and preciſion worthy ſo great a genius. As this piece is curious and ſcarce, we ſhall here preſent the reader with the ſubſtance of it.

Epictetus, ſays he, is one of the few philoſophers who had the juſteſt notions of the duties of human life. He deſires, above all things, that God Almighty may be conſtantly the chief object of our conſideration; that we be thoroughly perſuaded of his perfect juſtice, and chearfully ſubmit to all his diſpenſations, from an entire conviction of his infinite wiſdom. He aſſures us, that this diſpoſition will prevent all murmurings and complaints, and enable us to bear with patience the moſt painful accidents of life: Never ſay, "I have loſt ſuch "a thing;" ſay rather, "I have reſtored it:" My ſon dies, "I have reſtored him;" My wife dies, "I have "given her back;" and ſo of every other poſſeſſion. But, ſay you, he who has deprived me of ſuch a thing, is a wicked man. Why trouble yourſelf about the inſtrument, whom the power, who lent you the thing, employs to take it back again? While the *Almighty* indulges you in the uſe of it, be careful of it, as being the property of another: You muſt never deſire that things ſhould be diſpoſed according to your fancy or pleaſure; but be always aſſured that they happen for the beſt: Conſtantly regard yourſelf as being in this world a kind of player, who muſt perform ſuch a part as it pleaſes your maſter to beſtow on you: Remain on the theatre ſo long as he appoints, appear rich or poor as your character requires, and endeavour to play your part as well as poſſible; but ſtill remember, that to aſſign the part is the buſineſs of your maſter: Reflect daily on death, and the moſt lamentable miſeries of life; this will pre-

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ſerve you from thinking baſely, and from deſiring any thing too earneſtly. Then he proceeds to point out, how a man ought to behave on many different occaſions. He adviſes him to be humble and modeſt; to conceal his good reſolutions, and to accompliſh them privately; becauſe nothing diminiſhes their value ſo much as oſtentation: He repeats again and again, and conſtantly endeavours to enforce this maxim, "That the whole "deſire, the whole ſtudy of man, ſhould be, to diſcover "the will of God, and to follow it."

Demetrius Phalerius has been already mentioned as chief magiſtrate of Athens; and it only remains to ſay a few words of him here as an orator. He was the ſcholar of Theophraſtus, from whom he learned a florid and highly ornamented ſtyle. He excelled in that ſpecies of eloquence, which ſtudies the graces of declamation and beautiful ſhining expreſſions, but is devoid of ſolidity and vigour. Being, however, much applauded for the pleaſure he gave the ear and imagination, he had a great number of imitators. It is for this reaſon, that he is ſaid to have contributed greatly to the decline and corruption of eloquence at Athens. To pleaſe was the whole aim of the oratory of Demetrius; which, therefore, was better adapted to amuſe the fancy than to convince the underſtanding.

To the number of Greek orators, may perhaps be added ſeveral fathers of the church; ſuch as, *Saint Baſil*, *Saint Gregory*, and *Saint Chryſoſtom*, whoſe writings contain a beauty of ſtyle, a ſolidity of reaſoning, and a vehemence of expreſſion, well calculated for touching the heart, and moving the paſſions.

Polybius, the famous hiſtorian, was a native of Megalopolis. He learned eloquence and philoſophy under his own father Lycortas, a man greatly diſtinguiſhed for the firmneſs with which he ſupported the intereſts of the Achean republic, againſt the ambitious deſigns of the Romans. Philopœmen was his maſter in the art of war. His merit was ſoon known at Rome, where many of the principal citizens cultivated his acquaintance; and, particularly

the two ſons of Paulus Æmilius, of whom the youngeſt, who was adopted by Cornelius Scipio the ſon of the great Africanus, and who deſtroyed Numantia and Carthage, profited very much by his inſtructions.

Polybius is believed to have compoſed the greateſt part of his hiſtory at Rome. This hiſtory contained not only the Roman tranſactions, but thoſe of all the then known world, from the firſt Punic war, to the ruin of the kingdom of Macedonia, comprehending, altogether, a ſpace of fifty-three years. Polybius, therefore, called it an univerſal hiſtory, and divided it into forty books, of which only the five firſt now remain. The loſs of the reſt is very much to be regretted; for we ſhould have found there a repreſentation of the grandeſt and moſt intereſting ſcenes ever diſplayed on the theatre of the world. There we ſhould have ſeen, particularly in the period of the ſecond Punic war, the two moſt warlike and powerful nations then in the world, engaged in the moſt ſerious and important conteſt; Rome on the very brink of deſtruction; and Carthage finally vanquiſhed and undone. There, too, we ſhould have found an account of the wars of the Romans with Philip King of Macedon, with Antiochus King of Syria, with the Ætolians, and with King Perſeus; in a word, the whole chain of events that conducted Rome to the utmoſt pitch of power, and enabled her to ſwallow up all the ſtates and kingdoms in our hemiſphere. This loſs is ſo much the greater, that Polybius beſtowed the utmoſt care and attention to procure the beſt information with reſpect to facts; and that he might not be miſtaken about the ſituation of places, he himſelf travelled to the ſpots where the principal engagements deſcribed by him happened. Beſides all this, Polybius abounds with the juſteſt reflections; and every where delivers the moſt ſolid maxims of policy; two particulars that conſtitute the chief excellence of every hiſtorian, and from which a reader derives the moſt valuable inſtruction. It is true, that his digreſſions are generally tedious; but the facts they contain are ſo curious, that it were rigorous to find fault with them.

Polybius having returned into the Peloponneſe after the deſtruction of Corinth, had an opportunity of defending the memory of his maſter Philopœmen from an accuſation of his having been an enemy of the Roman people; and he acquitted himſelf with ſuch eloquence and force of argument, that a decree was paſſed, forbidding the ſtatues ſet up in honour of that hero, to be demoliſhed or hurt. Polybius was likewiſe choſen by the Roman commiſſioners to viſit the conquered towns, and to ſettle any diſputes that had ariſen among them. This commiſſion he executed with ſuch admirable prudence and equity, that ſtatues were, in different places, erected to his honour. After this, he went back to Scipio at Rome, with whom he lived till the death of that illuſtrious Roman, when he once more returned to his native country, and there ended his days at the age of 82 years.

Dionyſius the Halicarnaſſian, was, as his name imports, a native of Halicarnaſſus, a city of Caria in Aſia Minor. He came into Italy about the time of the battle of Actium gained by Auguſtus againſt Antony. His principal work, intitled, *The Roman Antiquities*, was divided into twenty books, of which only eleven now remain, and comprehended the moſt abſtruſe part of the Roman hiſtory, which it deduced from the founding of Rome. During the reſidence of Dionyſius at Rome, he formed an acquaintance with the moſt learned men then in that city, and ſtudied very carefully the works of the moſt eſteemed hiſtorians. The learned diſcover in Dionyſius a profound erudition, a moſt acute ſpirit of criticiſm, a mind void of prejudice, a love of truth, and a profeſſed hatred of impiety. We are particularly obliged to him for the knowledge he has given us of the religion and manners of the Romans. His ſtyle is ſimple and elegant, and he appears more ſolicitous about ſhewing his learning, than about the ornaments of eloquence.

Diodorus Siculus lived in the time of Julius Cæſar and Auguſtus. His work, intitled, *The Hiſtorical Library*, comprehended forty books, of which only fifteen now

now remain. The five firſt immediately follow one another, contain the hiſtory of the fabulous times, and treat of what happened previous to the ſiege of Troy. The next ſeven books comprehend the hiſtory of the Perſians and Greeks, from the expedition of Xerxes into Greece, till the death of Alexander. And the three laſt give us the hiſtory of Alexander's ſucceſſors. Diodorus is a very valuable hiſtorian; and though he appears to have given rather too much credit to the traditions of the prieſts, yet we have great reaſon to regret the loſs of the reſt of his hiſtory. His ſtyle unites ſimplicity with perſpicuity, and his works abound with judicious reflections.

Plutarch, the celebrated biographer, was a native of Cheronea in Bœotia, and lived in the reign of the emperor Nero. He performed ſeveral journies into Italy, to collect materials for his *Lives of Illuſtrious Men*; and he numbered among his friends the greateſt men of Rome, who took delight in hearing him reaſon in Greek on matters of philoſophy. At laſt, he fixed his conſtant reſidence in his native country, where he was honoured with the firſt employments, and diſcharged thoſe, as well as all the duties of private life, with admirable care and prudence, ſhewing himſelf to be a good father, a good huſband, a good maſter, and a good citizen; and his virtue was rewarded with the ſweeteſt harmony and peace in his family.

His works are, his *Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, and his *Diſcourſes on Morals*. The laſt contain very uſeful maxims for the conduct of life, ſublime notions about the divinity and immortality of the ſoul, and are interſperſed throughout with curious anecdotes. But *The lives of Illuſtrious Men* is the work that has immortalized the name of Plutarch. It is looked upon as the moſt proper book in the world, to form men either for private life, or for public employments; and abounds with particulars highly worthy obſervation. Things are there eſtimated at their real value. He does not confine himſelf to the great and ſhining actions

alone, of the illuſtrious men, whoſe lives he writes; "He does not ſatisfy himſelf," ſays M. Rollin, "to "paint the commander, the conqueror, the politician, "the magiſtrate, the orator; but introduces his reader "into the cloſet, as it were, or rather, indeed, into "the hearts of thoſe of whom he ſpeaks; and there "makes him acquainted with the father, the huſband, "the maſter, the friend. We ſeem to live and to con-"verſe with them, and to be preſent at their parties of "pleaſure, their walks, their feaſts, their converſa-"tions. Cicero ſomewhere obſerves, that in walking "through Athens, and the places adjacent, one could "hardly advance a ſtep without meeting with ſome an-"cient monument mentioned in hiſtory, which recall-"ed to the imagination the remembrance of ſome great "man of antiquity, and rendered him in a manner pre-"ſent.—The reading of Plutarch's Lives," continues M. Rollin, "produces a ſimilar effect, preſenting, as it "were, before our eyes, the great men of whom he "ſpeaks, and giving us an idea of their behaviour and "manners, as lively and ſtrong as if we were living "and converſing with them."

For this reaſon, the loſs of ſome of thoſe lives is the more to be regretted.——Plutarch ſhews himſelf, on all occaſions, to be a great painter; and his ſtyle, though plain and ſimple, is nevertheleſs lively and expreſſive; but not every where equally ſupported.—Plutarch is cenſured for his fondneſs of ſtory-telling; and, indeed, provided a ſtory be curious, he never fails to introduce it, and to give a very minute detail of it, however remote its connection may be with the ſubject in hand. But his reflections are always ſenſible and pertinent. We are likewiſe indebted to him for having preſerved to us ſpecimens of the writings of ſome of his great men.

Beſides the eminent hiſtorians here taken notice of, ſeveral others of the ſame country flouriſhed in the times of the emperors, ſuch as *Arrian*, *Elian*, *Appian*, and *Herodian*; but theſe were of an inferior rank to thoſe above mentioned.

THE

THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE.

BOOK V.

Containing a ſuccinct Account of the principal Tranſactions in the Iſland of Sicily.

SICILY is ſituated in the Mediterranean ſea, to the ſouth-weſt of Italy, from which it is ſeparated by the Strait of Meſſina, about two miles and a half over.

It is about 170 miles long, and 100 broad, and of a triangular form, the three angles being terminated by as many remarkable capes, namely, Pachinum *, to the ſouth; Pelorum †, to the north; and Lilybeum ‡, to the weſt.

As it lies between thirty-ſeven and thirty-nine degrees of northern latitude, its climate is warm, but healthful.—From remoteſt antiquity down to theſe times Sicily has been always regarded as one of the moſt fruitful ſpots in the world, producing corn, wine, oil, and ſilk, particularly the firſt, in extraordinary abundance. It was called the granary of ancient Rome, and with juſtice; as that great capital of the weſtern world, when

* Now Paſſaro. † Now Faro. ‡ Now Boeo.

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in the zenith of its power, glory, and population, depended chiefly on this iſland for its ſupplies of corn.

The climate, the fertility, and the beauty of Sicily, conſpire to render it one of the moſt delicious countries on earth. But it is ſubject to one dreadful calamity, which proves an alloy to all its excellencies, namely a frequency of earthquakes. Theſe are ſuppoſed, and with much probability, to be principally occaſioned by the convulſions which from the earlieſt tradition down to our days, have been conſtantly agitating, though with very different degrees of violence, the bowels of the whole iſland, but more eſpecially thoſe of Mount Ætna. This mountain is of very great extent, being nearly twelve miles from the commencement of its aſcent to its ſummit, and is one of the largeſt volcanos in the world. Its eruptions are accompanied by ſevere earthquakes, by which the whole iſland is violently ſhaken, and many towns, with great numbers of the inhabitants, have been ſwallowed up, and deſtroyed. In the 1693 above fifty towns are ſaid to have been reduced to ruins, and more than 150,000 perſons to have been killed.

The more ancient hiſtory of Sicily is obſcure and perplexed. Its fruitfulneſs, and its advantageous ſituation nearly in the centre of the Mediterranean Sea, from whence the navigation to the Greek iſlands, and to the richeſt diſtricts of Europe, of Aſia Minor, and of Africa, was ſhort and eaſy, naturally invited thither many adventurers in commerce. Colonies of Phenicians, of Carthaginians, of Greeks, and of Italians, found means to procure eſtabliſhments there, and built cities.

Theſe cities became as many independent ſtates. But their reſpective forms of government ſeem to have been extremely fluctuating; ſometimes diſplaying the ſublimeſt heroiſm and virtue, but oftner diſtracted by the folly and fury of republicaniſm; and frequently groaning under the cruel oppreſſion of a parcel of petty tyrants.

The Carthaginians in particular appear to have acquired

red an early footing, and to have colonized many conſiderable territories in Sicily. That commercial people, fully ſenſible of the importance of this iſland, at length aſpired at the ſovereignty of the whole country. In this purſuit they perſiſted for many years, with various ſucceſs, and at an immenſe expence of blood and treaſure: but at laſt they were entirely expelled by the the Romans, their rivals, and their mortal enemies.

The firſt Greeks that paſſed over into Sicily were the Chalcidians of Eubœa, who founded Leontium and Catana. After them, Archias the Corinthian led a colony into that iſland, and became the founder of the city of Syracuſe, about the year before Chriſt 709. Much about the ſame time, the foundations of Megara were laid by the Megareans.

In like manner, ſeveral Greek colonies ſettled in the ſouthern parts of Italy, commonly known by the name of *Calabria*; which increaſing daily, and being joined by many additional colonies of Greeks, grew at laſt ſo conſiderable, that the country obtained the name of Greater Greece.

Syracuſe was the moſt powerful city in Sicily. Hiſtory, however, has tranſmitted no memorable circumſtance regarding it during the two firſt centuries of its exiſtence. It only began to make a figure in the time of King Gelon. But, for the ſpace of 200 years after that period, it gave occaſion to many intereſting events. Of theſe we ſhall here confine ourſelves to the moſt conſiderable.

About the year before Chriſt 484, the Carthaginians, at the inſtigation of Xerxes the famous king of Perſia, invaded Sicily with an army of 300,000 men, and a fleet of 2000 ſhips; but this formidable army was defeated by Gelon, then tyrant of Syracuſe.

This Gelon deſerves to be ranked among the greateſt men. He was a native of Gela, a city on the ſouthern coaſt of Sicily. Upon the death of Hypocrates, tyrant of that place, Gelo took arms againſt his fellow-citizens, ſubdued them, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereign authority.

authority. Shortly after he effected a ſimilar revolution at Syracuſe; where, after ſecuring himſelf in the ſupreme authority, he directed his attention to extend the territory of the city, and ſoon became very powerful. Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, having laid ſiege to the city of Himera, Gelon went to the aſſiſtance of his father-in-law, who defended that place; and the father and ſon joining their forces, gave battle to the Carthaginians, gained a complete victory, and made an immenſe booty. Gelon employed the greateſt part of the ſpoil to decorate the temples of Syracuſe; he divided the priſoners with the greateſt equity; and, aſſembling the Syracuſans, gave them a full account of his proceedings. By theſe means, he acquired their eſteem and affection to ſuch a degree, that they voluntarily beſtowed on him the title of King. "He was the firſt, "ſays M. Rollin, whom the regal dignity rendered a "better man." Hiſtorians are full of the praiſes of Gelon's virtues. They celebrate particularly his ſincerity, his exact obſervance of his promiſes and engagements, and his careful attention to promote agriculture. He thought himſelf bound, as king, to defend the intereſts of the ſtate, to enforce juſtice, and to protect innocence. He embelliſhed and fortified the city, and increaſed its territory. He never made his power to be felt, except in doing good; and perſi ing in the ſame moderation to the end of his life, died univerſally regretted by his ſubjects, after a reign of ſeven years.

Hiero, one of Gelon's ſons, ſucceeded him, but proved at firſt a king of a very different character, indulging himſelf in all his paſſions, and giving a looſe to violence and injuſtice. His ſubjects, therefore, regarded him as a tyrant. But being, by his delicate ſtate of health, expoſed to frequent indiſpoſitions, he gave way, on ſuch occaſions, to reflection, reſolved, at laſt, to change his conduct, and, with that view, invited to his court Simonides and Pindar, the moſt famous poets of his time, who, by the charms of their poetry and converſation, ſoftened, in a great meaſure, his fierce and

gloomy diſpoſition; and inſpired him with more refined notions of government as well as of the conduct of private life. Xenophon has taken occaſion, from this circumſtance, to compoſe a treatiſe on that important ſubject, which he has intitled *Hiero*. He draws it up in the form of a dialogue between that prince and Simonides. Hiero is there introduced to maintain, that kings and tyrants are, on many accounts, far from being ſo happy as is commonly imagined; but, particularly, by their being almoſt neceſſarily deprived of the greateſt happineſs of life, namely, a true friend. Simonides, on the other ſide, is made to deſcribe, in a very maſterly manner, the duties of royalty; and his whole argument tends to demonſtrate, that a king ought not to be accounted ſuch for his own ſake, but for that of his ſubjects. Hiero, during the remaining part of his life, endeavoured, by the mildeſt and moſt engaging behaviour, to draw to his court the fineſt geniuſes of his time. He died after a reign of eleven years.

Thraſybulus his brother ſucceeded him, and proved a downright tyrant. His haughty and cruel behaviour provoked his ſubjects to rebel againſt him, and to beſiege him in his palace. Thraſybulus was obliged to capitulate; and to ſave his life, having conſented to go into exile, he retired into the country of the Locrians. The Syracuſans having thus recovered their liberty, erected a coloſſal ſtatue to Jupiter the deliverer, appointed an annual feaſt in commemoration of their deliverance, and re-eſtabliſhed the popular form of government. 472. 461.

Diodorus Siculus mentions as having flouriſhed about this time, one Deucetius, who was chief of the people, properly called Sicilians. This Deucetius, after continuing for ſome time very powerful, and gaining great advantages over the Syracuſans, built a famous temple called *Palici*, which was made an inviolable aſylum for all who were oppreſſed by a ſuperior power. At laſt, however, Deucetius was left by

his good fortune, was utterly ruined by the loſs of a ſingle battle with the Syracuſans, and was thereupon deſerted by his troops. Doubtful of his fate, he boldly appeared in the market place of Syracuſe, and threw himſelf on the mercy of his enemies, who, moved with pity, and thinking it ungenerous and inhumane to take advantage of his preſent misfortunes, not only gave him his life, but aſſigned him a handſome ſubſiſtence.

Syracuſe, after enjoying her liberty for more than fifty years, was, about the year before Chriſt 416, attacked by the arms of the Athenians, incited to that war by the ambition of Alcibiades. We have already given a full account of the particulars of this expedition, which proved moſt ruinous to the Athenians. (Vide Book II. p. 186. et ſeqq.)

406. By the abdication of Thraſybulus, Syracuſe had been now about ſixty years in the poſſeſſion of her liberty, when Dionyſius, a private citizen, formed the deſign of enſlaving his country, and of aſſuming the ſovereign power. This man had already given proofs of his courage in a war againſt the Carthaginians, who had, for whole ages, meditated the reduction of this iſland, and had often made attempts, during that period, to accompliſh their deſign.

The fruitfulneſs of Sicily, the wealth of its inhabitants, and the beauty of its cities, were ſo many allurements to the Carthaginian avarice and ambition; and, notwithſtanding the unfortunate event of moſt of their invaſions of it, they ſteadily perſiſted in their reſolution to ſubdue it. Beſides Syracuſe, the city of Agrigentum was famous for its magnificent temple, dedicated to Olympian Jove, and for the riches of its citizens. To give us an idea of the wealth of thoſe citizens, hiſtory takes notice of one of them called Gellias, who had in his houſe large apartments for the reception and entertainment of all ſtrangers who came to the city, and wardrobes full of every ſort of cloaths, for the accommodation of ſuch of his gueſts as had occaſion for them. This city, therefore, had particularly attracted the avarice

varice of the Carthaginians, who beſieged it with ſo powerful an army, that they at laſt got poſſeſſion of it.

About this time, Dionyſius conceived the deſign of enſlaving his native city Syracuſe. With this view, he availed himſelf of the complaints of the other ſtates of Sicily againſt the Syracuſan magiſtrates; and as he poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, the talent of eloquence, ſo uſeful and ſo dangerous in a republican government, he ſtood up in the midſt of the aſſembly of the people, and made an artful ſpeech, calculated to render odious the principal magiſtrates, whom he adviſed the people to depoſe. In vain was he declared a mover of ſedition, and condemned to pay a ſevere fine. Encouraged by ſeveral citizens, he puſhed his accuſation, ſpoke with more freedom than before, and gave ſo lively a deſcription of the miſeries which the negligence of the Syracuſan magiſtrates to ſend timely ſuccours, had brought upon the inhabitants of Agrigentum, who were forced to deſert their city by night, and to fly with their wives and children, that the Syracuſans immediately depoſed thoſe magiſtrates, and elected Dionyſius chief magiſtrate in their place.

This firſt ſucceſs increaſed his hopes: And as an uſurper never heſitates to practiſe every art, however criminal, to effectuate his deſigns, he next applied himſelf to ſupplant the generals of the army, employing for that purpoſe every ſpecies of fraud and deceit. He told the people, that, inſtead of making uſe of foreign troops, it was much more natural and ſafe to truſt their defence to their own countrymen; and for that purpoſe to recall ſuch of them as were living in exile. This advice was the more attentively liſtened to, as the Syracuſans were then alarmed at the conqueſts of the Carthaginians. But the intention of Dionyſius, in propoſing this meaſure, was to create to himſelf ſo many adherents of thoſe exiles, who ſhould by that means owe their reſtoration to him, and would therefore be inclined from gratitude to ſupport his intereſts. The

people aſſented to his arguments, and ordered the exiles to be recalled.

Soon after, the Syracuſans being applied to for aſſiſtance by the inhabitants of Gela, ſent Dionyſius to their relief, who ſerved them with ſuch zeal and effect, that they beſtowed on him the higheſt marks of gratitude and attachment. On returning to Syracuſe, Dionyſius counterfeited the appearance of a man overwhelmed by diſtreſs and affliction; and at laſt informed the people, that he had made a diſcovery of a treaſonable correſpondence between their generals and Himilco, commander of the Carthaginians. This pretended diſcovery created in the minds of the people the utmoſt anxiety and conſternation. Many cried out, that Dionyſius ought to be immediately created commander in chief, as the danger appeared to admit of no delay. The multitude, accordingly, ever blind to cauſes and conſequences, and only regardful of the preſent, inſtantly choſe him commander in chief, with abſolute power, though many of the moſt prudent and wiſeſt citizens were of opinion, that by ſuch a ſtep they ſhould in effect give away their liberty.

Dionyſius fully determined to ſecure himſelf in his power, and to render ineffectual any change of the public diſpoſition, projected another artifice, for perſuading his countrymen to appoint him guards. Going therefore into the city Leontium, where there was a Syracuſan garriſon, certain perſons employed for that purpoſe created a tumult. Dionyſius cried out, that there was a conſpiracy againſt his life, and affected to fly for ſafety to the citadel, which he had garriſoned by ſoldiers firmly attached to his intereſts. An aſſembly of the people being called, Dionyſius deſcribed to them in a moſt affecting manner the danger he had run, and entreated them to permit him to chuſe a guard of 600 men for the ſecurity of his perſon. His requeſt is granted; and, inſtead of 600, he chuſes 1000 ſoldiers, by way of lifeguard, whom, as well as his foreign troops, he engages to his ſervice by the moſt liberal promiſes. He then

then ſends to Gela for a part of the garriſon, and aſſembles the fugitives and exiles. Thus reinforced, the inhabitants of Syracuſe were no longer able to reſiſt him. Making therefore his public entry into the city, followed by all his retinue, he at length throws off the maſk, and ſhews his countrymen that obedience now is their only ſafety. Every heart is thereupon ſeized with terror, and Dionyſius ſees himſelf maſter of the moſt powerful city of Sicily.

The beginnings of his reign, however, were not free from diſturbance, and his ambition was very nigh coſting him his head. Dionyſius had marched to the relief of Gela, which was beſieged by the Carthaginians; but finding himſelf unable to oppoſe the enemy, he ordered the inhabitants to abandon the city in the night, and accompanied them, to cover their retreat. In this march he narrowly eſcaped being cut off by ſome of the Syracuſan horſemen, who made a deſperate attack upon him for that purpoſe; but, luckily for the tyrant, were repulſed. The danger, however, did not end there. Thoſe horſemen, on being diſappointed in their firſt deſign, rode forwards to the city, attacked Dionyſius's palace, plundered it, and abuſed his wife. But things ſoon aſſumed a different appearance. Dionyſius puſhing on to Syracuſe in the night, with an eſcort of 500 men, defeated and cut in pieces a body of the citizens who attempted to oppoſe his entry, in revenge put to the ſword all that came in his way, and gave up the houſes of his enemies to be plundered.

The full extent of his treaſon ſoon became apparent. His countrymen perceived, that to ſup- 404.
port his uſurpation, he had concluded an alliance with the Carthaginians, who intimated to them by a herald, that if they had a mind to obtain a peace, their city muſt remain ſubject to the power of Dionyſius. The tyrant having now gotten the better of all oppoſition, inflicted on the Syracuſans all the horrors and miſeries of tyranny. Senſible of their hatred, and of the danger which conſtantly threatened his life, he reſolved

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to ſacrifice to his ſafety every thing that gave him the leaſt uneaſineſs; ſtudying to inſpire terror by the puniſhments which he daily inflicted, beheading ſome citizens, burning others, and ſatiating his cruelty by putting to death perſons of every age and of every condition. On this occaſion Plutarch obſerves, that ſuch cruel tyrants are from time to time ſet over nations by the unerring diſpoſition of the Almighty Creator, to ſcourge them for their wickedneſs and impiety.

Dionyſius, after intimidating the Syracuſans into ſubjection by his cruelty, began to take other meaſures for his future ſecurity, and applied himſelf particularly to fortify that part of the city called the iſland, which, in caſe of neceſſity, might ſerve him by way of refuge. Then he turned his thoughts to the ſubduing of ſuch of the inhabitants of Sicily as ſtill remained free; and for that purpoſe reſolved to beſiege the city Herbeſina. But this project had almoſt proved fatal to him. The Syracuſan troops, whom he had armed with a view of making uſe of their aſſiſtance in this undertaking, finding themſelves in a condition to vindicate the liberty of their country, revolted from the tyrant, beſieged him in the Epipolis, and ſet a price on his head. Hereupon Dionyſius being likewiſe deſerted by his foreign auxiliaries, thought himſelf abſolutely undone; and to avoid falling into the hands of his enemies, conceived the deſign of putting an end to his life. But from this deſperate reſolution he was diſſuaded by one of his friends named Philip. Dionyſius, therefore, entreats permiſſion of the Syracuſans to depart from the city with his family; which they were not only ſimple enough to grant, but likewiſe complied with another requeſt of the tyrant, to furniſh him with five veſſels wherein to tranſport his effects.

While preparations were making for the departure of Dionyſius, the Syracuſans, apprehenſive of no further diſturbance from him, gave themſelves up to an indolent ſecurity; of which the tyrant taking advantage, warmly ſolicited the Carthaginian garriſons in the towns adjacent,

adjacent, to come to his relief. The Carthaginians reſolved to ſupport him; and 1200 of them marching towards Syracuſe, overpowered all oppoſition, and effected their junction with Dionyſius. This ſudden reverſe of fortune diſcouraged the Syracuſans; and Dionyſius having made a ſally on the beſiegers, and cut off a great number of them, obliged the ſurvivors to raiſe the ſiege, and to diſperſe. Finding himſelf now ſuperior to his enemies, he ſent word to thoſe who had fled, that they might peaceably return to the city, for he frankly forgave what had paſſed. Perceiving, however, that the Syracuſans were not to be truſted, he thought it neceſſary to employ every precaution for his ſafety, and therefore took the opportunity of the enſuing harveſt to ſeize on all their arms. Then he fitted out a powerful fleet, enliſted a great number of foreign troops, and reſolved to attempt ſome enterpriſe that might increaſe his power; for which, indeed, he poſſeſſed all the requiſite courage and ability. With this view, he quickly reduced Naxus, Catana, and Leontium, and chaſtiſed ſome of the neighbouring cities which had attempted to oppoſe his progreſs.

Dionyſius had now conceived the deſign of ruining the Carthaginian power in Sicily, and began to make vaſt preparations for putting his deſign in execution. In the firſt place, he enticed to Syracuſe, by the means of great encouragement, a multitude of workmen, ſkilful in preparing every thing neceſſary for a powerful armament; and that their work might proceed with more diligence and regularity, he eſtabliſhed proper inſpectors and overſeers; frequently beſtowed, with his own hand, conſiderable rewards on thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt by their induſtry and ſkill; and uſed to converſe with them with great familiarity. All the ſtreets of Syracuſe were thronged with artificers; and nothing was to be heard but the noiſe of their work. In a very ſhort while, therefore, a prodigious quantity of arms of every kind were prepared, and a great number of gallies built, ſome of three, ſome of five benches of oars;

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ſo that he ſoon had a fleet of 200 gallies completely fitted out; and a number of warlike engines correſponding to his other preparations.

After finiſhing his naval armament, Dionyſius began next to raiſe an army. The large pay offered by him, inticed ſoldiers to Syracuſe from all quarters, particularly from Greece; and Dionyſius omitted no means to gain the affection of thoſe ſoldiers. Of late, indeed, he was become quite a new man in every reſpect. Inſtead of the cruel, imperious, and deſpotic tyrant, he was now the humane, generous, merciful prince; and his preſent conduct effaced all remembrance of his paſt behaviour.

To remove, as far as poſſible, every obſtacle to his great deſign, he endeavoured to conciliate the friendſhip of two powerful cities, Rhegium and Meſſina. Then he bethought himſelf of providing an heir to his throne; and, with that view, contracted a double marriage, taking to wife both Ariſtomache, the daughter of one of the richeſt citizens of Syracuſe, and Doris, the daughter of a Locrian of diſtinction. Ariſtomache was ſiſter to the famous Dion, for whom his brother-in-law ſoon conceived ſuch a high eſteem, and ſo ſtrong a friendſhip, that he gave orders to furniſh him with whatever money he ſhould demand. Dion was a man of a lofty, noble ſoul, and had contracted a ſtrong reliſh for the philoſophy and converſation of Plato; who, in the courſe of his travels, had halted ſome time at Syracuſe. Dion took all the opportunities that the great confidence and credit repoſed in him by Dionyſius preſented, to give that prince ſuch counſel as he thought he ſtood in need of.

All the preparatons for war being now finiſhed, Dionyſius acquainted the Syracuſans with his intentions of declaring war againſt the Carthaginians; and, at the ſame time, laid before them his motives for ſo great an undertaking; namely, that the Carthaginians had been always the profeſſed enemies of the Greeks; and that both the honour and the intereſt of the Greek cities called loudly for their deliverance from the yoke of barbarians.

barians. The Syracuſans very highly applauded the magnanimous intentions of Dionyſius; immediately began hoſtilities, by putting to death, and plundering the effects of all the Carthaginians found in their city, and diſpatched a herald to Carthage to make a public declaration of the war. This piece of news greatly alarmed the Carthaginians, who were the more affected by it, that they had lately ſuffered much by a plague. They were not, however, diſcouraged; but made preparations for a vigorous defence.

Dionyſius had already a powerful army on foot, amounting to 80,000 foot, and 3000 horſe, which was beſides daily increaſing; and his fleet conſiſted of 200 gallies. At the ſight of ſo formidable an army, moſt of the Carthaginian cities in Sicily voluntarily opened their gates to the Syracuſans; but ſome of them reſolved to ſtand a ſiege. On the other hand, the Carthaginian general, Imilco, diſpatched againſt Syracuſe a ſmall ſquadron of ten gallies, which entering the harbour in the night, deſtroyed a good number of ſhips. Dionyſius was, in the mean time, employed in beſieging Metya, which made a very obſtinate reſiſtance. But having taken it at laſt, he put all the inhabitants to the ſword, and gave the city up to be plundered.

The Carthaginians aſſembling all their troops, advanced towards Palermo, with a land-army of 300,000 foot, and 4000 horſe, and a fleet of 400 gallies. With theſe powerful forces, Imilco laid ſiege to Meſſina, and took it after a very brave defence on the part of the beſieged. Dionyſius, unable to make head againſt an army ſo much ſuperior to his own, was deſerted by many of his allies, and obliged to retreat to Syracuſe. Having, in the mean time, levied freſh troops, Dionyſius once more took the field. Imilco having ſeparated himſelf from his fleet, Dionyſius gave orders to his admiral, Leptinus, immediately to attack the Carthaginian fleet; but this attempt proved very unfortunate. Leptinus was ſoon ſurrounded by the ſuperior number of the Carthaginian gallies; and Mago, who commanded them, cut in pieces ſuch of the Syracuſans as endeavoured to

ſave themſelves by ſwimming. In this engagement, the Syracuſans loſt more than 20,000 men, and upwards of 100 gallies.

Dionyſius, on receiving the news of this defeat, returned in haſte to Syracuſe. Imilco, after ſpending ſome time in refitting his fleet, and allowing his army to repoſe themſelves, ſailed towards Syracuſe, and entered the harbour with an air of triumph; while his land army marched up to the city on the land ſide, and offered battle to the Syracuſans, who dared not to accept the challenge. Imilco, therefore, meeting with no reſiſtance, laid waſte the country, made himſelf maſter of the ſuburb of Acradina, and prepared to beſiege the city. But while he lay encamped before Syracuſe, Polyxenus, one of Dionyſius's brothers-in-law, arrives to his aſſiſtance with thirty ſhips. The Syracuſans thereupon reſume their courage, attack the Carthaginian fleet, and after a ſharp engagement, take eighty of their gallies, and re-enter their city in triumph.

Dionyſius happened to be abſent from the city, taking meaſures for a proper ſupply of proviſions at the time of this engagement. The Syracuſans, emboldened by their ſucceſs, formed the deſign of ſhaking off the tyrant's yoke. But Dionyſius arriving in the mean time, congratulates with the Syracuſans on their good fortune; and aſſures them, that he will take ſuch meaſures as ſhall very ſoon bring the war to a happy concluſion. At the very time, however, that he is giving them theſe flattering hopes, one of the citizens, named *Theodorus*, a man of a daring, impetuous diſpoſition, ſtands up, and makes a ſpeech to the aſſembly, wherein, after deſcribing to them in a lively manner the various inſtances of tyranny committed by Dionyſius, and the cruel oppreſſion under which he had made the Syracuſans to groan, he exhorts all preſent inſtantly to aſſert their liberty. But Pharacides, the Lacedemonian, who commanded the fleet, ſtanding up next, deſires the aſſembly to advert, that his countrymen had ſent him thither to aſſiſt the Syracuſans and Dionyſius, not to make war on Dionyſius. This ſpeech cooled the ardour of the conſpirators,

ſpirators, and threw them into very great conſternation; for they did not doubt, that Dionyſius would very ſpeedily make them feel the effects of his reſentment. But they were happily miſtaken. Dionyſius had already learned, by experience, that ſevere meaſures tended rather to irritate than to reclaim; and had reſolved, for the future, to endeavour to make himſelf to be beloved, and not feared, by his ſubjects. On this occaſion, therefore, he ſtudied, by a mild and complaiſant behaviour, and, by the force of preſents, to gain the affection of the people, even going ſo far as to invite ſeveral of them to eat at his table.

The affairs of the Carthaginians were now in a very bad ſituation, the plague having broken out in their army. The Syracuſans taking advantage of this unhappy circumſtance, attacked them by ſea and land, threw them into the greateſt diſorder, ſunk many of their ſhips, and made a dreadful ſlaughter in their camp. Imilco, deſirous of ſaving the remains of his troops, offered Dionyſius a great ſum of money, for permiſſion to depart in peace with ſuch of his ſhips and ſoldiers as yet remained. But Dionyſius refuſed to grant ſuch permiſſion, except ſo far as regarded the natives of Carthage alone. Imilco, therefore, being obliged to leave the reſt behind, the Syracuſans, the following night, again attacked the camp of the miſerable barbarians, who finding themſelves betrayed by Imilco, betook themſelves to flight, but were moſtly cut in pieces by the Syracuſans. Thus was humbled the pride of the Carthaginians, at the very time when they entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſubduing the whole iſland of Sicily.

Though the Carthaginians were now diſperſed, and quiet was thereby reſtored to Syracuſe; yet Dionyſius was far from enjoying the general calm, living in conſtant dread of attempts againſt his life. As he diſtruſted the foreign troops in his ſervice, he placed them in Leontium, and committed the care of his perſon to a troop of ſlaves, whom he had ſet at liberty.

It was about this time that the Gauls, who had lately

burnt Rome, ſent ambaſſadors to make an alliance with Dionyſius, who happened then to be in Italy, where having gained a great victory over the Greeks of that country, and taken many of them priſoners, he ſet them all at liberty without ranſom, and by that act of generoſity made ſo many firm and zealous friends of them.

Dionyſius entertained a violent reſentment againſt the inhabitants of Rhegium, for the provoking anſwer they had returned, when he begged of them to give him ſome lady of their city to be his wife. They told his ambaſſador, that they could let him have no other than the daughter of their public executioner, who, if he pleaſed, was at his ſervice. In revenge Dionyſius laid ſiege to their city. The beſieged finding themſelves unable to reſiſt him, propoſed terms of capitulation. But Dionyſius intending to ruin them entirely, refuſed to raiſe the ſiege, except on condition of their paying him a ſum amounting to near L. 80,000 Sterling; of their delivering up to him all their ſhips; and of their putting into his hands 100 hoſtages. After having by theſe means diſabled them from making any great reſiſtance, he contrived ſome pretence for attacking them anew the following year, when he again beſieged their city. The inhabitants perceiving that the tyrant aimed at nothing leſs than their utter deſtruction, defended themſelves with great obſtinacy. But after ſuſtaining the ſiege for eleven months, being at laſt reduced to all the horrors of famine,
388. they were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. By this time the inhabitants were half dead of hunger, and preſented the moſt meagre ghaſtly figures imaginable. Dionyſius made 6000 of them priſoners, and obliged ſuch of them as had any money or effects remaining to pay him a ranſom. But his cruelty did not ſtop there. He reſolved to take vengeance on Phyton, the chief magiſtrate of the town, for the brave defence he had made. He therefore cauſed the ſon of that gallant officer to be thrown headlong into the ſea in his father's ſight; and then ordered the father himſelf to be whipt through the town; to be inſulted in the

moſt

moſt ſhocking manner; and then to be thrown into the ſea likewiſe.

The extraordinary paſſion of Dionyſius for poetry and the Belles Lettres has been particularly noticed by hiſtorians, who tell us, that he took very great delight in the converſation of men of genius, and was remarkably fond of the arts and ſciences. So far, no doubt, his taſte was highly commendable. But he carried his love of poetry to a ridiculous height; affecting to compoſe himſelf, without poſſeſſing any of the requiſite talents; and diſcovering greater joy at having written a few ſtupid verſes, than at obtaining the moſt important victory. It is hardly poſſible to carry this ſpecies of folly to a higher pitch than Dionyſius did. He employed his time in compoſing tragedies, inſiſted that his pieces ſhould be called excellent, and would ſuffer no competitor on that point. So that he may be ſaid to have exerciſed his tyranny even over the mind. For a man of his high rank to imagine, that his honour was concerned in being accounted a fine poet, was certainly an inſtance of folly greatly to be pitied; and he ſurely did not reflect, that ſome talents which are highly eſtimable in a private perſon, may ill become a prince, eſpecially, if he piques himſelf on excelling in them. As all courts abound in flatterers, Dionyſius found many perſons about his, who encouraged his ridiculous vanity in this particular, by beſtowing the moſt extravagant encomiums on all his poetical productions.

But not ſatisfied with being thought the beſt poet in his own kingdom, he deſired that his fame might be ſpread abroad; and for that purpoſe diſpatched his brother Thearides to the Olympic games to contend in his name, for the prize of poetry, and of the chariot races; that his merit in the poetical way might be publiſhed in that great aſſembly of all the Greeks. But the ſucceſs was very far from anſwering his expectations. For tho' his brother pitched on a man of a moſt agreeable voice, and who was very ſkilful at beſtowing on verſes all the graces of elocution, to read the poems of Dionyſius, yet the

the audience quickly diſcovered their real merit, hiſſed without ceremony thoſe miſerable compoſitions, and were very merry at the expence of the poetical talents of Dionyſius. Nor was he more fortunate in his chariot-races. His horſes being as unſkilful in that exerciſe as their maſter was in the art of poetry, ran off with an ungovernable impetuoſity, and broke the chariot in pieces againſt the goal.

The bad ſucceſs of his poems at the Olympic games by no means cured Dionyſius of his folly. He believed himſelf to be as excellent a poet as ever. His conceit on this point was ſo extravagant, that it was not only very dangerous for any perſon to cenſure his compoſitions; but even not to appear full of admiration when he read them. In this reſpect his courtiers perfectly complied with his humour. But he was one day ſo provoked at the poet Philoxenus for declaring his ſentiments too freely about one of his pieces, that he ordered him to be thrown into priſon. In conſequence, however, of the earneſt interceſſion of all the firſt people at court, the honeſt poet was ſoon releaſed from his confinement. Dionyſius being extremely deſirous of procuring the approbation of his brother poet, inſiſted with Philoxenus the very day he was ſet at liberty, when he happened to be at table with him, to give his opinion of what he eſteemed his beſt piece. But Philoxenus, who was incapable of flattery, inſtead of anſwering Dionyſius, addreſſed himſelf to his guards, crying out, "*Come, carry me back to the Quarries*;" the name of the public priſon. The prince perceived the meaning of theſe words, but reſtrained his anger, and ceaſed to urge Philoxenus any farther.

The paſſion of Dionyſius for compoſing increaſed daily; and he is ſaid to have again ſent ſome of his verſes to the Olympic games, where they met with the ſame reception as the former. The news of this diſgrace threw him into a kind of fury, which he vented on ſome of his beſt friends, whom he accuſed of combining with thoſe who had ruined his reputation; and he

he even put ſeveral of them to death. To divert his uneaſineſs, he reſolved to undertake ſome new expedition, which might likewiſe procure him money to ſupply the expence of the public works he was carrying on about the city and harbour of Syracuſe. He therefore formed a plan of attacking Epirus, in the hopes of getting poſſeſſion of the immenſe riches depoſited in the temple of Dodona; and he began with an invaſion of Tuſcany, where he plundered a very rich temple. But he ſeems to have proceeded no farther in that enterpriſe. Afterwards he made ſeveral attempts to drive the Carthaginians entirely out of Sicily; but was unſucceſsful, for he loſt a battle, which put an end to all his projects on that head. He was, however, amply conſoled for this misfortune, by the prize adjudged him by the Athenians for one of his tragedies repreſented at ſome of their public feſtivals. This is a proof, that Dionyſius, by his unwearied application to poetry, had at length arrived at ſome eminence in that profeſſion. The news of this ſucceſs gave him ſo much pleaſure, that he reſolved the whole city ſhould ſhare in it; and for that purpoſe ordered public rejoicings. He likewiſe gave a moſt magnificent feaſt on the occaſion to his friends; but in the height of his joy he eat and drank to ſuch exceſs, as brought on a ſurfeit, whereof he died in a few days, after a reign of thirty-eight years. 372.

It cannot be diſputed that Dionyſius was an artful politician, and a brave commander. But his ambition and his cruelty reflect great diſhonour on his memory. He ſhewed himſelf on many occaſions to be a man abſolutely void of all religion; and ſeemed to inſult the gods by the pleaſantry with which he accompanied his ſacrilegious acts. As he was one day plundering a temple of Jupiter, a cloak of gold placed on the ſtatue of that god having attracted his notice; he immediately ordered it to be taken away, ſaying, that ſuch a cloak was too heavy for ſummer, and too cold for winter; and a woollen one to be put in its place, which he ſaid was convenient for all ſeaſons: he jeſted in the ſame

manner

manner on the golden beard of Eſculapius, which he likewiſe took away, ſaying, that it was improper for the ſon of Apollo to have a beard, while his father was without one. As the ſilver tables which he found in the temples bore this inſcription, "*To the good gods*," he uſed to ſay, that it was but juſt to profit by their goodneſs. He even boaſted of his impiety; for Cicero tells us, that as Dionyſius was once returning with a favourable wind to Syracuſe, after plundering the temple of Proſerpine at Locri, he deſired his friends to obſerve, "what a favourable voyage the gods beſtowed on the "impious."

Dionyſius paid very dear for his dignity and ſovereign power, by the conſtant apprehenſion in which he lived. To ſecure his life, he had recourſe to the moſt extraordinary precautions. Hiſtory takes notice of ſome of theſe. We are informed, for example, that he always wore a coat of mail under his robe; and that he ſpoke to the people of Syracuſe from the top of a tower. Hearing that his barber boaſted of having permiſſion to put his razor on the tyrant's throat, he cauſed him to be put to death, and obliged his own daughters to ſhave him. But when they were grown up, thinking it unſafe to truſt the razor even in their hands, he found out the expedient of ſingeing his beard with nut-ſhells. His bed was ſurrounded by a wide and deep ditch, over which was a draw-bridge; and every night, after carefully examining all the corners of his chamber, and properly ſecuring the door, he uſed to remove the draw-bridge before retiring to reſt. His treatment of Damocles, who uſed to tell him that he was the happieſt man in the world, is well known. He deſired him to ſit down at a table covered with the moſt magnificent and delicate diſhes, in a chamber filled with the ſweeteſt perfumes, where he was attended by a number of ſlaves ready to obey the ſmalleſt ſignal; but behold, directly above his head hung a naked ſword by a ſingle hair! Could there in effect be a more lively image of the ſituation of a tyrant? But it is fit to obſerve, that Dionyſius

ſius took theſe extraordinary methods to ſecure his life, only in the beginning of his reign, and before his power was firmly eſtabliſhed, when alarmed by daily conſpiracies. Afterwards he converſed with his ſubjects in the moſt open and familiar manner; and was always of eaſy acceſs to every body.

Dionyſius the younger was the ſon of Dionyſius the elder, by Doris of Locri. The Syracuſans now of a long while accuſtomed to ſubjection, admitted him peaceably to aſſume the ſovereign power that had been enjoyed by his father, who, it muſt be acknowledged, had reſcued Sicily from the Carthaginian yoke, and had greatly augmented the naval ſtrength of the Syracuſans. But the ſon was as peaceably diſpoſed as the father had been active and enterpriſing, leſs indeed the effect of wiſdom and moderation, than of his natural indolence.

In the beginning of his reign, Dion, of whom we have made ſome mention already, thought it his duty as brother-in-law to the father, to aſſiſt the ſon with his ſervice and counſel; and therefore, offered to take the command of an expedition into Africa, to divert the ſtorm with which the Carthaginians were threatening Sicily. This propoſal of Dion was by no means reliſhed by the other courtiers by whom he was envied and diſliked. A ſtriking inſtance of a very general truth, that a man at court is not always at liberty to do the good he deſires. Perhaps this maxim held more true at the court of Dionyſius, than at any other. For it was compoſed of a parcel of young debauchees, who ſtudied to keep that prince immerſed in effeminacy and ſloth, and wholly employed in the moſt ſhameful pleaſures. We are told that ſometimes they would keep their young prince engaged in an uninterrupted ſcene of riot and intoxication for months together. Theſe courtiers practiſed, therefore, every art to exaſperate Dionyſius againſt Dion, whom they repreſented as an impertinent cenſurer and a miſanthrope. It is true, indeed, that Dion was a man of a very ſtoical and auſtere character; and that his moſt intimate friends complained of the ſeverity

of his temper. This did not, however, prevent him from being highly eſteemed on account of his great abilities, and the ſuperiority of his underſtanding. Dion thought that the moſt eſſential ſervice he could at preſent render either to his country or to his prince, was to cultivate the underſtanding of Dionyſius, who, though his education had been much neglected, was not void of parts; to inſpire him with juſt ideas of virtue, honour, and the other moſt important duties of life; and to connect him with men of genius and integrity, who might inſtruct him in an agreeable manner, and as it were by ſtealth. Dion, therefore, began this commendable work with giving Dionyſius a very advantageous account of the fine parts of Plato, at that time in great renown, deſcribing him not only as a man of wonderful genius, but as a moſt agreeable companion, and a profound ſtateſman. By theſe means he inſpired Dionyſius with an earneſt deſire to be acquainted with that excellent philoſopher.

Dionyſius accordingly diſpatched ſeveral meſſengers to invite the philoſopher to his court. But Plato, who was not ignorant of that prince's real character, was extremely backward to comply with this invitation, from a belief, that his leſſons would have but little effect upon him. — Dion at laſt, who had been a ſcholar of the philoſopher's, was obliged to join his requeſt to that of the prince; and he ſhewed Plato ſo clearly the great need in which Dionyſius ſtood of his inſtructions, that he at laſt conſented to undertake the journey, and accordingly ſet out for Sicily. Dionyſius received the philoſopher with every mark of honour and reſpect; and treated him with the greateſt kindneſs. But a wiſe prince indeed cannot put too high a value on a man capable of inſtructing him in his duty, and of telling him the truth. The poſſeſſion of ſuch a man is a treaſure of ineſtimable value.

Plato aſſiduouſly applied himſelf to fulfil the buſineſs for which he had come into Sicily, and by his mild and inſinuating behaviour ſoon gained the confidence of Dionyſius,

onyſius, inſpired him with a love of virtue, and made him ſenſible how unworthy his paſt conduct had been of a king, who ought to be uniformly employed about the happineſs of his people. His inclinations, therefore, took a different turn, and he now ſtudied nothing ſo much as to be acquainted with his duty. Capable at length of diſtinguiſhing men of genius, he took no pleaſure in any other company; and from the converſation of ſuch men, he ſoon learned ſeveral of the moſt valuable branches of knowledge. His courtiers, a ſet of men who apply themſelves principally to copy after their maſter, quickly followed his example; by which means the ſtudy of arts and ſciences became the ruling taſte at the court of Dionyſius. That prince contracting inſenſibly the habit of reflection, employed his attention about the duties of royalty, and for that purpoſe applied himſelf to the ſtudy of hiſtory, which furniſhed him with many examples of princes, who had excelled both in the ſcience, and in the practical part likewiſe of government.

The courtiers were not alarmed while Dionyſius confined himſelf to the ſtudy of the ſciences. But perceiving, that in conformity to the leſſons of Plato, he had reſolved to diſcharge the duties of his ſtation himſelf, and to examine every thing by the rules of his own judgement, they began to dread his becoming too clear-ſighted, and therefore exerted their utmoſt efforts to break off his intercourſe with Plato. They, in the firſt place, openly declared their ſuſpicion, that a deſign was formed of inſpiring him with a love of philoſophy, to give him a diſguſt at the crown, inſinuating that Dion would not be diſpleaſed to advance to the regal dignity, in his place, one of his nephews, ſons of the late king by his ſiſter Ariſtomache. They next endeavoured to depreciate Plato in the opinion of Dionyſius, telling him, that the philoſopher ſtudied to acquire an unbecoming aſcendant over him; and that he engaged him in a courſe of life unſuitable to his rank, and to his years;

and laſtly, to render Dion ſuſpected, they adviſed him to take meaſures for the ſecurity of his throne and life.

Theſe and many other inſinuations of the ſame kind had but too great an effect on the weak mind of Dionyſius, and ſoon rendered him extremely ſuſpicious. Having ſo far gained their point, the courtiers, to complete their deſign, next put in practice a moſt abominable impoſture, by forging letters in the name of Dion to the Carthaginian ambaſſadors, adviſing the ambaſſadors that, when they had a mind to treat with Dionyſius, they ſhould call him, Dion, to aſſiſt at the conferences, becauſe he could be of ſervice in procuring them a more advantageous and durable peace. Theſe letters having been ſecretly ſhewn to Dionyſius, were to him ſufficient evidence againſt Dion, whom he ordered to be immediately apprehended, and carried to Italy. Theſe
372. orders were punctually executed. —Dion appearing in a little while after in the Peloponneſe, all his money and effects to a very conſiderable amount, were, by permiſſion of the tyrant, ſent thither to him by his relations.

Dionyſius next deſired Plato to remove to the citadel, under pretence of doing him honour, but in reality to prevent his following Dion. For, according to Plutarch, that prince entertained a ſort of tyrannical regard for Plato, deſiring to engroſs his whole affection himſelf, and unwilling that the philoſopher ſhould eſteem Dion more than him. A war breaking out about this time againſt Dionyſius, very luckily furniſhed Plato with a plauſible pretence for deſiring to be ſent back to Greece. Dionyſius at taking leave preſſed him to accept of many valuable preſents, which, however, the philoſopher obſtinately refuſed.

As Plato was returning, on this occaſion, to his native country, he happened at Olympia to fall in with certain foreigners, among whom he lodged for ſome time. Though the philoſopher told them his name, on their firſt meeting, the foreigners, from his plain unaffected behaviour and converſation, were far from ſuſpecting

pecting that he was the famous Plato, of whom they had heard ſuch extraordinary things. This is a very ſtriking proof of the ſingular modeſty of Plato, and plainly ſhews us, that he was far from making a parade of his knowledge, or of agitating in common converſation any of the queſtions handled by him in the academy. But on the preſent occaſion his ſelf-love was amply recompenſed; for theſe foreigners having accompanied him to Athens, and lodged for ſome time in his houſe, at laſt begged the favour of him to introduce them to the celebrated philoſopher of his name. Plato then finding it impoſſible to conceal himſelf any longer, told them, ſmiling, that he himſelf was the man whom they deſired ſo much to know.

Dion having gone to live ſome time at Athens, applied himſelf diligently to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and contracted an intimate friendſhip with the philoſopher Speuſippus, the nephew and ſcholar of Plato, a man who knew perfectly how to unite the pureſt principles of philoſophy with the eaſe and politeneſs of common life.

Dion, while at Athens, defrayed the expence of the public games, which it fell to Plato's turn to exhibit. He afterwards viſited ſeveral other of the cities of Greece, ſtudying by all means to cultivate the acquaintance and converſation of ſuch of the citizens as were beſt acquainted with the nature of the conſtitution of each particular ſtate; and he was every where received with the higheſt marks of diſtinction.

Dionyſius, apprehenſive leſt Plato, on his departure, ſhould depreciate him in the opinion of the Greeks, to ſhew that he ſtill retained his love of letters, invited to his court the moſt learned men of Italy, with whom he affected to hold frequent converſations, in which he took every opportunity to diſplay his own learning, by repeating the leſſons he had received from Plato, on various ſubjects of philoſophy. But his ſtock was ſoon exhauſted. He began now to perceive the advantages reſulting to him from the ſociety of Plato, and grew very

very deſirous of prevailing on that philoſopher to return to court, and practiſed every means for that effect. How much to be pitied are men of ſuch an inconſiſtent character! the object whereof they are fond to-day, they diſlike to-morrow; and the whole train of their conduct is governed by whim and caprice.

Dionyſius wrote to all his acquaintance, and, among the reſt, even to Dion himſelf, entreating them to uſe their endeavours to perſuade Plato to gratify his deſire of another viſit from him; and Plato at laſt was prevailed on, though with the utmoſt reluctance, to grant him that ſatisfaction. I doubt the behaviour of that celebrated philoſopher may not in this inſtance appear altogether ſo prudent, as from his character might have been expected. Two gallies were diſpatched by Dionyſius to bring Plato to Syracuſe, where, as ſoon as he arrived, that prince treated him with all imaginable reſpect, and made him his principal confidant. But Plato, zealous to effectuate the recal of Dion, which Dionyſius had previouſly engaged to grant, began to urge that ſubject, and preſſed it on ſeveral different occaſions; but Dionyſius as often declined, under various pretences, to comply with his deſire. This behaviour quickly produced a miſunderſtanding between the prince and the philoſopher; but both were careful to conceal their real ſentiments from the world. At laſt, however, Dionyſius unable to reſtrain himſelf any longer, ordered all the lands belonging to Dion to be ſold, and applied the price of them to his own uſe. Then he commanded lodgings to be provided for Plato without the caſtle, and among the guards, to whom the philoſopher was very obnoxious, on account of his frequent exhortations to Dionyſius to diſmiſs them, and to renounce the tyranny. Plato, perceiving that his life was now in danger, made earneſt applications for leave to return to Greece; which at laſt he was happy enough to obtain. Dionyſius, deprived of the wiſe counſels of that excellent philoſopher, by degrees returned to his former

former life; and his court very ſoon became the reſidence of diſſipation and riot.

Dion hearing that the tyrant had ſold his poſſeſſions, and had ſo treacherouſly broken his promiſe, openly proclaimed his reſentment, and reſolved to puniſh him by force of arms; to which he was warmly urged by the Syracuſans, who entreated him to come to their relief; and aſſured him, that the whole city would join him as ſoon as he ſhould make his appearance among them. Dion therefore privately enliſts about 800 foreign troops, all hardy veterans, completely armed; embarks them at different times, and in ſmall parties, and fixes on the iſland of Zacintha as the place of general rendezvous. The hiſtorian who has related this enterpriſe, juſtly obſerves, that it was one of the moſt daring that could well be imagined. It is truly amazing, that a man with no more than two tranſports, and 800 ſoldiers, ſhould venture to attack a prince ſupported by a navy of 400 ſhips of war, an army of 10,000 men, a vaſt quantity of warlike ſtores and proviſions, and ſovereign of one of the ſtrongeſt cities then in the world.

Dion having landed at Minoa, a ſmall town in Sicily, to refreſh himſelf and his ſoldiers after the fatigue of the voyage, was informed, that Dionyſius was then abſent from Syracuſe, and had undertaken an expedition towards the coaſt of Italy, attended by 80 gallies. His ſoldiers thereupon immediately deſired to be led directly to Syracuſe. The news of his arrival having ſpread abroad, his ſmall army is greatly encreaſed in its march; and on arriving within half a league of the city, he finds himſelf at the head of about 5000 men. The moſt conſiderable citizens go out to meet, and to conduct him into the city; and the populace tear in pieces thoſe infamous creatures of the tyrant who had ſerved him as ſpies and informers.

Dion enters Syracuſe at the head of his army, drawn up in battle array; attended by his brother Megacles on one hand, and by the Athenian, Callipus, on the other. He immediately orders the Syracuſans to be informed,

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by public proclamation, that he and his brother were come to deliver them, and all the inhabitants of Sicily, from ſlavery and tyranny; and mounting an eminence, makes them a ſpeech, exhorting them to exert their utmoſt efforts for the recovery of their liberty. The Syracuſans name him and his brother commanders in chief, with ſovereign authority.

Dionyſius having returned ſoon after, and entered the citadel from the ſea, the Syracuſans inſtantly took arms. The tyrant thinking his affairs deſperate, ſent ambaſſadors to treat with Dion and the Syracuſans; who returned for anſwer, That before they would liſten to any propoſals, he muſt abdicate the tyranny. Divers conferences enſuing upon that ſubject, Dionyſius endeavoured to protract them as much as poſſible, that he might have time to concert proper meaſures; and at laſt he took a convenient opportunity to make a ſudden attack upon the wall with which the enemy had ſurrounded the citadel. The Syracuſans, who guarded that poſt, were ſeized with a panic at the ſuddenneſs of the attack, and fled. Dion advancing in great haſte to the place, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to rally his ſoldiers, but in vain. Throwing himſelf, however, into the midſt of the enemy, he made a dreadful ſlaughter of them. But his courage urging him too far, he was wounded in the hand, thrown down, and with difficulty reſcued by his ſoldiers out of the midſt of the tyrant's men. As his wound was not dangerous, he inſtantly ran in queſt of his foreign troops, who were in Acradina, and led them on to the charge. Theſe being all well diſciplined veteran ſoldiers, made a vigorous attack on the troops of Dionyſius, already fatigued by the engagement, cut in pieces the greateſt part of them, and put the reſt to flight.

Dionyſius, alarmed at this victory of Dion, ſent him letters, by a herald, ſo artfully and maliciouſly expreſſed, as to create ſuſpicions among the Syracuſans, of their having repoſed too high an authority in Dion. Could it be believed, unleſs we were ſo well acquainted with

the inconſtancy of the populace? The Syracuſans fell into the ſnare. Forgetting, at once, all the important ſervices performed by Dion, for their advantage, they gave credit to the injurious inſinuations of the tyrant. In theſe circumſtances, Heraclides, one of the baniſhed citizens, arrived at Syracuſe with ſeven veſſels, to aſſiſt his countrymen againſt Dionyſius. Heraclides was a man of great bravery, and of an inſinuating addreſs, but ſecretly an enemy of Dion, by whoſe evil genius he ſeemed to have been, at this critical time, conducted to Syracuſe, to throw a thouſand obſtacles in the way of that great man, and to obſcure the glory of his actions.

Heraclides, immediately on his arrival, was, by the Syracuſans, created high admiral of their fleet; and tho' he openly behaved to Dion with great reſpect and deference, yet he laboured under-hand to prepoſſeſs the people againſt him, and gave a malicious interpretation to all his actions. Dionyſius, in the mean time, offered to Dion to deliver up the citadel, together with the troops, arms, and every thing elſe contained in it, if they would permit him to retire in peace to Italy, and allow him the revenue of certain lands for his ſubſiſtence. Theſe terms having been rejected by the Syracuſans, Dionyſius ſoon after took the opportunity of a favourable wind, to ſet ſail for Italy, with all his treaſures, and moſt valuable effects, committing the defence of the citadel to his ſon Apollodorus.

As ſoon as the eſcape of Dionyſius was known, Heraclides propoſed, in the public aſſembly, to make a new diſtribution of the lands belonging to the city. But this propoſal being oppoſed by Dion, the Syracuſans were further confirmed in their unjuſt ſuſpicions againſt him; and no longer ſetting any bounds to their ingratitude, they tampered with the foreign troops, to induce them to abandon Dion. But theſe foreigners, far more faithful to their commander than his own countrymen, for whom he had performed ſuch important ſervices, rejected their propoſals, and throwing themſelves round

Dion, reſolved to convey him ſafely out of the city. Dion, extending his arms, uſed the moſt affecting geſtures, to move the compaſſion of his fellow-citizens. But perceiving all his intreaties to be ineffectual, and dreading leſt outrage might ſucceed to ingratitude, he ordered his troops to march with very cloſe ranks, and like men prepared to attack their enemies. Dion, after eſcaping in this manner from Syracuſe, took refuge among the Leontines, who received him with much kindneſs and humanity.

The ſoldiers of the tyrant being, in the mean time, extremely harraſſed by famine, were on the point of delivering up the citadel to the Syracuſans. But Nipſius arriving with ſupplies of corn, and other proviſions, from Dionyſius, they altered their reſolution, and reſolved to continue the defence of the citadel. The Syracuſans, manning their gallies, attacked the fleet of Nipſius, and ſunk ſeveral of his ſhips. Elated with this ſucceſs, they gave themſelves up to rejoicing and debauchery, diſregarding the admonitions of their commanders, who warned them of their danger. Nipſius, informed of what was paſſing, ſeized the wall that ſurrounded the citadel, and diſpatched his troops into the city, with permiſſion to pillage it. Theſe ſoldiers attack all that come in their way, murder the citizens, plunder their houſes, and commit a thouſand diſorders.

The Syracuſans, in this extremity, ſeeing no other remedy to their misfortunes than the recalling of Dion, ſent him deputies, who throwing themſelves in tears at his feet, implore his aſſiſtance. We ſhould at firſt imagine, that Dion, on this occaſion, would be inexorable, and juſtly tell the Syracuſans, that they merited their preſent ſufferings. But the ſoul of Dion was ſuperior to ſuch ſentiments. He received the deputies very kindly, and moved both by the miſeries of his fellow-citizens, and by the intreaties of his foreign troops, he marched without delay to Syracuſe. Nipſius, informed of his coming, made a ſecond irruption into the town, which produced the ſame murders and diſorders as be-

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fore; and, to complete the deſtruction of the city, the ſoldiers of Nipſius ſet fire to it in ſeveral places, whereby many houſes were conſumed.

Such was the ſituation of things when Dion arrived at Syracuſe. Immediately drawing up his troops in order of battle, and dividing them into ſmall parties, he entered the city, and marched againſt the enemy amid the moſt joyful ſhouts of the inhabitants, who hailed him, as he went along, as their deliverer. After leading his ſoldiers through the ſtreets, ſurrounded with flames, he at laſt reached the enemy, who ſeeing the Syracuſans on the point of being revenged on them by the means of Dion, were animated with rage and deſpair. But the ſoldiers of Dion, encouraged by the ſhouts of the inhabitants, made a moſt vigorous attack on the troops of Nipſius, who were intrenched near the above-mentioned wall, forced their intrenchments, killed the greateſt part of them, and obliged the reſt to fly for refuge to the citadel. The remaining part of the night was employed by the Syracuſans in extinguiſhing the flames.

Next day, the friends of Dion endeavoured to perſuade him to take vengeance on his enemies, and particularly on Heraclides; who, inſtigated by the blackeſt malice, had been principally inſtrumental in ſtirring up his countrymen againſt him. But that great man, who was above all motives of revenge, told them, that during his long reſidence in the academy, he had learnt to ſubdue his paſſions; and that the ſureſt mark of this important victory, was to behave with humanity and forgiveneſs to thoſe by whom we are injured.

Then he employed both the Syracuſans, and his ſoldiers, to throw up a ſtrong paliſado around the citadel. The Syracuſans again elected him generaliſſimo: and thereupon Heraclides, unable to remain in quiet, recommenced his cabals againſt Dion. But all his malicious attempts proved abortive.

The ſiege of the citadel being warmly preſſed by Dion, the garriſon grew mutinous for want of proviſions, and forced the ſon of Dionyſius, by whom they were

then commanded, to capitulate; who, after delivering up the citadel, with all the warlike ſtores within it, to Dion, embarked, together with his mother and ſiſters, aboard five gallies, and ſailed in queſt of his father. Dion found his wife Arete in the citadel; and their meeting, after ſo long a ſeparation, was moſt affectionate and tender. Then he very generouſly rewarded thoſe who had fought on his ſide, proportioning his rewards to the merit and rank of each.

Thus Dion reſtored her ancient liberty to Syracuſe. The fame of this revolution having quickly ſpread over all Greece, and reached even to Carthage, Dion was ranked with the wiſeſt and moſt ſucceſsful commanders. But this great man, amidſt all his glory, and while even Plato himſelf was writing him, that the eyes of the whole earth were fixed on him as the ſucceſsful champion of liberty, ſtill retained his former modeſty and ſimplicity.

Dion propoſed to eſtabliſh, at Syracuſe, the ariſtocratical form of government. But Heraclides perſiſting in his ſeditious practices, and ſtudying to gain, by every means, the favour of the multitude, reſolved to oppoſe this deſign. Dion, perceiving that there ſhould be no end to diſſenſions and troubles in the city, while Heraclides was alive, conſented to the urgent remonſtrances of his friends, to have that factious man aſſaſſinated. But Dion is ſaid to have felt ſo ſevere remorſe for having given his conſent to the murder of Heraclides, that thenceforward his tranquillity entirely deſerted him, and he ſunk into the deepeſt melancholy; which was ſtill further heightened by the death of his favourite ſon, which happened ſoon after.

Callipus, an Athenian, a man of a moſt ambitious diſpoſition, had conceived the deſign of making himſelf maſter of Syracuſe. But perceiving that he could never ſucceed in his project while Dion was alive, he reſolved to have that worthy patriot murdered, though he had formerly lived in very intimate friendſhip with him. For that

that purpoſe, he got ſome Zacynthian ſoldiers admitted into the houſe of Dion, who was murdered by them in his bed. Immediately afterwards, Ariſtomache, the ſiſter of Dion, and widow of the elder Dionyſius, and Arete, the wife of Dion, were ſeized by Icetas the Syracuſan, a man in the intereſts of Callipus, were thrown into priſon, and ſoon after, by the influence of the ſame Callipus, were drowned in the ſea. 358.

Callipus enjoyed but a ſhort while the fruits of his villany; for though he got poſſeſſion of Syracuſe, and exerciſed the ſovereign power for the ſpace of a year; yet having marched out of the city to lay ſiege to Catana, the Syracuſans took the opportunity of his abſence to ſhake off his yoke: and the report of his crime having ſpread over all Sicily, he became every where an object of deteſtation. Hipparinus, the brother of the younger Dionyſius, arriving, in the mean time, at Syracuſe, with a fleet, and a conſiderable body of troops, deſtroyed all the hopes of Callipus in that city, and governed the inhabitants with deſpotic ſway for the ſpace of two years. At laſt, by a juſt effect of providence, which, ſooner or later, puniſhes the wickedneſs of men, Callipus was put to death by Poliſperchon.

The moſt diſtinguiſhing parts of Dion's character were, his elevated ſentiments; his bravery; his extenſive genius, equal to the greateſt and boldeſt undertakings; his unſhaken attachment to the real intereſts of his country; and, above all, his ſingular generoſity, which forgave the moſt unpardonable ingratitude of the Syracuſans, for whom he had performed the moſt eſſential ſervices, and induced him once more cheerfully to expoſe his life, to reſtore their liberty. In a word, Dion was, ſo far as we know, the greateſt man that ever Sicily produced, and deſerves to be ranked with the firſt characters even of Greece. It is, however, proper to remark, that he had a ſeverity and obſtinacy in his diſpoſition, which is extremely inconvenient in thoſe who meddle in the public affairs of

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a popular government, where a mild insinuating behaviour is necessary for managing the minds of the multitude.

The space from the commencement of the tyranny of Dionysius the elder to the death of Dion, comprehends about fifty years.

Dionysius the younger hearing that Syracuse was distracted by factions, thought the opportunity favourable for his attempting once more to assert his rights. With that view, having hired some foreign troops, he returned to Syracuse, after a ten years absence, ex-
350. pelled Nysius, who happened to be then in possession of the sovereign power, and remounted the throne. Though his past misfortunes might have taught him to behave with more moderation for the future, yet he oppressed his subjects more cruelly than ever. The Syracusans, exasperated by his rigorous tyranny, implored relief of Icetas king of the Leontines, whom they chose for their general. But the Carthaginians about this time having invaded Sicily with a powerful fleet, made so rapid a progress, that the Syracusans were obliged to apply for assistance to the Corinthians. These republicans, naturally enemies to tyranny, and strongly attached to Syracuse, from the consideration of its being one of their earliest colonies, resolved to support them, and pitched on Timoleon, a man considerably advanced in years, but an excellent general, to command the troops which they intended to send to Sicily.

Timoleon was then living extremely retired, and oppressed with melancholy and grief, occasioned by the following incident. His elder brother Timophanes, for whom he entertained a strong affection, having made himself tyrant of Corinth, Timoleon was extremely grieved at his conduct, and to induce him to renounce his sovereignty, employed every motive and argument that friendship or affection could suggest. But these proving ineffectual, he proceeded even to threats. All, however, was to no purpose. At last the love of his

country

country prevailing over the ties of blood, Timoleon reſolved to have his brother aſſaſſinated. With this view he demanded another conference with Timophanes, wherein he repeated in the moſt affecting manner all his former arguments; but ſeeing him obſtinate, he burſt into tears, and covering his face with his cloak, the aſſaſſins immediately diſpatched the tyrant. At firſt this action was praiſed as the utmoſt effort of patriotiſm and virtue; but afterwards it came to be conſidered as a moſt cruel and unnatural murder. Timoleon, therefore, was tormented with the moſt bitter remorſe, which was heightened by the conſtant reproaches of his mother. Diſtracted with ſorrow, he reſolved to put an end to his life; and it was with the greateſt difficulty that his friends diverted him from this deſperate purpoſe. Yielding, however, at laſt to their remonſtrances, he retired to the country, and for twelve years lived in the deepeſt ſolitude. But having been at length perſuaded to return to Corinth, he received the command of the troops deſtined for Sicily.

Icetas in the mean time hearing of the preparations making by the Corinthians for the relief of the Syracuſans, was baſe enough to betray the latter, and to make an agreement with the Carthaginians, who engaged to raiſe him to the ſovereignty of Syracuſe, after the expulſion of Dionyſius ſhould be effected. Icetas at the ſame time ſent the Corinthians word, that having deſpaired of Timoleon's coming, he had prevailed with the Carthaginians to aſſiſt him. The Corinthians, ſuſpecting his treachery, haſtened the departure of Timoleon with ten gallies. Timoleon, on landing in Sicily, received intelligence, that Icetas had defeated Dionyſius, and that the Carthaginians were making diſpoſitions for preventing him and the Corinthian troops from entering Syracuſe. This intelligence proved true; for they had diſpatched twenty gallies to Rhegium to oppoſe his advancing. Timoleon therefore was under the neceſſity either of hazarding an engagement with his ſlender army, againſt an enemy twice as numerous, or of permitting

mitting Icetas quietly to reap the fruits of his treachery, and to assume the sovereignty of Syracuse.

Timoleon having, by the intercession of the people of Rhegium, who wished well to his cause, obtained a conference with the Carthaginian commanders, amused them with various proposals, to gain time, till his gallies had passed the Carthaginian fleet, and were out of all danger of being intercepted. Then Timoleon broke off the conference, and soon came up with his gallies. Icetas hearing of Timoleon's arrival, assembled all the Carthaginian forces, consisting, as is reported, of 150 ships, 50,000 infantry, and 300 armed chariots. Icetas was then master of the city, and kept Dionysius blocked up in the citadel. The whole army of Timoleon amounted to no more than 12,000 men.

Things were in this situation when the inhabitants of Adrana, a small city of Sicily, having quarrelled among themselves, one of the factions sided with Icetas, and the other with Timoleon. The Carthaginians hearing of these divisions, dispatched 5000 men to Adrana. But just as these troops arrived, and were busy forming their camp, Timoleon with his small army suddenly attacks them, puts them to flight, kills 300 of them, and takes possession of their camp. The Adranites immediately open their gates to the conqueror; and Dionysius hearing of Timoleon's success, sends him word, that he is resolved to surrender himself to the Corinthians, and to put them in possession of the citadel. Timoleon, accordingly, contrives to throw 400 men into the citadel by night, who are by Dionysius put in possession of all the warlike stores, and reinforced by 1000 men, who yet remained in his service; after which the tyrant goes aboard a ship, arrives at the Corinthian camp, and is by Timoleon sent to Corinth.

The arrival of Dionysius at that city afforded
347. an agreeable show to the inhabitants, who from their violent hatred of tyranny, were delighted to see a man debased from the rank of a prince to that of a private gentleman. The mean behaviour of Dionysius

rendered

rendered him ſtill more contemptible; for he paſſed the day in taverns, in the company of ſots and drunkards. Here we have a ſtriking inſtance of the extraordinary viciſſitudes of human affairs. Dionyſius, bred in the midſt of opulence, is at laſt reduced to the moſt extreme poverty, and after being ſovereign of a very powerful people, ends his days in the ſtation of a ſchoolmaſter. Perhaps, ſays Cicero jeſting, being unable to live without exerciſing government, he choſe to exert his authority over a parcel of boys, inſtead of a great nation.

Icetas in the mean time uſed his utmoſt efforts to reduce the citadel; and was extremely attentive to prevent the arrival of any reinforcement from Timoleon. But in his abſence Leon, who commanded in the citadel, made a ſally on the troops left before it by Icetas, killed many of them, and took poſſeſſion of Acradina. Timoleon, on the other hand, receiving a reinforcement from Corinth, eſcaped the vigilance of the Carthaginian gallies, took Meſſina, and then advanced towards Syracuſe, with no more than 4000 men, employing proper perſons to propagate an opinion among the ſoldiers of Icetas, of its being diſgraceful in Sicilians to expoſe their lives for ſubjecting their native country to the yoke of the Carthaginians, who had always ſhewn themſelves to be their inveterate enemies; and to aſſure them, that if Icetas could be perſuaded to join Timoleon, the Carthaginians, by their joint efforts, might be very ſoon totally expelled from Sicily. Theſe reports reaching the ears of Mago, the Carthaginian general, he thought himſelf betrayed, and in ſpite of the remonſtrances of Icetas, embarked with his troops for Africa.

Timoleon thus freed from the Carthaginians, attacked, the day after their departure, the city 346.
of Syracuſe on three different ſides, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that it was taken on the firſt aſſault, without the loſs of a ſingle Corinthian; and the troops of Icetas were fairly beaten out of the town. As ſoon as tranquillity was reſtored in the city, Timoleon convinced the Syracuſans of the neceſſity of demoliſhing the citadel,

which he called the *tyrant's neſt*. In compliance with his advice, all the fortifications, together with the palaces of both the Dionyſiuſes, were in a few days pulled down.

Timoleon perceiving that Syracuſe, by its inteſtine commotions, and its wars with the Carthaginians, was in a great meaſure depopulated, ordered proclamation to be made through all Greece, that liberty being now reſtored to Syracuſe, every perſon who inclined to go thither to ſettle, ſhould receive a proportion of the lands belonging to that city, equal to that of the natives of the city of the ſame rank. In conſequence of this proclamation, a new colony of Greeks, amounting to 60,000 ſouls, quickly arrived at Syracuſe. The behaviour of Timoleon on this occaſion is truly admirable, for he preferred the honour of being the reſtorer of Syracuſe, to that of being its king. After diſtributing the lands, he ſold by auction all the ſtatues that had belonged to the tyrants.

But deſirous of totally rooting tyranny out of Sicily, he led his troops againſt Icetas; obliged him to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, and to demoliſh all the caſtles and forts in his poſſeſſion; and having thus reduced him to the ſtation of a private man, he ſent him to Corinth. He uſed Leptinus tyrant of Apollonia in the ſame manner, and made it a ſort of rule with himſelf to humble the power of tyrants.—Having ſucceſsfully accompliſhed theſe undertakings, he returned to Syracuſe, and applied himſelf to eſtabliſh good laws, and to enforce the obſervance of them.

But more laurels were ſtill reſerved for him in the fields of Mars. The Carthaginians again invaded Sicily with a fleet of 200 ſhips, and 70,000 men, under the command of Hamilcar and Haſdrubal, and landed near the promontory of Lillybeum. Timoleon immediately marched againſt them with an army of no more, as is reported, than 6000 men, and ſurpriſing them at the defile of Crimeſus, attacked them in flank, while a dreadful ſtorm of lightning and rain ſuddenly ariſing, completed

pleted their diſorder. Timoleon taking advantage of their conſternation, penetrated their ranks with great ſlaughter, put them to flight, and took 15,000 priſoners, with an immenſe booty. The number of killed on the ſide of the Carthaginians, is ſaid to have been 13,000.

Timoleon, on returning to Syracuſe, put the finiſhing hand to his laws and regulations. But he was ſoon after obliged once more to take the field againſt the Carthaginians, who had invaded the iſland anew, at the inſtigation of the tyrants of Catana and Meſſina, perſuaded to that meaſure by Icetas. But the event of this expedition was even more unfortunate for the Carthaginians than that of the former. Timoleon, to cut off the evil at its ſource, went in purſuit of Icetas, and having taken him, cauſed his head to be ſtruck off. Thus was avenged the murder of Dion's wife and ſiſter, put to death, as we have mentioned above, by this ſeditious man Icetas. This train of ſucceſs gave the Carthaginians ſo high an opinion of Timoleon, that they ſued to him for peace.

Timoleon, after extinguiſhing tyranny in every city of Sicily, and completing the great work of reformation in the government of Syracuſe, reſigned all authority, and reduced himſelf to the rank of a private citizen. Removing ſoon after to the country with his wife and children, he paſſed the remaining part of his life in retirement, enjoying the ſecret ſatisfaction of having reſtored liberty and quiet to all the cities of Sicily.

Some years before his death he became blind. The Syracuſans, full of affection and reſpect for their deliverer, uſed, by way of conſolation for that misfortune, to pay him frequent viſits; and to carry him in a chair to the theatre, where his preſence excited univerſal acclamations from all the ſpectators. His funeral was celebrated at the public expence; and the Syracuſans eſtabliſhed annual rejoicings in honour of his memory. Of all the great men of Greece Timoleon is perhaps the only one, who, ſatisfied with his ſucceſs, purſued the

proper courſe for avoiding the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens, and ended his days in tranquillity and peace.

Timoleon poſſeſſed all the qualifications of a great general; and a diſintereſted attachment to the public welfare. But of the many praiſes beſtowed on him by Cornelius Nepos, there is one particular that gives additional luſtre to all his other great qualities. When any perſon happened in his preſence to expatiate in encomiums on his wiſdom, his bravery, and the glory he had acquired in having humbled ſo many tyrants, Timoleon uſed to anſwer, that he moſt ſincerely *thanked the gods for chuſing him, preferably to any other general*, as the inſtrument of their great goodneſs, in reſtoring liberty and quiet to Sicily; being firmly perſuaded, adds the ſame hiſtorian, that no human event is brought about, but by the immediate interpoſition of the gods; a ſentiment worthy of the moſt enlightened Chriſtian.

The liberty reſtored by Timoleon to Syracuſe, 319. was but of ſhort duration. Agathocles poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſupreme power in that city; and behaved with the moſt ſhocking cruelty; never heſitating at the greateſt crimes. This Agathocles undertook the moſt daring enterpriſe recorded in hiſtory. Being unable to make head againſt the Carthaginians, who were carrying every thing before them in Sicily, and were warmly beſieging Syracuſe itſelf, he boldly left his own country, carried the war into the dominions of Carthage in Africa, reduced the ſtrongeſt towns, and laid waſte the country. After a great variety of events, in the courſe of which, Agathocles had left Africa, and had given the command there to another perſon, he again returned thither himſelf, but finding all his conqueſts loſt, was obliged to fly to Syracuſe. There too his ill fortune attended him; for the Syracuſans had taken the advantage of his abſence to revolt. All his projects being thus ruined, he ended his days in a manner worthy of his crimes.

The Syracuſans after this, enjoyed for ſome time the ſweets of liberty; but were much haraſſed by the Carthaginians,

thaginians, who perſecuted them with continual wars; and obliged them to call to their aſſiſtance Pyrrhus king of Epire. That prince was very ſucceſsful againſt their enemies; but other affairs ſoon carried him from their country.

Upon the departure of Pyrrhus, the Syracuſans created Hiero chief magiſtrate, and afterwards beſtowed on him both the title and the power of king. Hiero was extremely ſucceſsful againſt the Carthaginians; and enjoyed a very long and peaceable reign. 268.

Hyeronymus ſucceeded Hiero, but reigned only a year. On his death nothing but confuſion prevailed in Syracuſe. Andranodorus the ſon-in-law of Hiero, ſeized on the iſland and citadel. The ſenate ſent deputies to treat with him; and he agreed to ſubmit. But at the inſtigation of his wife, a woman of a moſt ambitious ſpirit, he entered into a conſpiracy with Themiſtes, for raiſing himſelf to the throne. The conſpiracy having been diſcovered, the conſpirators were put to death by order of the magiſtrates, juſt as they were entering the ſenate-houſe. The people hearing of their deſign, were inſtantly ſeized with the moſt ungovernable fury, crying out, that the race of tyrants ought to be totally extirpated. A ſcene of horror enſued, from which we may conceive of what exceſſes an enraged multitude is capable. They firſt murdered Demarata, the daughter of their late king, and wife of Andranodorus; together with Harmonia the wife of Themiſtes. Then they ran to the houſe of Heraclea wife of Zoipus; and deaf to the tears and ſupplications of that lady, who entreated them to ſpare her two daughters, whoſe age was ſufficient to move compaſſion in more feeling boſoms, they firſt murdered her, and then her daughters, all covered with their mother's blood.

After thus ſatiating their cruelty, they elected Epicydes and Hippocrates principal magiſtrates, who being both devoted to the intereſt of the Carthaginians, laboured to inſpire their countrymen with an averſion to the

the Roman power. — The Romans informed of the ſituation of things in Sicily, and deſirous of getting poſſeſſion of ſo pleaſant and fruitful a country, diſpatched thither the conſul Marcellus, who had made himſelf famous by his ſucceſs againſt Hannibal, to endeavour to reduce it. Marcellus on his march towards Syracuſe, ſent meſſengers to acquaint the Syracuſans, that he was advancing with an intention of reſtoring them to liberty, not to oppreſs them with war. Epicydes, however, and his colleague Hippocrates, refuſed to admit him into their city, and told him with great preſumption, that they would make him feel the difference betwixt Syracuſe and Leontium, a city lately taken by the Roman conſul.

Marcellus provoked at this inſulting anſwer, ordered Appius to attack Syracuſe on the land ſide, at the quarter called *Hexapilus*, while he himſelf with ſixty gallies blocked it up by ſea on the Acradina quarter. The Syracuſans were now in the utmoſt conſternation, thinking it impoſſible for them to hold out for any conſiderable time againſt the Roman power. One ſingle man, who happened at this time to be ſhut up in Syracuſe, was deſtined to defeat all the efforts of the enemy for the ſpace of eight months.

Archimedes, one of the greateſt mathematicians of antiquity, was the man of whom we ſpeak. Reſolved to attempt every thing for the defence of his country, he put in practice all the reſources of his wonderful genius in machinery; and rendered this ſiege one of the longeſt and moſt bloody that ever the Romans undertook. The particulars recorded of the many engines invented by him for fruſtrating the attacks of the beſiegers, and to haraſs them in their turn, are ſo extraordinary and wonderful, as to exceed all credibility, were they not recounted by the graveſt and moſt credible hiſtorians. Some of thoſe engines diſcharged againſt the Roman infantry, ſtones of an enormous bulk, which cruſhed in pieces whatever came in their way; and by the deſtruction they produced, reſembled in ſome degree

gree thoſe terrible fire-arms ſince invented by mankind for their mutual ruin. Others let fall ſuch ponderous weights on the Roman gallies, as inſtantly ſunk them. Another engine more extraordinary ſtill, was ſo contrived, as with an iron arm of amazing ſtrength to ſeize a veſſel by the prow, to lift her up to a conſiderable height, and then to let her fall with her whole weight, ſo as to ſink or break her to pieces. Others daſhed in pieces the ſtrongeſt machines of the beſiegers.

In this manner did Archimedes baffle, for the ſpace of eight months, all the attacks of the Romans: Of ſuch great uſe, on ſome occaſions, is a ſingle man of genius and ſcience. Marcellus, wearied out with ſo long a reſiſtance, turned the ſiege into a blockade; and, leaving Appius before Syracuſe with two thirds of the army, marched himſelf into other parts of the iſland, to reduce ſome cities to the obedience of the Romans.

The conſul employed part of the ſecond year of the ſiege, in various expeditions through the iſland. But in the mean time, a Carthaginian fleet having found means to convey a ſupply of proviſions into Syracuſe, Marcellus, on his return to that city about the beginning of the third campaign, found things in ſuch a ſituation, that he began to deſpair of taking the place.—In theſe circumſtances, a Roman ſoldier having diſcovered a part of the wall near the gate of Trogilus, conſiderably lower than the reſt, and capable of being ſcaled by ordinary ladders, communicated the diſcovery to Marcellus, who immediately ordered ladders to be gotten ready, and taking advantage of a feaſt celebrated by the Syracuſans in honour of Diana, commanded a detachment of his braveſt ſoldiers to advance to the place in the dead of night. Theſe quickly ſcaled the wall, broke open the gate, and took poſſeſſion of the quarter of the town called *Epipolis*. The Syracuſans, awakened by the noiſe, began to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. But Marcellus ordering all the trumpets of the Roman army to ſound at once, created

ſuch

ſuch an alarm, that the inhabitants were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, believing the city to be wholly in the hands of the enemy. But the quarter of Acradina was not taken. Epicydes, aſſembling ſome troops, reſolved to attack Marcellus; but finding his forces too weak, he was forced to retire to that quarter.

It is ſaid, that Marcellus, on contemplating from the top of a tower, the largeneſs and beauty of this city, ſhed tears at the thoughts of the miſerable fate it was about to undergo. From the ſame motive, before proceeding to the attack of Acradina, he ſent ſeveral officers to exhort the beſieged to propoſe a capitulation, and to prevent the ruin of their city. His remonſtrances, however, proving ineffectual, he made the proper diſpoſitions for the ſiege of Acradina; but a plague breaking out about this time in the city, and in the Roman camp, protracted a little longer the fate of Syracuſe.

The Carthaginian fleet having, in the mean time, returned to Sicily, Epicydes endeavoured to perſuade Bomilcar who commanded it, to venture a ſea fight, and to attack Marcellus. The Roman, though inferior in naval ſtrength, reſolved not to decline the engagement, and to be, by that means, blocked up in the harbour of Syracuſe. He therefore advanced with his fleet in good order. The Carthaginian general, intimidated by their determined appearance, was afraid to venture a battle, and therefore retired. Epicydes, who had gone out to join the Carthaginian fleet, was ſeized with deſpair; and not daring to return to Syracuſe, ſailed away for Agrigentum.

The inhabitants, confounded at being deſerted both by the Carthaginians and by Epicydes, ſent ambaſſadors to Marcellus, to treat about capitulating, and to try to prevail with him not to deſtroy their city entirely. But the Roman deſerters, fearing to be delivered up, took arms together with the foreign ſoldiers, murdered the new magiſtrates, and reſolved to defend the place to the laſt. In the mean time, one of the chief command-

ers being gained over by Marcellus, admitted the Romans at night by one of the gates of Acradina. The Syracuſans, next day, threw open all the other gates to Marcellus, and ſent ambaſſadors to beg that he would grant them their lives, which they obtained accordingly. But Marcellus, provoked at their perfidy and obſtinate reſiſtance, gave up the city to be plundered. The riches found in it by the Romans, exceeded their moſt ſanguine expectations, being greater than thoſe of Carthage. Thus was Syracuſe re- 212.
duced after a ſiege of three years.

Marcellus was much delighted with the hopes of finding in this city, the man whoſe wonderful genius had ſo long baffled the braveſt efforts of the Roman arms; and therefore ordered diligent ſearch to be every where made for Archimedes. A private ſoldier finding him at laſt, deeply intent on the ſolution of ſome geometrical problem, commanded him to go along with him to Marcellus. Archimedes very quietly begged of the ſoldier to wait a few moments till he ſhould finiſh his problem. But the ſoldier, miſtaking his requeſt for an abſolute refuſal to obey him, ſtabbed him with his ſword on the ſpot.

Marcellus was extremely concerned at the death of Archimedes; and, by the honours paid to his memory, plainly evinced the high opinion he entertained of his merit, giving him a very pompous funeral, and cauſing a monument to be erected to his memory, ſo contrived, as to exhibit an emblem of that moſt perfect of ſciences, the mathematics. He even extended his favour to the relations of Archimedes, on whom he beſtowed diſtinguiſhing and advantageous privileges. Cicero tells us, that more than 140 years after this event, when the memory of Archimedes was almoſt loſt among his own countrymen, he himſelf had the curioſity to make inquiry about his tomb, which, after a painful ſearch, he had the pleaſure at laſt to find; diſcovering it by a pillar, whereon was delineated the figure of a ſphere and cylinder, with an inſcription on the foot of it, point-

ing out the proportion that a ſphere bears to a cylinder of the ſame baſe and altitude, which is as that of 2 to 3; a propoſition that was diſcovered and demonſtrated by Archimedes.

The tranſactions at Syracuſe, after its reduction by the Romans, are not very intereſting; and, as well as the affairs of Greater Greece, fall more properly under the Roman hiſtory than that of Greece. The whole iſland of Sicily, after Syracuſe was taken, became a Roman province; but continued, nevertheleſs, to be governed by its own proper uſages and conſtitutions, in the ſame manner as under its former kings.

Conſiderable places in Greater Greece.

In Greater Greece, hiſtory takes notice of three famous cities in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, viz.

1. *Crotona*, a Greek colony founded by Miſcellus chief of the Acheans. This was the birth-place of Milo the celebrated wreſtler, thence called *The Crotonian*.

2. *Sybaris*, an Achean colony likewiſe, and in the ſame province with Crotona. This city, in proceſs of time, became very powerful and rich; but its exceſſive wealth occaſioned the moſt ſhameful corruption of manners among its inhabitants, who paſſed their whole time in public diverſions, feaſts, and debauchery. Their effeminacy and ſenſuality were ſo great, as to render them a proverb among the ancients. They would not even permit to reſide in their city ſuch tradeſmen as made a noiſe in working. At laſt, faction broke out among them; and the richer ſort having been expelled, implored ſuccour of the Crotonians. The Sybarites took the field, and engaged the Crotonians, commanded by Milo, but were totally defeated. Thenceforward, Sybaris was quite deſerted.

3. *Thurium*, founded in the neighbourhood of the ancient Sybaris, by an Athenian colony. Here the famous Herodotus fixed his reſidence. The inhabitants were

were compoſed partly of Sybarites, and partly of Athenian ſoldiers, ſent to their aſſiſtance againſt the Crotonians.

Eminent Writers, Philoſophers, Artiſts, &c.

Pythagoras, the celebrated philoſopher, was the founder of the *Italic* ſchool, which received that appellation from his having ſettled in that part of Italy called *Greater Greece*. He was a native of Samos, and ſpent the more early part of his life in travelling through many countries in purſuit of inſtruction. With this view, he viſited Egypt, Chaldea, and the iſland of Crete. Finding, on his return from his travels, his native country oppreſſed by the tyrant Polycrates, he did not chuſe to ſettle there, but removed to Crotona, and opened a ſchool which ſoon grew very famous, the number of his ſcholars having in a ſhort time increaſed to 500. This ſchool was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate about the time of Tarquin the laſt king of the Romans, and the year before Chriſt 530. For the two firſt years of their attendance, the ſcholars of Pythagoras were injoined a profound ſilence; but afterwards they had permiſſion to propoſe their difficulties. Never was a maſter ſo highly reſpected by his ſcholars; a proof of the great opinion entertained of his genius. His opinions with them had the authority of ſo many oracles; and all further doubt was laid aſide on theſe words being pronounced, αὐτὸς ἔφα. "*The maſter himſelf hath* "*ſaid ſo.*"

Pythagoras thought it an undertaking worthy of his wiſdom and philoſophy, to reclaim the inhabitants of Crotona to ſentiments of virtue; and the effects of his exhortations were, by the account of Juſtin, truly extraordinary, producing a wonderful reformation among the inhabitants of that city, who were before plunged in the utmoſt exceſs of luxury and debauchery; ſo lively were his repreſentations of the baſeneſs of vice and intemperance on the one hand, and of the beauty and ex-

cellency of virtue on the other. To the fair he recommended modeſty, and the other qualities becoming the ſex; and to the youth, reſpect for their parents. Sobriety he extolled as the mother of virtue; and intreated the youth of both ſexes to lay aſide the ſplendid and unneceſſary ornaments of dreſs, as being the principal inſtruments of corruption. He inſpired kings and magiſtrates with principles of honour, with integrity, and with a zealous attachment to the public welfare. In a word, he in a manner made new men of the inhabitants of Crotona. Nor were his virtuous labours confined to that city alone. He viſited all the neighbouring towns with the ſame laudable intentions. It was a maxim of Pythagoras, that the whole aim of philoſophy ought to be, to render men more acceptable in the ſight of the Deity, by inducing them to practiſe all the virtues of humanity.

Pythagoras introduced into the weſtern world a doctrine which he had imbibed ſomewhere in the eaſt, where, by all accounts, it has prevailed from the moſt early ages, namely, that of the *Metempſychoſis*, or *tranſmigration of ſouls*, which taught, that on the deaths of men, their ſouls paſſed into, and animated other bodies. If, for example, a man was vicious and wicked, his ſoul animated the body of ſome unclean animal, and paſſed through a progreſs of miſery proportioned to his crimes in this life. Hence Pythagoras and his followers religiouſly abſtained from eating fleſh, leſt, perhaps, they ſhould devour that of ſome of their former friends and acquaintance. In all probability, the accounts of this philoſophy tranſmitted to us are very imperfect, and in nothing, perhaps, more ſo than in its real ſcope and meaning. Let us therefore, on this point, as on every other of the ſame kind, be extremely cautious in condemning.

Antiquity has handed down a thouſand impertinent fables with reſpect to this great philoſopher, which it were more impertinent ſtill to mention here. According to Juſtin, Pythagoras died at Metapontum, in a very advanced age.

age. The reputation of his ſchool was very great, and produced many philoſophers of diſtinguiſhed reputation, who divided themſelves into a variety of different ſects.

Charondas, a ſcholar of Pythagoras, delivered to the inhabitants of Thurium a ſyſtem of excellent laws, of which the following were ſome of the moſt remarkable. Whoever entered into a ſecond marriage, after having children of a former, was deprived of his privilege of becoming a ſenator: Thoſe convicted of calumny, were ignominiouſly dragged through the city: Public maſters were to be appointed for the inſtruction of the youth, without fee or reward; for he thought ignorance the ſource of all vice. The education of orphans was to be intruſted to their relations on the mother's ſide; and the care of their fortunes to thoſe on the father's ſide. Deſerters in war were condemned to appear publicly in the city for the ſpace of three days, in woman's dreſs.

Zaleucus, another ſcholar of Pythagoras, was the legiſlator of the Locrians. The preamble to his laws is much celebrated. He deſires the citizens to keep in mind, that gods do exiſt; and aſſures them, that the chief of the gods is the original fountain of all laws. Then he ſets down regulations for the preſervation of unanimity and peace in ſocial intercourſe. He exhorts judges, by all means, to diveſt themſelves of prejudices, whether ariſing from friendſhip or from animoſity. He prohibits women from wearing magnificent apparel; or from uſing ſuch ſuperfluous and luxurious ornaments, as jewels and bracelets, which are indulged to proſtitutes alone; and he delivers nearly the ſame prohibition with reſpect to the men.

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